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JUVENALIS ET PERSII SATIRAE.

WITH A

COMMENTARY

BY THE REV. A. J. MACLEANE, M.A.

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DECII JUNII JUVENALIS

ET

A. PERSII FLACCI

SATIRAE.

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ARTHUR JOHN MACLEANE, M.A.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;

EDITOR OF HORACE.

Second Edition, revised.

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PREFACE.

As in the case of Horace, there has been collated a sufficient number of good MSS. of Juvenal to supply a satisfactory text without resorting to conjecture; and I believe there is authority from MSS. or scholia for all the readings I have adopted. That MS. to which most weight is, perhaps deservedly, attached is commonly called the Codex Budensis, having been originally in the royal library at Buda, in Hungary. Where it is now, is unknown. It is referred to in these notes as P., from Pithoeus (Pithou), on whose collation, towards the end of the sixteenth century, our knowledge of it chiefly depends. It had before been used with less care by Valla, whose edition was first published at Venice a century earlier (1486).

From this MS. copious scholia were published by these editors, and they are referred to generally as 'the Scholiast' in this and other editions. But they are not all from the same hand. They have been carefully edited by Heinrich and Schopen, and still more so by Cramer (Hamburg, 1823), who found a MS. at St. Gallen, in Switzerland, containing the same, or nearly the same scholia as the MS. of Buda. Cramer assigns the St. Gallen MS. to the eleventh century, and supposes it to have come from the same source as the other.

The Codex Budensis is chiefly relied upon by two late editors, Otto Jahn (Berlin, 1851) and C. F. Hermann (Leipzig, 1854), who says (Preface, p. 19) that it alone represents the genuine text of Juvenal, the others being derived from a text "multiplici veteris correctoris licentia deformatum." I look upon this as a rash

assertion, and in many cases I have preferred the readings of other MSS., of which Ruperti has given a catalogue and description. I myself am in possession of one which is not in Ruperti's list. It is neatly written on parchment in 8vo. form, but is incomplete and of no particular value, being an Italian MS. of the early part perhaps of the fifteenth century. As it is not a transcript of any MS. referred to by other editors, I have occasionally noticed it, and have called it M. Many of its readings in disputed passages I have rejected.

I have not followed implicitly the judgment of any editor. Jahn and Hermann rely too much I think on the MS. they do well to prefer. Hermann keeps more closely to it than Jahn, sometimes I think with good reason. They have not published commentaries. The notes to which I attach most value are those of Heinrich, published by himself without the text in 1806, 1810, and republished by his son two years after his death (Bonn, 1839), with a text corrected in accordance with his father's commentary. These notes did not satisfy the judgment of Madvig, who thought them beneath the reputation and abilities of their author. To me they appear throughout manly and sensible, free from pedantry (the plague of commentaries), and worthy of the great writer whom it is their only object to explain. As there is no ancient author that requires masculine sense to understand and explain his meaning so much as Juvenal, so I know of no commentator on any author that surpasses Heinrich in that quality. His notes are in German, and I suppose this is the reason why Ruperti's edition continues to be much used by students in this country. It is the work of an industrious man of weak mind, always liable to waver when his judgment happens to be right, but never to be relied upon in cases of difficulty. Nor is he strictly honest, for he changed his interpretations in some instances in his later edition, without acknowledging that he was indebted to Heinrich for his second thoughts. A smart and rather sarcastic review of Ruperti's notes was put forth by Heinecke (Halle, 1804), and is sometimes referred to in the notes of this edition. Heinecke is often wrong himself. He was young when he wrote. The Parisian editor, Achaintre (1810), has

nothing to recommend him. He has borrowed without acknowledgment from Ruperti; so at least that editor says. His remarks are very feeble. He has added in a separate volume notes more valuable than his own by the two brothers Valesii, written at the end of the seventeenth century, but never before published entire. He also had access to a large number of MSS. in the imperial library at Paris. How he used them his references are too general to enable the reader to judge. The only English edition I have had occasion to notice is one by Mr. Mayor (Cambridge, 1853), intended for the use of schools; the chief feature of which is a large compilation, from various sources, of references to other authors, classical and ecclesiastical, some given as quotations, but most by reference to the places in which the passages are to be found. The object of this is said to be "to rescue certain authors from undeserved contempt." The authors meant are those later than the Augustan age. Whether they are held in undeserved contempt, or whether this commentary has helped to rescue them, I do not know. Mr. Mayor does not approve of Heinrich, and from the nature of his own commentary it was not to be expected that he would. His text professes to be that of Jahn, "except in orthography and punctuation." In his interpretation when he has an opportunity he follows the judgment of Madvig, in whose Opuscula there are two essays in which some passages of Juvenal are commented upon. With all respect for that eminent scholar, I do not think the interpretation of Juvenal was quite in his way. I have mentioned his opinion in several places. The names of Grangaeus, Britannicus, Henninius, and other scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, will be found in these notes. Their commentaries, in part or entire, are collected in a thick quarto volume, published at Leyden by Henninius in 1695, which book Ruperti calls "indigestam vanae speciosaeque doctrinae farraginem, rudemque rerum inutilium molem." It contains much that is wrong and a great deal that is good, and Ruperti need not have despised it. The edition of Lubinus (Hanover, 1603) I have had by me. Ruperti looks upon him as "verbosus nugator." He was a learned man and the friend of learned men, and often understood Juvenal where Ruperti did not.

Of the English translations I have referred to, those of Dryden and Gifford are the ablest. Dryden has not translated all the Satires. Holyday's is a quaint piece of rhyming prose, with some learned notes. He often hits the sense where others miss it. Dr. Johnson's imitations of the third and tenth Satires I have noticed in their places. Happening to have the Italian translation by Teodoro Accio (Lugano, 1828), I have sometimes referred to it; and have found it, as far as I have done so, sensible and often correct. I believe it has a high reputation in Italy.

Having edited Horace for this series, I have referred freely to my own notes in that edition. I hope I shall not appear egotistical in so doing. I must either have taken this course, or repeated almost word for word what I had written before.

This has been found still more necessary with respect to Persius, who has imitated Horace so freely as to compromise his character for originality, though he has merits, as well as defects, that are his own.

This author has lately been edited (Leipzig, 1843) with much care by Otto Jahn, whose edition of Juvenal is mentioned above. His notes on Persius are in the style of Ruperti's on Juvenal, though they have more merit. Readers who wish to be referred to a great variety of authors and critics, will use Jahn's edition for that purpose [1]. For the author's meaning Heinrich is a better guide in my opinion. His notes were edited at the request of his son by Jahn the year after his own edition, and seven years after the death of Heinrich. They are shorter and less elaborate even than those on Juvenal, but whatever Heinrich says is to the purpose and the fruit of his own intelligence. The freshness of that sort of commentary is very pleasant to those who have waded through a sea of complicated notes, in which every thing more or less remotely bearing upon the text is brought in to smother it. When are authors to be made their editors' first and only consideration?

The edition of Casaubon represents the learning of that great

[1] Jahn's Prolegomena on the Life and Scholia and MSS. of Persius are the best part of his book. Though long and rather tedious, they are scholarlike and useful.

scholar. It has been lately republished by Duebner (Leipzig, 1839), with the text revised but not improved by this editor, who has added to Casaubon's notes the conflicting opinions of other commentators. The notes of Lubinus are so wordy and embarrassed as to be quite unreadable. Plum and Koenig have furnished the world with long commentaries, of which Plum's is the better. Passow's edition (Leipzig, 1809) is accompanied by a German translation, and a commentary in the same language on the first Satire. In cases of difficulty I have not been able to rely upon his judgment. Orelli has given the text, scholia, and many of the various readings of Persius in his Eclogae Poetarum Latinorum. His text is good, and I have never failed to consider it with respect. Every editor who thinks as he ought, independently, will have his own opinion of his author's meaning; and so will choose, out of many that may have authority, that reading which best represents his opinion. With this remark I disclaim any want of proper deference to the scholarship of others more learned than myself. Scholarship (of a certain sort) and learning do not always go along with judgment; sometimes they tend to obscure it; nor are all editors learned that contrive to seem so.

The scholia on this author, published with great care by Jahn, are more numerous than those on Juvenal. They passed among scholars of the early time as the production of one person, and he no other than Annaeus Cornutus, the teacher of Persius. It does not require much discrimination to see that they are not from that source, and do not contain a syllable that was written near the time of the poet. Jahn has taken great pains to show that they are the work of a later Cornutus of the tenth century, who wrote a commentary also on Juvenal. If this be so, he may have used notes of earlier Grammarians than himself without acknowledgment. There is a great deal of useful and a great deal of foolish matter in these scholia.

Of the MSS. of Persius Jahn has mentioned and described sixty-seven, of which the most memorable are a fragment of the first Satire, edited by Mai from the famous Vatican Palimpsest, and two others of the ninth and tenth centuries which bear an inscrip-

tion, showing that they were both copied from a MS. written in the year A.D. 402, by one Fl. Julius. The later of these, which is at Rome, Heinrich collated. The collation of the earlier used by Jahn is by Duebner. Their task was rendered more laborious by the strange orthography of the MSS. and their many palpable blunders. A more accurate and useful MS. is one of the tenth century (which is not however complete), in the library of Bern. There are several of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and it is clear that Persius, though he must have been but little understood[2], was a good deal read among the semipagani of the mediaeval monasteries.

The Satires of Persius are here joined with those of Juvenal, according to a common practice. But except for the convenience of publication, there is no reason why they should be so. United they form a fair-sized volume, which separately they would not do except by extending the notes on either to an inordinate and useless length. Persius, though older than Juvenal, yet, as being less read and of less importance, is usually and rightly put after him.

It is easy to write long notes on such authors as these; indeed the difficulty is to write at moderate length; even without the practice, which I think objectionable, of overlaying the text with an embarrassing heap of references. Among other ways of lengthening this commentary was one which to some general readers would have been acceptable. I might have dwelt upon the immorality of the age, and contrasted the practice of the heathen with the contemporary precepts of the Christian. But I do not think any observations of mine would have strengthened the language of Juvenal, and if I have helped Christians to read and understand him, I shall be satisfied. They will be able then to compare the profligacy of the degenerate Roman with the purity of the Christian's profession, and perhaps may find in the rebukes of the Satirist matter for more useful contemplation than that which dwells upon the vices and superstitions of former ages, and overlooks the vices and superstitions of our own.

[2] Jahn gives an instance of a gloss written in the eleventh century, in the margin of the last-named MS., on vi. 28: "*Bruttia Saxa*, in quibus Brutus superatus est."

I have not thought it right to omit any part of these Satires. The character of the writers is seen throughout, and the spirit even of the coarsest parts is manifestly that of virtue. I have had some experience of boys, and I believe that those are exceptions on whom such passages as are usually expunged are likely to have an injurious effect. Wantonness is one thing, and the stern reproof of wantonness in terms it best understands is another, and few minds fail to see the difference. I have thought it enough to pass over the worst passages without comment.

He who is occupied with the labours of two professions, the cares of a large family, and the unavoidable distractions of a town life, may claim some indulgence for the defects of a work requiring much attention and a clear judgment at every point, and for the execution of which only a limited time could be allowed. I have done the best I could under the circumstances for students and general readers of Juvenal and Persius, that they may be able to understand and take an interest in those writers, especially the former, who has great charms for all that can appreciate a vigorous mind and Stoical integrity. In this task I am thankful to have had the advice and sympathy of my friend, Mr. George Long.

ARTHUR MACLEANE.

King Edward's Grammar School,
Bath, July, 1857.

INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF JUVENAL.

The character of Horace's mind was such, that his own experience and the events of his life come naturally into his writings, and a tolerably full and accurate biography of that poet has been gathered from his own pen. His poems form a gallery of contemporary portraits, including his own picture in every stage of life. It is not so with Juvenal. He had to deal with vice and folly more than a century older than the vice and folly of Horace's day, and a tyranny which Horace never witnessed. The playful personalities of Horace did not suit Juvenal's subject, and would not have represented his way of viewing it; nor did they suit the severe and defiant spirit in which he approached it. The consequence is that the traces of Juvenal's life in his satires are very slight.

There are several ancient biographies to be found in various MSS. of the Satires, one of which is generally supposed to be older than the rest. It is not uncommonly supposed to have been written by the grammarian Probus [1], but it is published among the memoirs attributed to Suetonius. It may be a fragment taken from Suetonius' life of the poet. The following is a translation of that memoir, according to the most probable version of the text:—

"Junius Juvenalis, the son or the alumnus (it is uncertain which) of a rich freedman, practised declamation till near middle life, more for amusement than by way of preparing himself for school or forum. Afterwards, having written a clever Satire of a few verses on Paris the pantomimus, and a poet of his, who was puffed up with his paltry six months' military rank, he took pains to perfect himself in this kind of writing. And yet for a very long time he did not venture to trust any thing even to a small audience. But after a while he was heard by

[1] See Life of Persius, p. xxiv.

great crowds, and with great success, several times: so that he was led to insert in his first writings those verses which he had written first:

'Quod non dant proceres dabit histrio: tu Camerinos
Et Bareas, tu nobilium magna atria curas?
Praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos[2].'

The player was at that time one of the favourites at court, and many of his supporters were daily promoted. Juvenal, therefore, fell under suspicion as one who had covertly censured the times; and forthwith under colour of military promotion, though he was eighty years of age, he was removed from the city, and sent to be praefectus of a cohort which was stationed in the farthest part of Egypt. That sort of punishment was determined upon as being suited to a light and jocular offence. Within a very short time he died of vexation and disgust."

The chief points stated in the foregoing life are, that Juvenal was the son of a rich freedman either by birth or by adoption (for this I suppose the writer means); that he was a practised rhetorician; that he began to write satire after middle life; that his first attempt was an epigram upon Paris the pantomimus[3]; that he was encouraged by the success of this production to write Satires on a larger scale, which at first he concealed, but afterwards read them to large audiences with great applause; that whereas he was rash enough to introduce in one of his poems the original epigram (which, as I suppose the writer means to imply, so became more public, and probably for the first time reached the ears of the person it was aimed at), Paris by his influence at court obtained his banishment, under the honourable form of a military command, to the farthest part of Egypt; that he was then eighty years of age[4], and that he shortly died of vexation.

Another of these notices states that Juvenal was born at Aquinum, in the reign of Claudius; that he returned from exile, survived the reign of Trajan, and finally died of old age in a fit of coughing.

In a third we are told that when he returned to Rome, finding his friend Martial was dead, he died of grief in his eighty-second year.

A fourth says it was Domitian who exiled him; that he never returned, but that after correcting and adding to his Satires in Egypt, he died there of old age in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

From a fifth we learn that he was advanced to the equestrian rank through his own merit; that the place of his honourable exile was Scotland, and that the motive was that he might be killed in battle;

[2] S. vii. 90, sqq.

[3] Though there were two players of this name, one a favourite of Nero, the other of Domitian, there can be no doubt the writer means Domitian's man.

[4] As Paris was put to death A.D. 83, this would make Juvenal to have been born about the year one of the Christian era (vi. 87, note).

that the emperor in a despatch addressed to him with the army, wrote these words, "et te Philomela promovit" (alluding to his own epigram), and that, learning from this the anger of the emperor, he died of a broken heart.

The sixth memoir makes Trajan the emperor, Paris being still the hero of the epigram, and agrees with the fifth about Scotland.

A seventh agrees substantially with the first, except that the emperor is said to have been Nero.

These seven are published at the end of Jahn's edition.

It seems clear that not one of these notices is original. They have come, and that not at first hand probably, from two or three common stocks, which have been confounded according to the fancy of the writer; and whatever amount of truth there may have been in the originals has been perverted and confused in the later editions, which show very little evidence of accurate information.

The only authority for Juvenal's birthplace contained in his poems is in Sat. iii. 319, where his friend says, "quoties te Roma tuo refici properantem reddet Aquino." But this only shows that Juvenal was in the habit of frequenting that town. Persius (S. vi. 7) speaks of the sea on the Ligurian coast as 'meum mare,' because he was staying there at the time, but no one now infers from this that he was born on that coast[5]. Where Juvenal was born therefore is uncertain[6], and the time of his birth is equally so.

That he wrote as late as the reign of Trajan, who succeeded Nerva A.D. 98, is certain from the allusion in the first Satire (v. 47), and the eighth (v. 120) to the crimes and banishment of Marius Priscus, whose exile took place A.D. 100.

Another proof is that, in Sat. xii. 75, he refers to the inner basin of the Portus Augusti, constructed by Trajan. [If Juvenal wrote this Satire, the conclusion from the text is true; and if he did not, the passage still proves that this Satire was written after Trajan's port was constructed.]

In Sat. vi. 502, there is an allusion to the way ladies wore their hair, which seems to show that this Satire was written in the reign of Trajan, or early in that of Hadrian (see note).

In v. 407 of the same Satire, Lipsius traces a reference to the reduction of Armenia to the condition of a Roman province, by the same emperor, in A.D. 106. This argument however has not much force.

[5] See Life of Persius.

[6] There is no reason to suppose the grammarians had more authority for calling him Aquinas than we have. In Pithoeus' MS. it is said, "Juvenalem aliqui Gallum propter corporis magnitudinem, aliqui Aquinatem dicunt."

Hadrian succeeded Trajan in A.D. 117, and there is an allusion to the silence of the oracle of Delphi in vi. 555, which makes it appear that the Satire was written before the reign of Hadrian, or at its commencement, for he restored that oracle which Nero had stopped. This probably took place during Hadrian's residence at Athens, A.D. 123—126.

It is not certain in what years of his reign Hadrian erected the magnificent palace near Tibur, of which the ruins still exist; probably not before A.D. 134. But it is certain it was not built when Juvenal wrote his fourteenth Satire, or he would have referred to it among the buildings he names vv. 86—91.

But the seventh Satire, which has been the subject of so much dispute, appears to me to bear the strongest internal evidence of having been written in Hadrian's reign. He was an author himself, and the patron of authors, and Juvenal could not have said this of any of the other emperors that preceded him without egregious flattery, of which he was incapable. The statement of the Scholiast that in that Satire "Neronem palpat" is not worthy of notice.

The fifteenth Satire turns upon an event said to have happened "nuper Consule Junio" (v. 27)[7]. It may not be possible to say with certainty which consul Junius he refers to. But my own opinion, and that of many others, is, that it was Junius Rusticus who was consul in A.D. 119, the second year of Hadrian's reign. I cannot doubt that in this Satire Juvenal refers to his own experience of Egypt during a residence there in former years. Heinrich's pupil, Francke, has taken great pains to show that Juvenal had never been in Egypt. But he is obliged to get rid of so many verses as spurious which I believe to be as genuine as any in the Satire, that his arguments are of no value in my opinion. It is possible Juvenal may have been in Egypt before A.D. 84, when the only other Junius, Appius Junius Sabinus, was consul, that being the third year of Domitian's reign. In that case the whole story of his exile by Domitian becomes a fable, as the details of it manifestly are, unless it be said that the Satire was written in Egypt, or, if written at Rome, that the poet had been recalled by the emperor who sent him

[7] Jahn and C. F. Hermann, in their editions, have adopted the variant Junco for Junio, from Pithoeus' MS. Hermann, in his Dissertation on the seventh Satire (Göttingen, 1843), takes Junius Rusticus for the consul, but in the preface to his edition (1854) he argues for Juncus, who, he says, was Consul Suffectus A.D. 127. I adhere to Junius; but Hermann's date, which is eight years later, would not materially affect the view I take of the poet's career. Juncus does not appear in the Fasti till A.D. 182, and Hermann, in his Dissertation, doubts the existence of an earlier Juncus: "Siquidem Juncum consulem, si quis unquam fuit, non novimus ante a. 127 p. Chr. quo suffectos certe S. Julium Juncum, Man. Vibium Servium nuper demum Clem. Cardinalis in Actis Acad. Rom. Archaeol. 1835, T. vi. p. 240 probare conatus est." (Disput. p. 5, n.)

away, for it was written shortly after the consulship of Junius, and therefore, if Sabinus be the man, in the middle or towards the beginning of Domitian's reign. But it will be shown below that the banishment could not have happened till late in Domitian's reign, and I believe Hadrian's consul, Junius Rusticus, is meant, and that the Satire was written early in Hadrian's reign, that is about A.D. 121, or two years after the consulship of Junius[a].

In Sat. xiii. 17 he speaks of Calvinus, the friend he addresses, as then sixty years old, and born in the consulship of Fonteius. I think it almost certain that the consul referred to is L. Fonteius Capito, cos. A.D. 59, and that therefore the Satire was written towards the beginning of Hadrian's reign, and not earlier than A.D. 119.

The earlier date to which Lipsius and others refer it, as stated in my note (xiii. 17), is forty-seven years before the reign of Hadrian. Either, therefore, Juvenal did not write at all in that reign, or this Satire was written while Hadrian was emperor, about A.D. 119. Otherwise Juvenal's Satires must range over a period of fifty years or thereabouts, and one of the very best must have been nearly the earliest. Those who are of opinion that the allusion to Meroe in v. 163 of this Satire, resulted from personal observation, must be prepared to admit the later date, or to suppose that the banishment of Juvenal to Egypt by Domitian is altogether fabulous, and that his visit to that country must have been early in the reign of Vespasian, if not before it, since the Satire, according to the other hypothesis, must have been written about the fourth year of that reign, and nine years before Domitian became emperor.

Thus the sixth, seventh, thirteenth, and fifteenth Satires have internal evidences by which they may be referred to the reign of Hadrian, and of these the three last, I have no doubt, were written under that emperor.

But if we take A.D. 120 as the latest date of which there is evidence, how far back may we go to determine the author's age?

It is nearly certain that the first Satire was written in Trajan's reign, not long after the banishment of Marius Priscus, A.D. 100.

The reference to war on the Euphrates in the eighth Satire (v. 51) makes it probable that the poem was written during the Armenian and Parthian wars (A.D. 114—116), in the course of which (A.D. 115)

[a] Ruperti, I think, is right in saying "Satira xv. hoc forte anno scripta (121) non superiore, nam si tam recens factum esset quod in ea narrat, poeta opinor v. 27 simpliciter dixisset 'nuper,' neque adjecisset 'Consule Junio'" (Vita Juv. per annos digesta, vol. i. p. xxx). This commentator thinks that Juvenal, now in his eighty-first year, was suspected of having written Satire vii. against Hadrian, and was banished by him. Poor old man!

Armenia was finally subdued by Trajan. In v. 120 the same Marius is referred to as having 'nuper' stripped the Africans. But 'nuper' is used with much latitude, and the name of Marius was long held in remembrance as the great spoiler of provinces, having been made more notorious through the celebrity of Tacitus the historian and Pliny the younger, who were employed to prosecute him, just as the speeches of Burke and Sheridan against Warren Hastings have perpetuated and spread the ill-fame of his Indian government.

It is certain that the fourth Satire was written after the death of Domitian, A.D. 96, since his death is expressly mentioned in the last two verses. This Satire therefore may be assigned to the reign of Nerva from September, A.D. 96, to January, A.D. 98, or very early in his successor Trajan's reign. The subject would only amuse soon after the tyrant's death.

The twelfth Satire, which refers to Trajan's basin in the Portus Augusti (v. 75, &c.), must have been written in his reign or after it. This argument assumes what there is no good reason to doubt, that the Scholiast is right in attributing this work to Trajan[a].

According to these calculations eight out of the sixteen Satires were written after the death of Domitian. The sixteenth is a fragment, and it may be admitted that, if not the last written, it was not begun very long before the last, whichever that may have been. Thus more than half the extant Satires were written, as I suppose, between A.D. 96 and A.D. 120, or some of them possibly a little later, a period of at least twenty-four years.

If any credit is due to the statement of the Grammarians, in which they all agree, that Juvenal did not begin to write in this style till he was near middle life, we may suppose that none of the Satires were written much before the death of Domitian. We cannot tell how long the vigorous spirit that appears in all these poems may last, and show itself in compositions of this sort. It is no argument to say that Horace soon got tired of Satire. His mind and circumstances were very different from Juvenal's. But twenty-four years after the period of middle life carries a man on to an age when, under almost any circumstances, the mind loses its freshness and seeks rest, at least from the excitement of such compositions; and I think Juvenal could not have been more than forty, and probably not so much, when Domitian died. This may be affirmed whether the Grammarians have stated the truth on the above point or not, if my calculations are not altogether wrong. This

[a] Cramer (Italy, ii. 14) thinks the Scholiast has confounded this work with the harbour of Centumcellae (Cività Vecchia), which was constructed by Trajan; but Sir W. Gell (Rome and its Vicinity, ii. 175, sqq.) and other scholars entertain no doubt of this basin too being Trajan's.

would put his birth, at the earliest, in the third year of Nero, A.D. 56, and I am inclined to think that this is not far from the date. [Ribbeck has come to the same conclusion, Juvenalis Sat. Praefatio.] That he was familiar with the iniquities of Nero does not certainly prove that he lived in his reign, and according to the above supposition he was not more than twelve when Nero died, perhaps less. Of Domitian he writes with a contempt and loathing which seem to be the fruit of a personal acquaintance with his times, and a memory full of disdain. That he was of full age in Domitian's reign is certain, since he had formed an intimate friendship with Martial before the seventh book of his Epigrams was published. That book was written A.D. 93, and contains two epigrams, one alluding, and the other addressed, to Juvenal, in terms of affectionate familiarity. This alone would be sufficient proof that Juvenal was not exiled by Domitian, at any rate till after the above year, which was ten years after the death of Paris, and not three years before Domitian's. In Martial's twelfth book there is an epigram (18) addressed to Juvenal at Rome, Martial being at his native place, Bibilis in Spain. This epigram was written between the years A.D. 100 and 104, not long after the accession of Trajan, and it supposes Juvenal to be wandering restlessly about the town and tiring himself with attendance on great people. If, therefore, any banishment took place in Domitian's time, the cause could not have been that assigned by the Grammarians, and it must have been of short duration.

Adopting then such data as appear to have any probability in them, the following may be laid down as a sketch of Juvenal's life, without pretending to accuracy, for which there are no materials.

His name was Decius Junius Juvenalis.

He was born possibly at Aquinum, in Latium, about the beginning of Nero's reign, that is soon after A.D. 54, of respectable parents, his father being a rich libertinus, and he himself therefore ingenuus. He received the usual education of a Roman boy and youth, as he says (S. i. 15):

> "Et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos
> Consilium dedimus Sullae privatus ut altum
> Dormiret."

He took the 'toga virilis' about the beginning of Vespasian's reign, A.D. 70, and having, as he says above, learnt rhetoric in the schools, he continued to practise it as a man, not professionally, but for his own amusement, through the reign of Vespasian and the greater part of Domitian's, that is, till the year A.D. 94, in which year or the next he by some means offended Domitian, and was sent by him into Egypt with a military command, such as civilians often received during the Empire. In A.D. 96 Domitian was killed and Nerva succeeded him.

Then, or soon afterwards, Juvenal was allowed to give up his command and return to Rome, being at the time of his return about forty years of age. Martial's epigram proves that he was not altogether independent or comfortable about this time. Nerva reigned less than two years, and Trajan succeeded to the empire A.D. 98, and in the early part of his reign, soon after A.D. 100, Juvenal first published a volume of Satires (of which the first in our collection was one), having already recited them to large audiences. It is not unlikely that some of these, or parts of them, had been composed in the reign of Domitian[1], or even earlier, but that the poet had not ventured to make them public. He continued to write freely during Trajan's reign, which ended A.D. 117, when Juvenal was about sixty, and during the early years of Hadrian's reign, that is, till about A.D. 120. During this reign he may have lived in comfort through the liberality of the emperor, though his household was on a frugal scale, as he tells us in Sat. xi., from which (v. 65) we learn that he had property at Tibur. It is not impossible he may have lived till the accession of Antoninus Pius, who succeeded Hadrian A.D. 138, when Juvenal was, according to this sketch, eighty or a little more.

Thus the statements of the Grammarians in respect to the poet's age, and of that writer who says he died of old age in the time of Antoninus Pius, would be borne out. I have also allowed the fact of an honourable banishment into Egypt, though not the cause assigned by the Grammarians, which is impossible. That Juvenal did not professedly compose satire till late in life, is admitted and accounted for. Likewise that he may have written verses before he ventured to publish them, and that some of these were afterwards incorporated with his Satires, is allowed. It is also admitted that he attended the usual schools in early life, and practised rhetoric till middle age. Beyond these facts the Grammarians I believe have been misled, probably by mistaken inferences drawn from allusions in the Satires themselves, a fertile source of error and of pretended learning on the part of the Scholiasts on all the ancient authors.

The fact of the banishment, though allowed as not being chronologically impossible, I nevertheless think is an error, but an early one, as is proved by a verse quoted from Sidonius Apollinaris, who believed the whole story, including Paris' share in it. He wrote about the middle of the fifth century, and says (Carm. ix. 270, sqq.):

"Non qui tempore Caesaris secundi
Aeterno coluit Tomos reatu (i.e. Ovid);
Nec qui consimili deinde casu,
Ad vulgi tenuem strepentis auram,
Irati fuit histrionis exul."

[1] See Introduction to S. ii.

Independently of the chronological difficulties in respect to Paris, it does not appear that the verses quoted by the Grammarians were ever intended as a satire on him, but if any thing as a compliment. So at least they appear in the connexion in which we have them. And it is perfectly clear that in that connexion they could not have given offence to the emperor, whoever he was, since the Satire sets out from the first with such praise as the worst of these princes coveted and rewarded, praise for his exclusive support of learning. If therefore it had been possible to admit these verses as the cause of Domitian's displeasure, it must have been when they appeared separately as an epigram, or with a different context from the present, which it must be admitted they do not very well suit, if, as seems certain, the rest of the Satire was written long after Paris' death. It is the way with the Roman Satirists to represent living names and characters by dead, and some have supposed that by Paris is meant a favourite actor of a later reign. But though there may have been later counterparts of Statius, it is not likely that there was another Paris, or any one whom his name would represent, whether with Hermann we refer the Satire to Trajan's time, or, as I believe it should be, to Hadrian's.

As to the place of Juvenal's supposed exile, I do not think it necessary to argue the subject against Francke[1], who denies the fact and declares Juvenal never was in Egypt at all, or against Hermann[2], who holds that he was sent to Scotland. I have no doubt he had been in Egypt before he wrote the fifteenth Satire. That he ever visited Britain I think cannot be proved, and it is not very likely. It is enough to say that Agricola fought the last battle in Caledonia (on the Grampians) A.D. 84, in which year he was recalled, having completely subdued the country. But we have seen that Juvenal was at Rome as late as A.D. 94, after which there was no fighting against the Scoti, and if it was the emperor's desire that the poet should be killed, as the Grammarian says, he would not have been sent to join the troops in Britain for that purpose. The inscription quoted by Hermann, if genuine, and if it refers to our Juvenal, proves nothing in favour of a Caledonian exile. [See the note on Sat. iii. 320. Ribbeck assumes that the inscription there mentioned refers to the Satirist Juvenal, who according to this inscription had served in the Roman armies, and as a commander of a cohort of Delmatae or Dalmatae, and he adds 'quoniam Delmatarum cohortem annis CIV. CVI. CXXIV. in Britannia tetendisse docent diplo-

[1] Examen criticum Decii Junii Juvenalis vitae, Altona, 1820, and Quaestio altera, Dorpat, 1827.

[2] Preface to his edition, Leipzig, 1854, and De Satirae Septimae Temporibus Disputatio, Göttingen, 1843.

mata (cf. E. Huebner Mus. Rhen. xi. 30), eiusque et praefecti et tribuni apparent (cf. Henzen annal. antiquitt. Rhen. xiii. 87), satis probabilis hominum doctorum conjectura est, poetam nostrum aliquando in Britannia functum esse militia.]

Of Juvenal's personal character it is not so easy to form an estimate from his writings as it is of Horace's. That his invectives against the vices of his time are not the mere artistic and declamatory compositions which some writers suppose them to be, but the fruits of an honest indignation, of rare powers of sarcasm, and of a large knowledge of the world, I think is manifest. His language is unreserved in dealing with the foulest vices, but there is no appearance of his being himself a loose liver in any part of his writings. When Horace is coarse he betrays something of sympathy with vice, while Juvenal shows only contempt for it. Although therefore an expurgated edition of Juvenal would have more gaps than an expurgated edition of Horace, a well-regulated mind would be less offended with the entire text of Juvenal than with that of Horace. Juvenal's morality was of a higher and less technical sort than Horace's, and has led some into the notion that he drew it from the purest source, and was in understanding, if not by profession, a Christian. This of course is absurd. He knew human nature, and he knew right from wrong, and was not blinded by self-indulgence, and so was able to state the law of conscience in a way to astonish some Christians, to whom that law is very imperfectly known.

Apart from his morality Juvenal was a great master of words, and had a large fund of illustration. His pictures drawn from real life, as I have observed in the course of the notes, are particularly happy: whether they represent the common room of a tavern, or the deck of a ship, or the inside of a soldier's hut or of a camp, or a schoolroom, or the greedy crowd at the sportula, or the streets of Rome, or a drunken brawl, these and a hundred other scenes are so drawn that an artist would have no difficulty in transferring them to canvas. But his hand must be vigorous and his brush free, or he would do no justice to Juvenal.

There is one particular form of lust from which modern wickedness shrinks, but which was one of the worst evils of Roman society under the Empire. This vice is exposed in two Satires of great power (ii. ix.). The wickedness of women was never so unsparingly handled as it is in the sixth Satire, a composition of extraordinary power and variety. The general degradation of Roman life and manners is exposed in the first, third, and fourteenth Satires, and in the last of these the chief cause of the universal wickedness is laid open in the indifference of parents to the morals of their young children, and the example which handed down vice as an inheritance from father to son. The degradation of the Senate, once the fountain of honour and authority, and the proudest

institution of a haughty people, but now obedient to the wantonness of a tyrant who mocked its weakness and played with its servility, is amusingly shown in the fourth Satire. The fifth exposes a different sort of servility, that of parasites, who sell their independence and accept contempt for the sake of a meal grudgingly given, a low practice which was more systematized at Rome, if it was not much more common, than it is in our own country. The neglect of literary men has a Satire to itself (the seventh); aristocratic pride has another (the eighth). The cunning of will-hunters is hit off at the end of the twelfth, which is not among the most interesting of these compositions. It relates chiefly to the arrival of a friend after a dangerous voyage, and is more of the nature of a familiar letter than of a Satire. The dishonesty of the age is described in the thirteenth Satire, which contains some of Juvenal's finest verses, and shows him in the best character. This also is in the form of an epistle to a friend, and so is the eleventh, which contains an invitation to dinner, and contrasts the poet's own plainness of living with the luxurious habits of his contemporaries. Thus Juvenal goes through all the great scandals of his day, and treats them unsparingly. The crimes and criminals of former reigns are freely introduced by way of illustration, but this is because the vices of one reign represented those of another, and the names of the dead could be more safely used than of the living. Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Otho, Domitian, are all brought up from time to time to point a moral or illustrate some aspect of crime.

The most celebrated of Juvenal's poems, the tenth, has more of the declamatory character, which some of his critics attribute to all. It is on the vanity of human wishes, which is illustrated chiefly by historical examples, and the poem has not much bearing upon the particular character of his times. It is the finest specimen of that sort of composition that I am acquainted with. The fifteenth Satire is connected with a scene of little general interest, an Egyptian squabble, Juvenal's own interest in which can only be accounted for by his having been in the country where it happened. The last Satire, if it had been completed, would have furnished a sketch of military life, sarcastic but good-humoured, from which a good deal of information might have been derived.

LIFE OF PERSIUS.

THE principal facts of Persius' life may be gathered from a memoir of which the following is a translation. The author, by some supposed to be Suetonius, cannot be conjectured with probability. It appears in most of the old MSS. of Persius, and in some of the oldest is said to be extracted from a commentary of Valerius Probus. That name is given to other memoirs besides this, and whether it represents one, or two, or several early Grammarians, is uncertain. There is no doubt however that the account is very old, and the statements have an air of truth which is confirmed by internal evidence. There is little in Persius' writings on which to construct an imaginary biography, and this is so far a guarantee for the genuineness of this Grammarian's facts.

"Aulus Persius Flaccus was born the day before the nones of December, in the consulship of Fabius Persicus and L. Vitellius[1]. He died the eighth day before the kalends of December, in the consulship of P. Marius and Asinius Gallus[2]. He was born [in Etruria[3]], at Volaterrae, a Roman eques, by blood and marriage connected with men of the highest rank. He died at the eighth milestone on the Appian road, on his own estate. His father Flaccus left him a minor, about six years old. His mother Fulvia Sisennia afterwards married Fusius, a Roman eques, and him too she buried within a few years. Flaccus pursued his studies until his twelfth year at Volaterrae; after that at Rome with the grammarian Remmius Palaemon, and the rhetorician Virginius Flavus[4]. When he was sixteen years old he first began to enjoy the friendship of Annaeus Cornutus, to whom he became so much attached that he never left him, and by him he was initiated to a certain extent in philosophy. He had for his friends from his earliest youth, Caesius Bassus, and Calpurnius Sura[5], who died young during Persius' lifetime.

[1] 4th December, A.D. 34. [2] 24th November, A.D. 62.

[3] Heinrich puts these words in brackets.

[4] Most MSS. have Flaccus; but Flavus is the reading of one of the oldest, and is probably the true name.

[5] The common reading is Statura.

He reverenced as a father Servilius Nonianus. Through Cornutus he made the acquaintance of Annaeus Lucanus likewise[6], who was of his own age and a disciple of Cornutus. Now Cornutus was a tragic writer of that day[7], of the Stoic sect, and he left behind him books of philosophy. Lucanus so admired the writings of Flaccus, that while he was reciting he could scarcely refrain from crying out [and saying that this was true poetry][8]. He became acquainted with Seneca also, late in life, but not so as to be taken by his character. He enjoyed in Cornutus' house the society of two most learned men of very holy lives, at that time earnestly engaged in philosophy, namely, Claudius Agathemerus, a physician of Lacedaemon, and Petronius Aristocrates of Magnesia, whom above all others he admired and emulated, for they were his contemporaries and disciples of Cornutus[9]. He was also for nearly ten years greatly beloved by Paetus Thrasea, and travelled with him sometimes, Thrasea having married Persius' kinswoman Arria. He was a man of most gentle manners, of maidenly modesty, of handsome form, and a pattern of piety towards his mother, and sister, and aunt. He was discreet and chaste. He left about two million sesterces to his mother and sister, and only wrote a note to his mother, asking her to give Cornutus a hundred thousand sesterces, as some say, but as others will have it, twenty pounds' weight of wrought silver, and about seven hundred volumes of Chrysippus, or all his library[1]. But Cornutus took the books and left the money for his mother and sister, whom he had made his heirs[2]. He wrote seldom and slowly. This very book he left unfinished. Some verses have been taken from the end of the book, that it might seem finished. Cornutus made some trifling corrections; and when Caesius Bassus asked that he might himself be allowed to edit it, he gave it him for that purpose. Flaccus also in his boyhood had written a comedy called Restio[3], and one book of

[6] By 'Annaeum etiam Lucanum' he means Lucanus, who was also one of the Annaei, as Cornutus himself was.

[7] 'Tragicus,' the reading of all the MSS., is most probably corrupt.

[8] "Quin illa esse vera poemata diceret." These words are no doubt an interpolation. Heinrich thinks the interpolator had in mind the modest language of Persius in the Prologus.

[9] 'Cornuti minores.' The common reading is 'Cornuto.' Agathemerus' name is given as Agaternus in the MSS. See below.

[1] This should be 'or as some say,' but the text is defective. (Heinrich.) As to the books of Chrysippus, see Introduction to S. v.

[2] The MSS. have "pecuniam sororibus quas frater heredes fecerat reliquit," which contradicts what has just been said. 'Frater' was added when the first mistake, 'sororibus,' was made.

[3] The MSS. have Vescio. Heinrich changes this to Restio, the Ropemaker, which was the title of one of Laberius' farces.

Ὀδοιπορικά[4], and a few verses for the wife of Thrasea, on her mother Arria, who had killed herself before her husband[5]. All these Cornutus advised his mother to destroy. When his book was published, men began forthwith to admire and to seize upon it[6]. [He died of a disease of the stomach in the thirtieth year of his age[7]. But[8] afterwards, when he had left his school and teachers, having read the tenth book of Lucilius, he conceived a great desire to write Satires. The beginning of that book he imitated[9], first intending to abuse himself[1], and afterwards every body, which he did with such invectives against the modern poets and orators, that he even attacked Nero, the reigning emperor. The verse he wrote against Nero was as follows:

'Auriculas Asini Mida rex habet,'

but it was corrected by Cornutus in the following way:

'Auriculas Asini quis non habet?'

lest Nero should think it was said against himself."]

Persius then, as he has always been called in modern times rather than by his cognomen, Flaccus, by which his contemporaries knew him, was of equestrian rank, and was born at Volaterrae (Volterra), in Etruria, on the 4th of December, A.D. 34, the twenty-first year of Tiberius. His father Flaccus died when he was six years old, and he remained under the care of his mother Fulvia Sisennia at his native place, where he went to school till he was twelve years old[2]. Like Horace, he then was taken to Rome and sent to a grammar and a rhetoric school, the former being under the management of one of the most celebrated teachers of the day, Remmius Palaemon[3], the other of Virginius Flavus, a rhetorician of eminence, who was afterwards exiled by Nero[4]. He took the 'toga virilis' at sixteen, the usual age, and according to custom left school and went, as we should call it, to a private tutor, L.

[4] "'Ὀδοιπορικῶν librum unum." See below.

[5] i. e. before her husband killed himself. See below.

[6] 'Diripere.' See note on Juv. vi. 404, "quis diripiatur adulter."

[7] This contradicts the other statement, that he died A.D. 62, that is, near the end of his twenty-eighth year. This clause is not from the original, but added by the compiler in ignorance.

[8] What follows is out of order, and probably made up by the compiler.

[9] See note on S. i. 1.

[1] The Scholiast on v. 1 says, "semetipsum redarguit, quod ipse reliquit carmina, quae vulgus lecturum non sit, quoniam non sunt vulgaria, et quod minime conveniant robusto ingenio et libidini."

[2] The beginning of A.D. 47, 7th of Claudius.

[3] See Juv. S. vii. 215.

[4] Tac. Ann. xv. 71. Quintilian thought highly of him (vii. 4. 40).

Annaeus Cornutus, a philosopher of the Stoic school, to which most men of thought at that time belonged. To Cornutus he became much attached, and the friendship continued to the end of his life. His obligations to this excellent man he feelingly acknowledges in the fifth Satire. While he was at school he appears to have written a comedy; also a poem, probably of a humorous cast, which he called Ὁδοιπορικά, Wayside Verses, or The Traveller, or whatever it may have been, and some verses on the death of his kinswoman Arria. She was the wife of Caecina Paetus, who for treason was put to death by Claudius. The allusion in the life is to her conduct on this occasion. Paetus was required to be his own executioner. His wife, who loved him devotedly and had declared she would die with him, took a dagger, stabbed herself, drew it out, and handed it to her husband, and said, "Paetus, it is not painful[5]." This happened A.D. 42, before Persius was eight years old. These early productions his mother kept till her death, and then, by the judicious advice of Cornutus, destroyed them.

How soon after his father's death his mother married again, it is impossible to say. But that she remained with her two children, Aulus and his sister, at Volaterrae, till the boy was old enough to go to Rome, and that she continued to superintend his education till he went to Cornutus, may be assumed. The Scholiast, on S. vi. 6, says that after the death of her first husband she married in Liguria, where Persius was staying when that Satire was written. It is more likely that she retired to this part of the country, to a house left her by her second husband, after his death, leaving her son to pursue his studies under the guidance and roof of Cornutus[6].

At this time he formed an intimate acquaintance with that Caesius Bassus to whom the last Satire is addressed, and with Calpurnius Sura, of whom however we know nothing more than the Grammarian tells us, that he died young, and that Persius survived him.

[5] See Pliny, Epp. iii. 16. Martial (i. 14) has an epigram on this event:

"Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria Paeto,
Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis,
'Si qua fides vulnus quod feci non dolet,' inquit,
'Sed quod tu facies hoc mihi, Paete, dolet.'"

[6] From Persius' way of speaking of Lunae Portus it has been supposed by some that he was born there. But independently of the express testimony of the Grammarian, there is presumptive evidence in the name of Sisennia, which is Etrurian, and in Arria his kinswoman having married Caecina, whose family were natives of Volaterrae, to confirm the statement that Persius was born there. There is of course no weight to be attached to the tradition which is mentioned only, as far as I know, in Bayle's notice of Persius in his Dictionary, that a modern family of Volterra (the Falconcini) are derived from Persius' father, who had but one son, and he died unmarried. From the same source I learn that a house was shown a century ago at Volterra as that of Persius.

The Grammarian says he reverenced as a father Servilius Nonianus, who was probably a friend of his own father. His praenomen was Marcus. He was consul the year after Persius was born, and died two years before him. He was distinguished as a public speaker and as an historian, and likewise for the purity of his life, as Tacitus says[7]. The Scholiast says that Persius' honest friend, Macrinus (Plotius, the Scholiast calls him), to whom the second Satire is addressed, lived with Servilius, and so perhaps the intimacy between these friends began.

Among his fellow-pupils was M. Annaeus Lucanus, author of the Pharsalia, a young man of great abilities, whose career, like that of Persius, was short. He was about the same age as Persius when they were studying together, and survived him not more than three years. He was put to death for joining the conspiracy of Piso against Nero, A.D. 65[8]. Jahn takes pains to show that there could be no great sympathy between the impetuous Spaniard and the quiet modest Persius; but very opposite characters are drawn into intimacy by circumstances and by particular points of mutual attraction. Lucanus praised the poetry of Persius with every appearance of sincerity, and that would be a virtue in his or any author's eyes.

It was, no doubt, through Cornutus or Lucanus that Persius became acquainted with another of the Annaei, M. Seneca, uncle of Lucanus. This acquaintance did not begin so soon as the others, and Persius was old enough to form a deliberate judgment of Seneca's character, and according to the Grammarian it was not favourable to him. That Seneca's connexion with Nero led him into acts at variance with his professed principles, is certain, and there is no reason to suppose that Persius entertained a warm affection for a man forty years older than himself, associated, with or without his own free will, with the crime of a matricide, and whose enormous wealth was chiefly accumulated through the favour of a tyrant whom Persius despised and abhorred. But the remark of the Grammarian seems to be that of one who had himself adopted the exaggerated opinion against Seneca, which the jealousy of his rivals and enemies gave rise to during his life[9].

Of the young men whom the Grammarian describes in such high terms, Claudius Agathemerus and Petronius Aristocrates, nothing is known.

[7] Ann. xiv. 19.

[8] See note on Juv. vii. 79. The age usually assigned to Lucanus at his death, twenty-six, can hardly be right. The Grammarian says he was of the same age as Persius, and he could not have been much younger, or less than thirty, in A.D. 65. [The Grammarian's words are 'aequaevum auditorem,' which perhaps need not be taken very strictly. The evidence for Lucan's age at the time of his death is very small.]

[9] The character of the younger Seneca, as a man and a writer, is temperately reviewed in Mr. Long's notice of him in the Dictionary of Biography.

The former is supposed to be the subject, with his wife Myrtale, of an epitaph of four lines on a 'cippus' preserved among the Arundel marbles, with the heads of an elderly man and woman[1]. Both these persons were Greeks, connected, as is clear from the gentilician names they bore, with Roman families of distinction.

Paetus Thrasea is mentioned by Juvenal, with his son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus (S. v. 36). His character was that of an honest man in times of the worst corruption, and his affection for Persius, which the Grammarian says lasted nearly ten years, and therefore only ended with his death (for Thrasea survived him four years), was a strong testimony to the poet's goodness. It is said they sometimes travelled together, but we are not told where they travelled. There is no trace in the writings of Persius of his having been out of Italy. Thrasea was put to death with scarcely the shadow of a pretext, A.D. 66. The Senate condemned him under compulsion.

Arria, the wife of Thrasea, was the daughter of Arria mentioned above, and it was for her Persius wrote the lines on her mother's death which were destroyed with his other juvenile productions. The relationship between Arria and Persius is not known.

His father, it appears, left a sister, and it would seem that she lived with her sister-in-law after Flaccus' death. According to the amended text of the life Persius had an only sister. It does not appear whether his mother had any family by her second marriage. His love for these ladies and his dutiful attention to them are represented as most exemplary, and to their society no doubt, as Jahn says, he owed much of that maidenly modesty and gentleness of character which the Grammarian attributes to him. That he was carefully watched and kept from temptation in boyhood may be inferred from what he says to Cornutus, S. v. 32, sqq., and the same care was shown in the selection of that good man for his teacher. His father when he died left him under a 'tutor,' whose name is not mentioned, but who there is every reason to suppose discharged his trust faithfully, for Persius died rich, leaving his mother and sister between them two millions of sesterces[2] in ready money.

His death took place on the 24th November, A.D. 62, at his own country house, eight miles from Rome, on the Appian road, which was so lined with the villas of wealthy Romans that Bovillae, four miles farther on, was sometimes called a suburb. (See note on S. vi. 52.)

[1] Κλαύδιος ἰητὴρ Ἀγαθήμερος ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι,
Παντοίης δεδαὼς κραιπνὸν ἄκεσμα νόσου.
Ξυνὸν τοῦτο δέ μοι καὶ Μυρτάλῃ εἷσα συνεύνῳ
Μνῆμα· μετ' εὐσεβέων δ' ἔσμεν ἐν Ἠλυσίῳ.

[2] About £16,000.

He wanted ten days to complete his twenty-eighth year. A paragraph in the memoir, which is from a later hand than the first part, says he died of a disease of the stomach. This is probably an invention, and there is no other evidence of the cause of his death. From the company he kept, his political feelings must have been well known, and had he lived longer he might have shared the fate of his most intimate friends, of whom Thrasea, Seneca, Lucanus, were put to death, and Cornutus was banished.

He left behind him, besides the productions of his early years above referred to, no more than the six Satires in this book[3], the last of which, as appears plain to me from the ending, as well as from the obvious meaning of the Grammarian's words, he must have left unfinished. These he probably had communicated only to his intimate friends during his life; but after his death, Cornutus, whom he probably left his executor, having slightly revised the Satires, gave them to Caesius Bassus, at his (Bassus') request, to edit. Attempts have been made to trace the corrections of Cornutus, one of those tasks that certain understandings delight in. The famous line noticed by the Grammarian (S. i. 121) may very well have been written by Persius, as he says; and though his editor could not have published it without bringing disgrace and perhaps destruction on himself, and the alteration may therefore be excused, the verse cannot be said to have been mended by the substitution of the words that now form part of the text. When the volume was published it immediately attracted attention, and was much read and admired. Since Horace no one of any ability had put forth writings of this kind, and in these Satires there was found much to remind the public of their favourite poet, combined with a great deal of originality and genius. Persius' intimate acquaintance with Horace's poems appears in a great number of passages, most of which show that unconscious imitation which is the surest sign of the minute study of an author. Casaubon has collected a large number of parallel passages from the two authors, some of which may perhaps be a little strained.

Persius is said by his biographer to have been slow in composition. This is very likely. His verse does not flow in a rapid and muddy stream like that of Lucilius, as Horace describes him (S. i. 4), but as he says himself "caedit pluteum et demorsos sapit ungues" (S. i. 106). He has evidently taken Horace's advice (S. i. 10. 69, sqq.) too literally, and corrected himself till his language has become short and the ideas condensed, to a degree that makes the sense in some places obscure. Modern readers have found great fault with the poet on this account. But I think the obscurity has been exaggerated, and that, except

[3] See note 5.

a few passages, the Satires are as free from difficulty as most of Juvenal's[4].

They were much admired by the ancients[5], and have been abundantly quoted by Grammarians, by Fathers of the Church, and mediæval writers. If certain passages are less familiar to modern ears than their fitness for quotation might lead us to expect, it is from the difficulties of the poetry, which have deterred men of our day from reading it as it deserves. The subject of the first Satire, which deals with the vicious poetical taste of the day, and has many quotations from, or imitations of, the verses of contemporary writers, would be more interesting and intelligible when it was first published than it is to us, and this Satire alone would create a large demand for the volume. The Epistle to Macrinus comes more home to ourselves as dealing with the worship of God, the selfish or worldly abuse of which is common to all ages. The introduction I have prefixed to the third Satire may perhaps lead some to read it with curiosity, and they will not be disappointed. The more I read it, the more I admire it. Self-ignorance is a large subject, which might be better handled than it is in the fourth Satire; and the folly of running after and hoarding money to be squandered by one's heirs is not done as much justice to in the sixth as it probably would have been if the poet had finished it. The fifth is generally considered the best in the book, though I myself prefer the third. In the fifth there is that tribute to the goodness of Cornutus which proves the goodness of the writer and the gracefulness with which he could write. It also shows more of the philosophical school in which Persius had been trained, without however introducing any thing more new than the Stoic doctrine that the only free man is the sage, with which Cicero and Horace had before made their readers familiar. There are more imitations of Horace in this Satire than in any other.

A writer of satire may be 'ferus et violens' with his pen, and yet very amiable in manners, as the Grammarian describes Persius to have been. He may also in those days have been chaste and modest, and yet have used language for the exposure of vice which now cannot be used, or even read without discomfort. There is nothing in Persius' style to contradict the pleasing description given of him by his biographer, which probably was quite true. More than one gem now in existence has

[4] Jul. Scaliger thought Persius wrote obscurely on purpose that fools might admire him. He is very severe on Persius. (See Scal. Poet. vi. c. 6, iii. c. 97.)

[5] Quintilian (x. 1. 94) says, "Multum et verae gloriae, quamvis uno libro, Persius meruit." Martial (iv. 29) says,

"Saepius in libro numeratur Persius uno
Quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide."

been supposed to represent the handsome features attributed to Persius, but they may be any body, and we must be content with the Grammarian's testimony to his beauty.

The publishers of this edition of Juvenal and Persius, having determined to reprint the book, asked me to correct the sheets. Though very busy about other things, I could not refuse to perform this slight service for the work of my departed friend. It is to me a cause of great regret that Mr. Macleane did not live to revise this volume. His tastes and his abilities particularly qualified him to be an editor of Juvenal and Persius; and as a first edition of such a book must be imperfect, he would certainly have improved it, if he had lived long enough. His knowledge of the world, his strong sense, quick perception, and sound judgment, applied to a second edition, might have produced a work that would have satisfied the readers of Juvenal and Persius for some time. What he has done however is well worth preserving, and I believe that future editors,—and in due time they will appear,—may find in the Introductions, Arguments, and Notes, much matter that will help them towards the meaning of the Satirists. I do not think that Mr. Macleane has often missed the sense of his authors, and he has certainly seized it sometimes where other editors have not. He possessed one quality in a striking degree—a bold and independent judgment, without which an editor is in danger of being confused and misled by a great variety of opinions. His notes show the character of his mind. He often expresses his opinion very positively, and sometimes perhaps in a way that may offend; but he had a sincere respect for good sense and sound knowledge in others; he had none of the feeble conceit which often goes with what is termed learning, and he had some reason to feel confidence in his own judgment, for few men were so quick in detecting an absurdity or went so straight to the meaning of a thing. The introduction to the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal is an evidence of his large and liberal views on a subject on which many who belong to his profession, and even others who do not, have uttered and still utter their wretched commonplaces.

I have not altered the text of this edition, and in only a few places the punctuation. I have added a collation of this text of Juvenal with that of Jahn, whose useful edition is now generally

considered the best. I have not made the collation myself, but I have examined it and I hope it is sufficient. This collation does not show the differences in orthography, where the words are the same, nor the differences in punctuation except in some cases where these differences affect the sense. I have examined all the passages in which these two texts differ, and I find a great many in which Macleane's text is better than that of Jahn, who has introduced some bad readings. I have observed a few passages in which I should prefer Jahn's text, but on the whole I think the Englishman has shown more good sense and judgment than the German.

I have added in the notes nearly all the variations of Ribbeck's text. Many of Ribbeck's variations are the same as Jahn's, but he has some of his own, and most of them seem to me bad. Some of his transpositions improve the text, but most of them do not. He has handled the sixth Satire so freely as to the transposition and omission of verses, that it would require much time and study to pass a just judgment on his labour; but it will be generally allowed that the matter of this Satire, as it stands in the common texts, is not well arranged.

I have made many small corrections in Mr. Macleane's notes, where there was some slight error or mis-statement, but I have omitted nothing and altered nothing which I believe the editor would not have omitted or corrected. He would probably have changed his opinion on some points, and would both have omitted and altered much more than I have done, for my business was not to edit Juvenal and Persius, but to preserve the work of my friend. The references in this volume are very numerous, and the causes of errors in the figures of such references are various. I have corrected a great many wrong references, and though I cannot hope that I have corrected all, I believe that the errors which remain are not many. In the references to the MSS. I have discovered a few slight errors since this book was printed, but they are not such as to require any particular notice. I have added a little in the notes here and there, where I thought it necessary. All the additions which I have made are marked thus [ ].

Ribbeck has published an essay on Juvenal ("Der Echte und der Unechte Juvenal, Berlin," 1865), which is to some extent a justification of his text. After briefly stating how much we learn from Juvenal of Roman manners from the time of Tiberius to Trajan and Hadrian, he adds that this knowledge is got exclusively from the first nine Satires and the eleventh; that the tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth supply scarcely any information of the kind. They contain mere allusions to well-known names and persons, or introduce characters of various kinds, which are not marked by any individuality. The genuine Juvenal is a follower of Lucilius, and though he did not lash his con-

temporaries, the personages on whom he pours out his indignation are those with whom he and his contemporaries were well acquainted, and they are those of whom mention is made by Tacitus, Suetonius, the younger Pliny, and Martial. In the spurious Satires, on the contrary, which are the work of a Declamator, as Ribbeck calls him, the few names which may belong to contemporaries of Juvenal are with some exceptions totally unknown. These Satires also give us little information on manners or events in Rome, while nearly every line of the genuine Satires contains instructive matter. The Declamator abounds in allusions to Greek and Roman history and to mythical legends. Even Moses is introduced to us. It is true that the writer of the genuine Satires shows that he was well acquainted with Greek and Roman history; but he handles his matter like a man of sense, who knows the world, while the Declamator writes like a pedant.

The Declamator, who tells us little about Rome, treats us with a great deal about foreign parts, and in the fifteenth Satire he even takes us into Egypt; and yet, as Ribbeck maintains, he dces not even know that Canopus (xv. 44, and the note) is in Egypt.

It has been observed also, he adds, that the Declamator has a turn for philosophy, but the genuine Juvenal scarcely indicates any taste for such speculation. He never uses the word Sapientia, which the Declamator prizes highly, and, following the Stoic doctrine, declares that Nature and Philosophy teach the same thing (xiii. 189). He seems also to have collected some of his philosophical matter from other writers; for instance, Sat. x. 28, &c., greatly resembles a passage in Seneca De Tranquillitate Animi, c. 15, 'Democritum potius;' and the matter of a passage in Sat. x. 346 may have been derived from Valerius Maximus, vii. 2, Ext. 1 (see the note on that passage).

From this brief statement the reader may collect the nature of the general objections to the genuineness of the five Satires which Ribbeck attributes to an unknown Declamator. He supports his general conclusion by an examination of many passages, and he employs a chapter of three-and-seventy well filled pages in belabouring the unfortunate Declamator, to whom, as far as I have observed, he allows no merit at all, not even to the few lines which may be admired by those who do not value all the Declamator's poetry. Those who will take the pains to read Ribbeck's satirical remarks on the false Satirist, will be amused and instructed, if they shall not be convinced. In fact he has undertaken to prove what is often difficult to prove, and sometimes impossible; to show from a comparison of writings, attributed to the same person, that some are genuine and some are not. But he evidently has confidence in his own conclusion, and he presses it so hard that he sometimes misunderstands or affects not to understand that which others may find

no difficulty about. So far as this I admit: he has proved clearly enough that there are very manifest differences between the matter and the style of the ten Satires which he assigns to Juvenal, and the five which he has handled so unmercifully. These five Satires are marred by great faults, and contain comparatively few good lines. They are indeed feeble compositions as satires, when compared with the vigorous work of the earlier pieces, the best of which are perhaps those which cannot be read with young men. If any Satire of the five is to be excepted from this general condemnation, it is the thirteenth; but many parts even of that Satire are open to just censure. As to the famous tenth, if we do not except to the matter, we may allow that there is some merit in the manner in which the subject is treated; but even if this admission is made, it is still nothing more than a frothy declamation. Both the matter and the style of the tenth form a striking contrast to another Satire, the third, which is justly admired. It is a living picture.

The question then is, whether the same man wrote or could write all these Satires, a question which Ribbeck answers by affirming that he could not; and he labours hard to prove his assertion. But it is impossible to say what a man may do in the way of writing, for the same men have written wise books and foolish books, bad poetry and good poetry. The same difficulty exists as to some of Cicero's orations, which are so bad that some excellent critics maintain that Cicero could not have written them; but on the other hand there are critics, both old and new, who admire the spurious orations, and think they are very fine.

As to the sixteenth Satire, which is manifestly a fragment, it is admitted by Ribbeck that this may be a piece of the true Juvenal's work.

In a second chapter Ribbeck discusses the interpolations in the ten Satires. His hypothesis, he says, about the five Declamations would fare badly, if we accepted the ten Satires in their present form as the genuine work of Juvenal; for all the faults which have led him to reject the five Declamations, are found here and there in the ten Satires; and these bits of patchwork resemble so much the whole texture of the five Declamations, that if we allow them to stand where they are, we must admit that the poet could exhibit in the same Satire the skill of a master and the stupidity of a bungler. However, there is no necessity, he says, for this admission, for the ten Satires are disfigured by interpolations which have been remarked on by many recent critics; and indeed nobody who has read Juvenal with any care will deny that there are interpolated verses. Ribbeck has only increased the number of them. There are two long passages, which Ribbeck assumes

to be interpolations, and his judgment on them may be viewed as a challenge to all those who maintain that they are genuine. His reputation as a critic will depend on his success or failure in establishing his opinion. The fourth Satire, as it stands, has an introduction of thirty-six verses, which have been added, as Ribbeck assumes, by some unskilful hand. He is not the first critic or reader who has felt some surprise at finding a long Prologue to nothing, for the first thirty-six lines have no connexion with the real subject of the Satire, though there are critics who admire this Prologue and think it is appropriate and a fine piece of composition. The beginning of the Prologue announces that Crispinus is again brought on the stage, and the writer declares his intention to summon him often to play his part. We expect that we are going to read a terrible invective against the fellow; but after a few general remarks about his villany, we are told that the present Satire will only treat of his smaller offences, and then comes the particular charge against him of buying a fish at an enormous price, and eating it himself. The mention of the fish is supposed by the admirers of the Prologue to be a clever way of connecting the introduction with the real Satire, the subject of which is the great fish that was presented to Domitian. But what becomes of Crispinus after this flourish? He plays a most insignificant part in the scene before the Emperor, and says not a word about the big fish, though something would have been very much to the purpose from a man who was a buyer of fish, and in his early days cried them through the streets of Rome. If Juvenal wrote this Prologue to the Satire, we cannot commend his taste. Ribbeck goes into particulars, and examines various parts of this Prologue in order to confirm his general condemnation of it.

The other long passage, which Ribbeck treats as an interpolation, is the Introduction of fifty-five lines which is prefixed to the eleventh Satire. This Introduction resembles that to the fourth Satire in this respect, that if you cut it off, you lose nothing of the real Satire, which is an invitation to a friend to come and dine with Juvenal. This friendly epistle is a charming composition, and reminds us, as Ribbeck observes, of Horace's humour and genial temper. If Juvenal wrote the Prologue, he would have done better if he had commenced his epistle at once without a preface.

This Essay also contains a short chapter on verses which have been transposed in Juvenal's text, and on the passages where something appears to have been lost. The last chapter, written in Latin, is on the famous sixth Satire, the disorderly arrangement of which the learned critic has attempted to correct.

This ingenious Essay contains matter which a future editor of Juvenal

must examine carefully. I think that many of Ribbeck's criticisms on particular passages may be answered, but it seems to me impossible to read the work of the so-called Declamator without feeling the great difference between him and the writer of the ten undisputed Satires. Whether that difference is best explained by assuming that we have two writers under one name, or on some other hypothesis, is a matter which every reader must determine for himself.

The peculiar difficulty of Persius consists in the arrangement of the dialogue or supposed dialogue. There are also a few passages which perhaps no editor has yet satisfactorily explained. I think Mr. Macleane has handled the matter well, though he may be mistaken sometimes. I agree with what he says of Jahn's copious commentary. Jahn's edition is a most laborious and useful work, and his commentary is full of learning. But the good sense is not equal to the learning, and he is sometimes completely wrong in his explanation. I prefer Heinrich's briefer and less learned notes.

GEORGE LONG.

April, 1867.

COLLATION

OF

THE EDITIONS OF

MACLEANE AND JAHN.

SATIRA I.

LINE	MACLEANE.	JAHN.
2	Codri	Cordi
52	Sed quid magis Heracleas	Sed quid magis? Heracleas
61	Flaminiam puer? Automedon	Flaminiam, puer Automedon
62	Ipse . . . amicae	Ipse . . . amicae?
74	aliquis:	aliquid
86	nostri est farrago libelli.	nostri farrago libelli est.
144-5	senectus. It nova	senectus, et nova
148	cupient facientque	facient cupientque
156	gutture	pectore
159	despiciat	despiciet

SATIRA II.

LINE	MACLEANE.	JAHN.
5	invenies	invenias
31	ipsis	ipsi
38	Ad quem	atque ita
43	leges ac jura, citari	leges, at jure citari
81	contacta	conspecta
83	venit	fuit
98		after this line a lacuna
107	in facie	in faciem
138	nequeunt	nequeant
146	Catulis	Catuli
150	Et contum	Cocytum
158-9	laurus. Illuc heu	laurus Illic. Heu

SATIRA III.

LINE	MACLEANE.	JAHN.
12-20		In following order—17, 18, 19, 20, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16
18	praestantius	praesentius
37	libet	jubet
46	norint	norunt
77-8	omnia novit. Graeculus	omnia novit Graeculus
79	Ad summam	In summa
94	nullo	pullo,
104		[ ]
105-6	vultum, A facie jactare	vultum A facie, jactare
109	et	nec
134	atque	aut
168	negavit	negabis
177	similemque	similesque
195	Villicus et veteris rimae contexit hiatum,	Vilicus et, veteris rimae cum texit hiatum,
210	Aerumnae cumulus	Aerumnae est cumulus
218	Haec	Hic
232	illum	ipsum
240	Liburno	liburna
252	quot	quas
305	rem,	rem.
307	pinus:	pinus,
318	Innuit.	Annuit.

SATIRA IV.

LINE	MACLEANE.	JAHN.
3-4	aeger solaque libidine fortis: Delicias viduae tantum aspernatur	aegrae solaque libidine fortes Deliciae, viduas tantum spernatur
9	vittata	vitiata
24	papyro.	papyro,
25	pretium squamae.	pretio squamam.
43	torpentis	torrentis
67	saginis	saginae
120	laevum	laevam
148	tanquam diversis	tanquam et diversis
149	penna	pinna

SATIRA V.

LINE	MACLEANE.	JAHN.
10	possis cum	cum possit
42	illic	illi
51		[Non . . . querebar,]
63	vocatus	rogatus
83	Quum	Dum
90	lavatur,	lavatur.
91	Quod . . . Afros	[Quod . . . atris]
96	patitur	patimur
121	spectas	spectes
128	sumitque	sumitve
134	Ex nihilo fieres, quantus	Ex nihilo, quantus fieres
135	istis	ipsis
140		[ ]
142	simul	semel
145	Ad mensam	Ac mensam,

SATIRA VI.

LINE	MACLEANE.	JAHN.
34	pusio	pugio
35	„	„
„	a te	ex te
46	mediam	nimiam
65	amplexu; subitum et miserabile	amplexu subito et miserabile,
70	Acci	acne
120	Sed	Et
123	Constitit	Prostitit
137	quingenta	quingena
138	Veneris pharetris	pharetris Veneris
152	et	sed
166	ferat	feret
172	depone	dea pone
271	Tum	Cum
276	curruca	Uruca
277	quas	quot
285	a crimine	e crimine
295	istos	Indos
307-8		In order 308, 307
316	Priapum	Priapi
321	et	ac
328	It toto pariter	Ac pariter toto
357		omits est
363	at	ac
383	operam	operas
385	alti	Appi
386	Cum	Et
395	ut	quod
399	quam	quae
401	strictisque	siccisque
439	loquatur	loquetur
441	tot tintinnabula	ac tintinnabula
449	curtum	curvum
461-6		In following order 464-6, 461-3
464	veniet lota	lota veniunt
509	marito	mariti
585	dabunt	dabit
„	Indus	inde
603	atque	saepe
609	ridens	semper
611	valeant	valeat
640	facinus tamen	facinus: tamen
643	saeva	torva

SATIRA VII.

LINE	MACLEANE.	JAHN.
15		[ ]
23	croceae . . . tabellae	crocea . . . tabella
36	Accipe nunc artes ne	Accipe nunc artes. Ne
37-8	relicta. Ipse	relicta, ipse
45	constent	constant
48	tenuique	tenuisque
50	ambitiosi	ambitiosum

LINE	MACLEANE.	JAHN.
51		[ ]
58	aptusque	avidusque
60	thyrsumve	thyrsumque
„	moesta	sana
63	Quis	Qui
87	vendat	vendit
88	largitur	largitus
100	Namque oblita modi	Nullo quippe modo
101	multa crescit	crescit multa
120	Afrorum	Maurorum
121	egisti. Si	egisti, si
124	libet	licet
149	imponere	ponere
156	diversa parte	diversae forte
159	laeva in parte	laeva parte
160	Arcadio	Arcadico
165	accipe quod do	accipe, quid do,
177	scindens	scindes
185	condat	condiat
201	triumphos	triumphum
212	magistri ?	magistri.
214	qui	quem
235	annos	annis
242	cures et	cura ; sed

SATIRA VIII.

2	pictosque	pictos
4	humeroque	umerosque
7		[ ]
27	Silanus, quocunque	Silanus. Quocunque
28-9	ovanti. Exclamare	ovanti, Exclamare
33	pravam	parvam
38	sis	sic
40	Plaute	Blande
68	primum	privum
90	regum	rerum
95-6		Order 96, 95
95	reliquit ?	relinquit,
105	Inde Dolabella est atque	Inde Dolabellae atque
109	eripietur	eripiatur
111-12		[ ]
123	relinques	relinques.
124		[ ]
„	jacula	jaculum
125	sententia : verum	sententia, verum est
131	Tunc licet	Tu licet
155	torvumque	robumque
169	bello, Armeniae	bello Armeniae Syriaeque,
195	pone	poni
199	illud	illic
204	librata	vibrata
222	Galba ? Quid	Galba, Quod
229	tu	seu
233	parastis	paratis
239	gente	monte
241	et tituli, quantum non	ac tituli, quantum in
270	Vulcaniaque	Vulcanique

SATIRA IX.

LINE	MACLEANE.	JAHN
6	erat	erit
25	celebrare	scelerare
80	servabit	servavit
106	E medio (clamant omnes)	E medio jaceant omnes,
118	tunc his	tunc est
119-20		[ ]
123		After 118 with full stop at end
„	possim	possis
143	locata	locatum
146	fingit	pingit

SATIRA X.

LINE	MACLEANE.	JAHN
11	admirandusque	admirandisque
21	umbram	umbras
30	alter	auctor
37	medio	medii
54	aut	aut vel
55	incerare	incerate
61	stridunt	strident
64	patellae	matellae
70	indiciis	indicibus
93	angusta	augusta
94	Vis certe pila, cohortes, . . . domestica.	Vis certe, pila cohortes, . . . domestica?
97	tantum	tanti
112	et	ac
116	partam	parcam
138	ac	et
145	ficus	fici
183	sane quod non	sane. Quid? non
184	Credidit.	Credidit?
211	citharoedus	citharoedo
304	viros	viro
322-3	Catulla? Deterior totos	Catulla Deterior:
326	fastidita; repulsa	fastidita, repulso
341	aures	aurem
344	melius leviusque	levius meliusque
365	abest	habes

SATIRA XI.

LINE	MACLEANE.	JAHN
6	ardens	ardent
30	nec enim	neque enim
31-2	Ulixes Ancipitem; seu	Ulixes, Ancipitem seu
38	crumena	culina
49	Ostia	ostrea
54	ridiculum fugientem	ridiculum et fugientem
58	Sed	Si
94	Oceani	Oceano
99		[ ]
108		[ ]

LINE	MACLEANE.	JAHN.
113	Oceano	Oceani
118	hos . . . in usus	hoc . . . ad usus
130	comparat	comparet
148	erit et magno. Quum	erit; in magno cum
156	pugillares	pupillares
163	Incipiat	Incipiant
165-6		[ ]
166	narrasse	narrare

SATIRA XII.

17	fulguris	fulminis
23	si	quam
24	discriminis; audi	discriminis audi
32	Arboris	Arbori
33	conferret	cum ferret
46	escalia	escaria
50-1		[ ]
54	Decidit	Reccidit
„	hac re	ac se
71	Lavino	Lavinio
81	sinus, gaudent ubi	sinus. Gaudent ibi
101	promittunt	promittant

SATIRA XIII.

18	proficis usu	proficit usus
26	numerus vix est	numero vix sunt
28	Nona	Nunc
65	aut miranti	vel mirandis
84	inquit, "flebile nati	inquit flebile, "nati
107	Confirmant.	Confirmat,
115	Debueras	Debueris
140	Te nunc	Ten, o
141	Ponendum? Qui tu	Ponendum, quia tu
197	aut	et
211	cessat,	cessat.
213	cibo; sed vina	cibo, Setina

SATIRA XIV.

11	puero	puerum
24-5	carcer Rusticus? Expectas	carcer? Rusticus exspectas
33	subeunt	subeant
45	puer	pater
„	hinc	ah
49	obsistat	obstet
83	levabit	levarit
111	laudatur	laudetur

LINE.	MACLEANE.	JAHN.
131	aestivam	aestivi
147	mittuntur	mittentur
152	foedae	foede
158	post haec	posthac
206	poetae	poeta
216	Quum	Ast cum
219	Exigua, Cereris	Exigua, et Cereris
229		[ ]
238	acquirere	anquirere
312	habitatorem, quanto	habitatorem. Quanto
315	abest	habes

SATIRA XV.

20	Cyanea	Cyaneis
26	hoc	haec
27	Junio	Junco
75	praestantibus omnibus, instant	praestant instantibus Ombis
104	Viribus abnuerit	Ventribus abnueret
108	putat	putant
134	casum lugentis	causam dicentis
142	credat	credit

SATIRA XVI.

2	Quod	Nam
25	ab Urbe Praeterea ?	ab Urbe ? Praeterea
45	tum	jam
56	labor	favor

D. JUNII JUVENALIS

SATIRARUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

SATIRA I.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS satire, for reasons stated in v. 47, could not have been written before A.D. 100 and was probably not written long after that date. Heinrich, whose judgment I have a great respect for, says it is not so much a satire as a preface or introduction to a volume of satires. It is certainly a satire as severe as any in the book. Juvenal had probably written others before it, but I do not see enough in this poem to entitle it to be called a preface. He says all the passions of men from the flood downwards are the hodge-podge of his book—"nostri farrago libelli" (v. 86)—and he has touched upon a good many of them in this satire, which may be the 'libellus' he means. If not, he must have been intending to publish a collection; for 'libellus' must mean something definite, either one poem or a collection. He begins with supposing himself persuaded by some person not to write, as Horace pretends with Trebatius (S.ii. 1). But the times are such, he says, that he cannot help it; and while there are so many indifferent poets spouting their lines every where, he may as well write as others. He then goes into a detail of some of the vile features of society; among which are the voluntary degradation of women; their lewdness; the preferment of slaves and informers; the impunity of robbers, and forgers, and murderers; men selling the honour of their wives; women poisoning their husbands; incest and adultery undisguised; avarice, gambling, extravagance, gluttony; the contempt and neglect of the poor by the rich; magistrates degraded into beggars. The burst about the poets and their recitations is only a way of introducing humorously the graver matters that follow. A good deal of what was recited was no doubt bad enough; but Juvenal's quarrel was not with his literary brethren, whose cause he takes up, as well as their recitations, in the seventh satire. They have in reality nothing to do with the satire as such, though Juvenal pretends they have. The arguments prefixed to the MSS. treat this satire as a preface to the rest. Ruperti, on the other hand, thinks it was written before all the others, and Dryden that it is "the natural groundwork of all the rest;" for "herein he confines himself to no one subject, but strikes indifferently at all men in his way; in every following satire he has chosen some particular moral which he would inculcate, and lashes some particular vice or folly." I see no proofs one way or the other. It might have been written first or last for any evidence I can find in the poem itself, irrespective of the sign of the date noticed above, which puts it later perhaps than some.

ARGUMENT.

Am I always to be a listener, and shall I never pay these poets back in their own coin? I know all their subjects by heart; all of them, bad and good, handle the same, till the

very marble is split with their noise. I too have been to school; I too have learnt to declaim; and if paper must be wasted, why should not I write too?

V. 19. My reason for following in Horace's steps is this—when eunuchs are marrying wives, and women are exhibiting in the arena, when a barber is challenging with his wealth all the nobility, and slaves are clad in purple and affecting their summer rings, it is impossible to abstain from satire. Who can restrain himself when fat Matho comes by in his litter, and the great informer after him, the terror of all little informers; when you are thrust from your rights by wretches who get your inheritance by satisfying an old woman's lewdness? Is it not enough to make one's blood boil to see the robber treading on people's heels with his crowd of sycophants, while his ward is left to prostitution? and Marius going off into exile to enjoy himself with the spoils of his province? What does he care for infamy if he keeps his plunder? Are these not fit themes for the muse of Venusia? What have I to do with the old hackneyed topics when wretches are found to wink at their wives' intrigues, and take the property of the adulterer which the law will not give to the woman; when a spendthrift expects to be promoted to high places for the skill with which he handles the reins while the great man lounges with his minion behind? Does not one feel inclined to take out one's tablets in the very street when the forger comes lounging along in his open litter, and the great lady meets him who has drugged her husband's wine and has taught her young neighbours shamelessly to do the same? You must be a bold miscreant if you want to be somebody. Honesty is praised and left to starve. To crime men owe all their fine gardens, and houses, and furniture. Who can sleep for the incest and adultery that is going on? If nature refuses, indignation draws the pen, though it be but such as mine or Cluvienus'.

V. 80. All the passions of men from the deluge to this day are the motley subjects of my book. When was the harvest of vice more abundant? when did avarice so fill its bags? When had the die such spirit as now when men play not for the contents of their purse but of their chest? Look at the hotness of the encounter! A hundred sestertia lost and the poor shivering slave without a tunic; is not this something more than madness? Which of our ancestors ever built such villas, or dined by himself off seven courses? Now-a-days the poor client has to scramble for a paltry dole grudgingly and cautiously given, and from this he is elbowed by some great pauper who must have his share first; or else some well-to-do freedman cries, "I came first, and must be first served; I am rich too, and riches are better than rank." And of course the claim must be allowed; the rich slave before the poor magistrate, for though money has not yet had a temple and altars, her majesty is above all others sacred. But if our high officers are not above reckoning upon the sportula, what will their followers do who get all they have from this source? Crowds of litters come up for the dole, and all kind of fraud goes on.

V. 127. The first event of this day is this sportula: then they sally forth to the forum, with its statues of heroes, among whom some paltry Arabarch has got himself set up. In the afternoon they come home; and at the porch the hungry clients take leave of their patron and their long-cherished hope of a dinner, and retire to buy their bit of cabbage, while the great man sits down to the fat of the land and the sea, and eats up a whole fortune off a single table. Who can endure this beastly selfishness? What a belly that sits down to a whole boar by itself! But the penalty follows quick when you go down to bathe with your meat crude upon your stomach—sudden death and intestacy, the gossip of every dinner-table, and the delight of your angry friends.

V. 147. Our sons can add nothing to our vices, which have climbed to the highest point; so set your sails, my Muse, and bear down upon the enemy. "But where is your talent for such great themes? where are you to get your liberty of speech? Mucius may have pardoned his satirist, but mark down a Tigellinus and you will share the

Christians' fate." "Is the murderer then to ride on high and to look down upon us?" "Aye, when he meets you shut your lips, or the informer's finger will be upon you. You may write of Aeneas, and Achilles, and Hylas as much as you please. When Lucilius draws his weapon and rushes on to the attack, every hearer with sore conscience blushes, and this is why they are angry; so you had better think of this before you put on your armour, for after that it will be too late." "Well then I must try what I can do with those who are sleeping by the Flaminian and the Latin roads."

Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam
Vexatus toties rauci Theseide Codri?
Impune ergo mihi recitaverit ille togatas,
Hic elegos? impune diem consumpserit ingens
Telephus, aut summi plena jam margine libri
Scriptus et in tergo, nec dum finitus, Orestes?

1. *Semper ego auditor tantum?*] See Introduction. In the time of Augustus it had become common for all sorts of writers, but particularly poets, to recite their productions in public places, baths, colonnades, and so forth; or to get their friends and acquaintance together to hear them in private houses or rooms hired for the purpose. The practice was adopted by literary men of character as well as the inferior sort; the example having been first set, as is said, by Asinius Pollio, the friend and patron of Horace and others. Horace refers to it familiarly, and many of the authorities are quoted on S. i. 4. 73. It was considered a nuisance in his day; and the last of his poems ends with a stroke at these reciters:

"Indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus;
Quem vero arripuit tenet occiditque legendo,
Non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo." (A. P. fin.)

Pliny the younger, writing about the time of this satire, speaks with a good deal of indulgence of the practice, and regrets that the reciters are not encouraged by larger audiences. He says he attended them all and made friends with them (Epp. i. 13).

2. *Theseide Codri?*] The Scholiast writes Cordi, and P. has the same. Servius on Virg. xi. 458, as well as all the other MSS., has Codri. Cordus is a Roman name. Codrus is used below, S. iii. 203. 208, and is so written in the same MS., except that a later hand has introduced Cordus. Codrus is used by Martial, ii. 57; v. 26, and by Virgil, Ecl. v. 113; vii. 26. It is in every case, as here, a fictitious name; though Servius on the latter place says, "Codrus poëta ejusdem temporis fuit ut Valgius in Elegis suis refert." Cordus is said to have been the Roman name of Horace's Iarbitas (Epp. i. 19. 15). The story of Theseus furnished subjects for epic poems and tragedies, and this may have been either, probably an epic, as comedy, elegy, and tragedy come after.

3. *Impune ergo mihi*] 'Impune' reminds us of Horace's "Obturem patulas impune legentibus aures" (Epp. ii. 2. 105), and "nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor" (Epp. i. 19. 39). He paid his friends in their own coin. This is expressed in 'reponam,' which means 'to repay.' Pliny, in the epistle quoted above, has a good-humoured sentence which illustrates this: "Possum jam repetere secessum et scribere aliquid quod non recitem, ne videar quorum recitationibus affui non auditor fuisse sed creditor. Nam ut ceteris in rebus ita in audiendi officio perit gratia si reposcatur." 'Togatae' were comedies with Roman plots and characters, as opposed to 'palliatae,' which were Grecian. See Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 57, n.; and as to 'elegos' see A. P. 75, n. Heinrich adopts from one MS. 'cantaverit' for 'recitaverit,' which appears in every other MS. and edition. Juvenal uses 'cantat' below, x. 178, and might have used it here.

4. *ingens Telephus,*] Telephus, king of Mysia, was a son of Hercules, and a fertile subject for tragedy. (See Hor. A. P. 96, n.) His strength is said to have approached that of his father, and no doubt was magnified by the poets Juvenal refers to. 'Ingens' Ruperti, Heinrich, and others correctly refer to the length of the poem; others to the prowess of the man.

5. *summi plena jam margine libri*] This is meant to show the length of the poem. The back of the papyrus, or parchment (membrana), was not usually written upon, but stained; whence Juvenal speaks below of "croceae membrana tabellae" (vii. 23).

Nota magis nulli domus est sua quam mihi lucus
Martis, et Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum
Vulcani. Quid agant venti, quas torqueat umbras
Aeacus, unde alius furtivae devehat aurum
Pelliculae, quantas jaculetur Monychus ornos,
Frontonis platani convulsaque marmora clamant
Semper et assiduo ruptae lectore columnae.
Exspectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.

Martial has this epigram on one Picens, a bad poet:

"Scribit in aversa Picens epigrammata charta,
Et dolet averso quod facit illa deo."—
(viii. 62.)

Such writings were called 'Opisthographi.' 'Liber' properly belongs only to books of papyrus ('chartae'); but it was not confined to those (see Dict. Ant. 'Liber'). It was usual to have a wide margin; and the larger the book the wider the margin. Priscian (vi. 3. 16, p. 684) quotes this passage to show that 'margo' is sometimes of the feminine gender. The Scholiast makes the same remark, and quotes Ov. Met. i. 13 for the masculine. [It is difficult to give a satisfactory meaning to 'summi libri,' unless it can mean a very large 'liber.']

7. *lucus Martis,*] These are such subjects as Horace speaks of, A. P. 16.sq.: "lucus et ara Dianae, Et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros," &c. The Scholiast refers to a grove of Mars on the Appian Way, to another in which Ilia brought forth Romulus and Remus, and that in Colchis where the golden fleece was kept. Any grove of Mars will do, and there were many. Of the group of islands north of Sicily called Aeoliae, Vulcaniae, or Liparaeae Insulae, the most southerly is that now called Volcano, by the Romans Hiera or Vulcani Insula, and by the Greeks Ἱερὰ Ἡφαίστου. Virgil describes it in language which leaves little doubt that this is the place Juvenal refers to (Aen. viii. 416—422). Ruperti thinks Aetna must be meant, because the cave is said to be 'near' the Aeolian rocks, whereas Hiera is one of them; which is not worth considering. This island was in early times a very active volcano (See Smith's Dict. Geog., 'Aeoliae Ins.'). Heinrich says that in 'lucus Martis,' and the cave of Vulcan, and 'Quid agant venti,' Juvenal had his eye upon Valerius Flaccus, whose Argonautica were written about this time. See lib. i. 573, sqq.; v. 252, sq.

9. *Quid agant venti,*] 'What the winds are about.' The winds follow naturally the mention of the Aeoliae Insulae, one of which is said to have been the abode of the governor of the winds. Strabo says it was Strongyle (Stromboli), ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸν Αἴολον οἰκῆσαί φασι (vi. p. 276). See Pliny, H. N. iii. 9; Heyn. Exc. i. on Aen. i.

10. *unde alius*] Jason from Colchis. Horace uses the form 'pellicula' (S. ii. 5. 38); and Persius (v. 116). It has no diminutive force, and is only used for convenience.

11. *jaculetur Monychus ornos,*] In Ovid (Met. xii. 510, sqq.) Nestor relates how Monychus and the other centaurs tore up the trees from Othrys and Pelion, and hurled them upon Caeneus at the marriage of his friend Peirithous.

12. *Frontonis platani*] The gardens and corridors of private persons were lent, it appears, for this purpose. Fronto is a name which occurs often under the empire. The most distinguished was M. Cornelius Fronto the orator, who was one of the tutors of M. Aurelius Antoninus. The man in the text may be any body. The exaggeration of the speaker's powers, and the applause of his friends, are amusing, and the verses very forcible. In the peristylia of large houses trees of considerable size were grown. "Inter varias nutritur silva columnas" (Hor. Epp. i. 10. 22). The plane tree was much cultivated by the Romans. Compare Hor. C. ii. 15. 4: "platanusque caelebs Evincet ulmos." 'Convulsa' and 'ruptae' Grangaeus says are medical words, as if the pillars were in a state of convulsion and bursting blood-vessels: "Rupti convulsique dicuntur qui nervorum affectione et spasmo laborant; sed et eadem ratione sic apellantur qui nimio clamore venis tumescentes offenderunt." As to the construction 'ruptae lectore,' see Hor. i. 6. 2, n. Servius quotes this verse on Virgil: "Et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae" (Georg. iii. 328).

14. *Exspectes eadem*] "You may look for the same stuff from all sorts of poets, from the greatest to the least: I then (ergo) must write, for I too have been to school and been whipped and declaimed; and since paper

Et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos
Consilium dedimus Sullae privatus ut altum
Dormiret. Stulta est clementia, quum tot ubique
Vatibus occurras, periturae parcere chartae.
  Cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo
Per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus,
Si vacat et placidi rationem admittitis, edam.
Quum tener uxorem ducat spado; Maevia Tuscum
Figat aprum et nuda teneat venabula mamma;
Patricios omnes opibus quum provocet unus,
Quo tondente gravis juveni mihi barba sonabat;

must be spoilt, mercy would be thrown away: I may as well spoil it as others." [The verse 'Exspectes..poeta' is rejected by Ribbeck, following the suggestion of Dobree.] Schoolboys will not want to be told what 'manum ferulae subducere' means; but it appears the commentators are not agreed. It corresponds to Horace's "didicit prius extimuitque magistrum" (A. P. 415). Grangaeus quotes several authorities for the expression, which passed into a proverb.

16. *Consilium dedimus Sullae*] Jahn on the authority of many of the MSS. writes 'Syllae;' but all inscriptions where the name occurs have 'Sula' or 'Sulla.' The Greek form is Σύλλας. The theme on which he professes to have declaimed belongs to the order called "suasoriae orationes," of which a book was written by the elder Seneca. It appears to have been a favourite subject. Quintilian says (Inst. iii. 8), "neque enim ignoro plerumque exercitationis gratia poni et poëticas et historicas, ut *Priami verba* apud Achillem, aut *Sullae dictaturam deponentis* in contione." The advice is, that Sulla should purchase sleep by laying down his power. He did so, B.C. 79, and died next year in retirement. 'Suasoriae' were distinguished from 'controversiae,' and belonged rather to boys' schools. See note on Pers. iii. 45.

20. *Auruncae flexit alumnus,*] Suessa, in Campania, the later capital of the Aurunci, whose original town Aurunca (five miles from Suessa) was destroyed by the Sidicini (Livy viii. 15), was called Suessa Aurunca, to distinguish it from Suessa Pometia, an Alban colony in Latium, from which the Pomptine marshes were named. Suessa Aurunca was the birth-place of Lucilius.

21. *Si vacat et*] On the authority of P. which has 'si placat ac,' Jahn has adopted 'ac.' All other MSS. and editions have 'et' [except Ribbeck, who has 'ac.']

22. *Maevia Tuscum Figat aprum*] This refers to the 'venationes,' or fights with wild beasts at the circus and amphitheatres. The beasts fought with each other, or with men trained for the purpose and called 'bestiarii.' Of these many were free men and volunteers fighting for pay, and among them were sometimes found even women (see ii. 53), which seems to have happened first in the year A.D. 63, in the reign of Nero. "Spectacula gladiatorum idem annus habuit pari magnificentia ac priora: sed faeminarum illustrium senatorumque plures per arenam foedati sunt." (Tac. Ann. xv. 32.) Suetonius mentions the magnificent games of Domitian: "Spectacula magnifica assidue et sumptuosa edidit—venationes gladiatoresque—nec virorum modo pugnas sed et faeminarum." Juvenal refers to them again (S. vi. 246, sq.) and his contemporary, Statius, does the same, Silv. i. 6. 53, sqq.:

> "Stat sexus rudis insciusque ferri,
> Et pugnas capit improbus viriles.
> Credas ad Tanain ferumve Phasin
> Thermodontiacas calere turmas."

The practice was put down more than a century later by a senatusconsultum, in the reign of Sept. Severus. The boars of Etruria were particularly large. Lucania and Umbria were also famous for these beasts (Hor. S. ii. 3. 234, n.). The women are said to hunt with their breasts bare like the Amazons, to whom they are likened by Statius in the above extract. M. and many other MSS. have Nevia for Maevia. Martial has the former name.

25. *Quo tondente*] There was a barber, Licinus, mentioned by Horace (A. P. 301), of whom the Scholiast there says that he was made a senator by C. Julius Caesar. There appears to have been some such story connected with a low man of this name, for it passed into a proverb. It may or may not

Quum pars Niliacae plebis, quum verna Canopi
Crispinus, Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,
Ventilet aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmae:
Difficile est satiram non scribere. Nam quis iniquae
Tam patiens Urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se,
Causidici nova quum veniat lectica Mathonis
Plena ipso; post hunc magni delator amici

have been the man spoken of below, S. i. 109; xiv. 306; Persius ii. 36. See my note on the above passage of Horace. The verse is repeated Sat. x. 226. With the preceding it is wanting in some MSS.

26. *verna Canopi Crispinus,*] Canopus, or Canobus, which gave its name to one of the branches of the Nile, was about fifteen miles from Alexandria, and a town of dissolute morals, as seaports are wont to be. It is for this reason that Juvenal makes his upstart Crispinus a native of Canopus. How he commended himself to Domitian, and rose to be an eques, does not appear. One of the Scholiasts says he was a paper-seller of Alexandria. Juvenal attacks him again, in the fourth Satire, in the vilest terms. 'Verna' was a slave born in his master's house: this man was therefore a 'libertinus.'

27. *Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,*] The 'lacerna' was a loose cloak worn over the 'toga.' It was usually of costly dye and material, being worn chiefly by the rich. Stapylton translates the words 'humero revocante' 'which falling off his shoulders still revoke;' and some commentators take it in this way. Gifford has—

"Crispinus, while he gathers now, now flings
His purple open, fans his summer rings."

He means that the man is showing off the fine texture of his cloak; and he quotes Ammianus Marcellinus (xiv. 6): "Alii summum decus in ambitioso vestium cultu ponentes sudant sub ponderibus lacernarum, quas collis insertas cingulis ipsis adnectunt, nimia subteminum tenuitate perflabiles, expectantes crebris agitationibus, maximeque sinistra, ut longiores fimbriae tunicaeque perspicere luceant." The words describe the way in which the cloak was worn, hitched up on the left shoulder by a brooch or something of that sort, and floating in the wind, so that the shoulder seems to pull it back. Graevius takes 'lacernas' with 'ventilet,' and conjectures 'aestivo auro.' This man appears to have had light rings for summer, and heavier for winter. That he wore a gold ring does not prove that he was an eques, for by the emperors after Tiberius the privilege was given to the lowest of the people (Hor. S. ii. 7. 9, n.).

30. *iniquae Tam patiens Urbis,*] 'So tolerant of the town's iniquities.'

32. *lectica Mathonis*] This man is mentioned below (vii. 129) as a bankrupt, and (xi. 34) as a blustering fellow. Martial mentions him repeatedly as a profligate (vii. 10), a beggar (viii. 42; xi. 68), a ranter (iv. 81), a coxcombical speaker (x. 46). He was so fat as to fill his litter, which was new as his fortunes were, and short-lived. As to the 'lectica,' or palankeen, see Becker's Gallus, Exc. on the Carriages, and Dict. Ant. Also Hor. S. ii. 3. 214, n.; and Cic. in Verr. ii. 5. 11, Long. See also the note on ver. 65 below. 'Causidicus' is a title that Cicero uses with more or less contempt. The proper words for what we call an advocate, or counsel, are 'orator' and 'patronus;' a 'causidicus' was one of these of a lower sort. So Juvenal says below: "nec causidicus nec praeco loquatur" (vi. 438), "nec unquam Sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli" (x. 120), "nutricula causidicorum Africa" (vii. 148). Forcellini quotes Cic. de Orat. i. 46: "Non enim causidicum nescio quem neque proclamatorem aut rabulam hoc sermone nostro conquirimus." See Quintilian xii. 1.

33. *magni delator amici,*] This may be any low informer who betrayed his patron. The informer's trade, of which two members, Sulcius and Caprius, are mentioned by Horace (S. i. 4. 66), reached its height under Tiberius, and throve under his successors. A famous one of the reign of Domitian was M. Aquilius Regulus, who under Nero got promotion and hatred by informing against M. Crassus (Tac. Hist. iv. 42). Baebius Massa was another of the same tribe, a freedman probably of some person of the Baebia gens. Tacitus says he betrayed Piso, and was universally hated then (Hist. iv. 50). This was in the reign of Vespasian, A.D. 70. He was then "e procuratoribus Africae." He became governor of Baetica in Spain, and for his oppression of that province was brought to trial, under Domitian,

Et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa
Quod superest; quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat
Carus et a trepido Thymele summissa Latino;
Quum te summoveant qui testamenta merentur
Noctibus, in caelum quos evehit optima summi
Nunc via processus, vetulae vesica beatae?
Unciolam Proculeius habet, sed Gillo deuncem,
Partes quisque suas ad mensuram inguinis heres.
Accipiat sane mercedem sanguinis, et sic
Palleat ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem,
Aut Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.

A. D. 93 (Tac. Agr. 45); and though condemned it seems that he escaped punishment, for he became one of the most notorious informers in Domitian's time. Carus Mettius was another of the same sort, of whom Tacitus says, that at the time of Agricola's death (A.D. 93), "una adhuc victoria Carus Mettius," he had only signalized himself by one great victory in his profession; which means that he afterwards became highly distinguished. Martial mentions him proverbially (xii. 25). The words 'delator amici' are so like S. iii. 116, that it might be supposed Egnatius Celer was meant, as the Scholiast suggests; but he was dead. See note on that place. Thymele and Latinus were an actress and actor, to whom Domitian was partial; wherefore Martial begs him to look on his books as kindly as he looked at these two persons on the stage (i. 5). Latinus is often mentioned by Martial, who wrote an epitaph for him, and flattered Domitian through him, as he did through his favourites generally. He is mentioned by name below, vi. 44, and alluded to in viii. 197, in conjunction with the same Thymele. The Scholiast here and on iv. 53, on the authority of Marius Maximus, who wrote the lives of some of the emperors, says that Latinus was an influential informer. These informers were all afraid of the great man of their craft, and did what they could to make friends with him. Latinus lent him Thymele, who was either his mistress or his wife. This is the Scholiast's explanation. Heinrich supposes some scene is referred to, in a farce acted by these people He is obliged to change 'et' into 'ut' to support this explanation.

37. *Quum te summoveant*] "De hereditate justa tanquam de via; proprie enim 'summovere' verbum lictorum." This is Grangaeus' note; and it is true as respects the lictors. (Hor. C. ii. 16. 10, n.) But there is nothing in the text about an 'hereditas.' Juvenal means 'when men elbow you out of the way who have got rich by scandalous means.'

38. *summi Nunc via processus,*] 'Processus' means advancement; and 'summi processus' advancement to the highest place. So Ovid (Trist. iv. 5. 25): "Haec tua processus habeat fortuna perennes." Rigault quotes an inscription, "OB SPEM PROCESSUS EJUS." It was by these means that Otho got into favour with Nero (Sueton. Otho, c. 2), "libertinam aulicam gratiosam quo efficacius coleret etiam diligere simulavit, quamvis anum ac paene decrepitam: per hanc insinuatus Neroni facile summum inter amicos locum tenuit."

40. *Unciolam Proculeius habet*] Proculeius has a twelfth part of the estate left him, and Gillo eleven-twelfths: the first is 'heres ex uncia;' the second 'heres ex deunce.' The divisions of the 'as' represented the portions of the estate devised to each 'heres' (Hor. S. ii. 5. 53, n. fin.). The men are unknown. 'Unciola' does not occur elsewhere. It does not mean, as Ruperti says, 'less than an uncia;' but 'a poor uncia,' as we say.

42. *Accipiat sane*] There is contempt in this: "Let him take it with all my heart."

43. *pressit qui calcibus anguem,*] Heinrich thinks this is an allusion to Homer (Il. iii. 33):

ὡς ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλίνορσος ἀπέστη
ἄψ τ' ἀνεχώρησεν, ὦχρός τέ μιν εἷλε παρειάς.

44. *Aut Lugdunensem*] Suetonius relates (Vit. Calig. c. 20) that Caligula instituted games, 'ludos miscellos' (see S. xi. 20, n.) at Lugdunum (Lyon), where there was an altar, dedicated to Augustus on the day that

Quid referam quanta siccum jecur ardeat ira,
Quum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator
Pupilli prostantis, et hic damnatus inani
Judicio (quid enim salvis infamia nummis?)
Exsul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis
Iratis; at tu, victrix provincia, ploras.
Haec ego non credam Venusina digna lucerna?

Claudius was born in that city, 1st of August, B.C. 10. (Suet. Vit. Claudii, c. 2.). Dion Cassius relates that games were celebrated there in the life-time of Augustus (l. 46. c. 50). If so, it was reserved for Caligula to establish a rhetorical contest in Greek and Latin, in which those who, in the Emperor's judgment, had acquitted themselves worst, (" ii qui maxime displicuissent ") were obliged to lick out what they had written with their tongue, or to be flogged, or plunged in the nearest stream. To this two epigrams in the Anthologia, quoted by Scaliger on the above passage of Suetonius, are said by him to relate.

τοῦ σοῦ γὰρ πάσχω νεκροῦ χάριν· οἷα πάθοιεν
οἱ καταλείξαντες βιβλία καὶ καλάμους.
Lib. ii. 40. 7.

οὐχ ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον λείχεις διὰ τοῦτό σε μισῶ,
ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῦτο ποιεῖς καὶ δίχα τοῦ καλάμου.
Ib. 12. 8.

Juvenal seems to refer to the competitors on these occasions who had reason to be afraid their speeches might meet with disapprobation, and who trembled for the consequences.

46. *populum gregibus comitum premit*] P. and all the older and more trustworthy MSS. have the indicative mood: several of the later have 'premat;' and Heinrich adopts it. Ruperti and Jahn have 'premit,' in reliance on the MSS. and the indicatives that follow; and that mood is, I believe, the right one. As to 'pupillus,' see Dict. Ant., Art. 'Tutor;' and Hor. Epp. i. 1. 21, n. This 'tutor' went out to the forum or to the walks, attended, 'deductus' (Hor. S. i. 9. 59), by crowds of parasites, supported by the fortune of his 'pupillus,' who was left to starve or to support himself by the vilest means. 'Comites' is the word used below, ver. 119. Ruperti thinks 'pupillae' must be the proper word, but does not adopt it. It would be less offensive; but that is not much to the purpose.

47. *et hic damnatus inani Judicio*] We have the private thief and the public brought together. Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, was convicted (A.D. 100) of 'repetundae,' and banished from Italy. Marius was compelled to refund a part of his bad gains, and retired with the remainder to live comfortably, though not at home. The offence of 'repetundae,' which was that of a magistrate getting money by illegal means from the provincials under his government, was punished with different penalties at different times. The latest 'lex' on the subject was the 'lex Julia,' passed in the dictatorship of C. Julius Caesar, which abolished the punishment of exile; but it appears to have been revived under the empire. The refunding of the money proved to have been received was always part of the penalty; and in this instance it appears that 700 sestertia (about 5500*l.* sterling) were paid by Marius into the treasury. An interesting account of the whole affair is given by the younger Pliny, who, with C. Cornelius Tacitus, the historian, acted for the provincials (Epp. ii. 11). See Long's Excursus on Cic. in Verr. on 'Repetundae,' and Dict. Ant. under the same head; and also the article 'Infamia.' 'Ab octava bibit' means that he sat down to dinner earlier than usual; the ninth hour in summer, and tenth in winter, being those at which industrious persons generally dined (Hor. C. i. 1. 20, n.). 'Fruitur dis iratis,' he enjoys the anger of the gods: that is, he makes himself comfortable under his punishment.

50. *victrix provincia,*] Grangaeus supposes this to be a play upon the words. Even if it were (which is not likely), it would be only from the similarity of sound, and would not support Festus' derivation of 'provincia' from 'vincere.' Provincia is a shortened form of 'providentia,' and "properly designated the particular functions of a magistrate." See Long's note on Cic. in Verr. ii. 2. 1. 'Vincere' is the legal word for succeeding in a cause. On 'ploras' Grangaeus adds, " tibi enim fuit victoria Cadmea, in qua jocatur victus, plorat victor."

51. *Venusina digna lucerna?*] Horace and Juvenal had not much in common; but Horace seems to have been looked upon by

Haec ego non agitem? Sed quid magis Heracleas
Aut Diomedeas aut mūgitum Labyrinthi
Et mare percussum puero fabrumque volantem,
Quum leno accipiat moechi bona, si capiendi
Jus nullum uxori, doctus spectare lacunar,
Doctus et ad calicem vigilanti stertere naso;
Quum fas esse putet curam spectare cohortis
Qui bona donavit praesepibus, et caret omni
Majorum censu dum pervolat axe citato
Flaminiam puer? Automedon nam lora tenebat
Ipse lacernatae quum se jactaret amicae.
Nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces

Persius and Juvenal as the representative of Roman satire. Lucilius was more in Juvenal's way, and he mentions him below (v. 165) with respect. No one should be misled by the Scholiast's note: "Lucernam dicit quia Satyrici ad omnium vitia quasi lucernam admovent, et ut adurant et ut ostendant crimina." 'Lucerna' only means what we mean when we speak of the 'midnight oil.'

52. *Sed quid magis Heracleas*] 'Agitem' must be repeated, but in a different sense. He asks why he should rather write on such hackneyed subjects as the labours of Hercules, the wanderings of Diomed, the adventures of Theseus, Icarus, and Daedalus, than attack the vices of the day? Jahn punctuates differently and badly, 'Sed quid magis? Heracleas,' &c.

55. *Quum leno accipiat moechi bona*] This man connives at his wife's intrigues at his own table, like the man Galba, mentioned below (S. v. 4), and gets her paramour to make him his 'heres,' which the woman could not be under the 'lex Voconia,' if the man's census exceeded a certain amount. 'Accipiat bona' Heinrich understands to mean that he was made 'heres ex asse,' that is, he succeeded to the man's whole estate. (See Long's orations of Cicero, vol. i. p. 121 sqq., for a full discussion of the 'lex Voconia,' which may perhaps be referred to here, though there may be some doubt whether Juvenal is alluding to this Lex.) Suetonius (c. 8) says that Domitian took away from women of loose character 'lecticae usum, jusque capiendi legata hereditatesque;' but these must be women who had been convicted, whereas, Juvenal is attacking the vices of private society, as Heinrich observes. As to 'lacunar,' see Hor. S. ii. 3. 272, n.

57. *vigilanti stertere naso;*] So Ovid says (Amor. i. 5. 13):

"Ipse miser vidi cum me dormire putares
Sobrius apposito crimina vestra mero."

The Scholiast Acron quotes this verse on Hor. C. iii. 6. 29: "Sed jussa coram non sine conscio Surgit marito."

58. *Quum fas esse putet*] "When that man thinks he has a right to look for a tribune's place who, while yet a boy, wasted his substance on his stables, and lost his patrimony with flying on swift coach down the Flaminian road: for he was Automedon and held the reins while the great man made himself pleasant to his man-mistress." This person may have been some favourite of Domitian's, who had been made, or hoped to be made, a 'tribunus militum' (see xvi. 20, n.). The Scholium on 'praesepibus' is "Neronem tangit;" but this seems to belong to 'ipse,' which is often used independently for 'the great man' (S. v. 86, n.), and is here opposed to Automedon, as Achilles to his charioteer. Madvig (Opusc. i. 36) denies that there is any allusion to Nero, and says that 'ipse' is plainly the driver. There may be two opinions on the subject; but after much reflection I have adopted the other with Heinrich. 'Lacerna' is a man's cloak, and 'lacernatae' means that the 'amica' was a man. Two men are recorded as having been formally married to Nero, named Sporus and Pythagoras (Sueton. c. 28, and Tacitus, Ann. xv. 37). 'Jactaret' may be 'showed himself off,' or something of that sort. Madvig finds great difficulty in this interpretation.

63. *Nonne libet ceras implere capaces*] "Does not one feel inclined to take out one's tablets, and fill pages, even while the scene is passing under his eyes in the middle of the street?" The 'tabulae,' waxed wooden tablets, of the Romans, are fully described in Dict. Antiqq. The pages were called

Quadrivio, quum jam sexta cervice feratur,
Hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra
Et multum referens de Maecenate supino,
Signator falso, qui se lautum atque beatum
Exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerat uda?
Occurrit matrona potens, quae molle Calenum
Porrectura viro miscet sitiente rubetam,
Instituitque rudes melior Locusta propinquas

simply 'cerae.' 'Quadrivia' were the crossings of two streets, 'compita,' where numbers of passengers would be found; and he says it is enough to make a man take out his tablets in the public streets, to note the shameless proceedings of these people.

64. *sexta cervice feratur,*] This thief was carried in a 'cathedra,' borne by six slaves, 'hexaphoron;' the sides were thrown open, by the drawing back of the curtains by which they were usually closed in. This represents the impudence of the man, who ought to have been ashamed to show his face, and his laziness, in which he is said to look very much like Maecenas. The character of Maecenas, in this respect, is mentioned in my note on Hor. S. i. 2. 25, "Maltinus tunicis demissis ambulat," where authorities are quoted. See also below, S. xii. 39. 'Multum referens de Maecenate' is, literally, 'representing much of Maecenas.' So Virgil has "Invalidique patrum referunt jejunia nati" (G. iii. 127). 'Supino' means no more than lying lazingly on his back. The 'cathedra' was so constructed that the person half reclined and half sat. In the 'lectica' he lay at full length; and in the 'sella' he sat upright, as on an arm-chair. 'Cathedrae' were chiefly used by women, and were considered effeminate carriages for men. "Cujus apud molles minima est jactura cathedras" (vi. 91). Its shape and furniture are described in ix. 52: "Strata positus longaque cathedra." They were all carried by a single pole in front, and another behind, resting on the bearers' shoulders. The Indian 'tonjon' represents the 'sella,' and in some instances the 'cathedra.'

67. *Signator falso,*] This is the punctuation of most editions. Ruperti puts the stop after 'signator,' which Madvig says is right, or else Juvenal wrote 'signato falso,' which no one I think will adopt (Op. i. 40). 'Signator falso' is one who has put forged seals and signatures to a false will, or has got knaves like himself to witness such a will with him. A 'testamentum' required five witnesses, who put a seal and their names on the outside of it (see Dict. Ant. 'Testamentum'). The common way of writing wills was on waxed tablets (exiguis tabulis), whence come the expressions 'cera prima,' 'secunda,' 'ima,' (see Hor. S. ii. 5. 53, n.). 'Gemma uda' is a seal moistened before the impression was made. 'Lautus' is 'fine;' and 'beatus' 'well to do' (Hor. C. i. 4. 14, n.).

69. *molle Calenum*] The wine of Cales (Calvi) in Campania was among the best in Horace's time. It seems to have been one of the milder wines, from this epithet. This woman, who is represented as a person of family (Ruperti says Agrippina is meant, which Madvig (i. 40) rightly denies), Juvenal says, when she was going to hand her husband some wine, mixed poison with it; and being well skilled in such matters, taught her simpler neighbours how to get rid of their husbands in the same way, and to carry them out to their burial without any regard to the notoriety of the murder and the crowds that collected to see the funeral. 'Rubeta' is a poisonous sort of toad (see below, vi. 659). 'Nigros' expresses the effect of the poison on the dead body. The woman is called 'Locusta,' after her who poisoned Claudius by the direction of Agrippina, and Britannicus by the order of Nero. See Tacitus, Ann. xii. 66; xiii. 15. See also Suetonius (Nero, c. 33), who says she was handsomely rewarded for the latter of these murders. She was put to death by Galba, Nero's successor. The Scholiast on this place calls her 'Lucusta,' in one version of his text; and Jahn adopts that form. Valla's Scholiast says that Nero employed her to teach him her art, and many young women besides, "ut et illum doceret et plures puellas;" and Suetonius says, he gave her "impunitatem (she had been convicted of witchcraft) praediaque ampla, sed et discipulos." The Scholiast quotes two corrupt lines from Turnus, the satiric poet, thus amended by Valla:

"Ex quo Caesareas soboles Locusta cecidit
Horrendum, curas dum liberat atra Neronis."

[Ribbeck places *vv.* 69, 70, 71, 72 between *v.* 76 and *v.* 77.]

Per famam et populum nigros efferre maritos.
Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,
Si vis esse aliquis: probitas laudatur et alget.
Criminibus debent hortos, praetoria, mensas,
Argentum vetus et stantem extra pocula caprum.
Quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor avarae,
Quem sponsae turpes et praetextatus adulter?
Si natura negat facit indignatio versum,

72. *Per famam et populum*] This forms one subject, in the midst of the whispers or talking of the citizens. It seems, therefore, that the corpse was carried out with the face exposed.

73. *brevibus Gyaris*] This was a small barren island (still called Giura) in the Aegean, one of the Cyclades, to which a few of the worst sort of criminals were transported in the time of the empire. When it was proposed that Silanus should be sent thither, Tiberius to show his clemency chose another place of banishment for him, saying that Gyara (or Gyarus) "insulam immitem et sine cultu hominum esse" (Tac. Ann. iii. 69). It was ill supplied with water ('egena aquae:' ib. iv. 30); and it was little better than death to be sent there. See vi. 563; x. 170. 'Brevibus' is equivalent to 'parvis.'

74. *probitas laudatur et alget.*] These words are often quoted and imitated. Gifford quotes from Massinger's Fatal Dowry (Act ii. sc. 1):

"In this partial, avaricious age,
What price bears honour? virtue? long ago
It was but praised and freezed: but now-a-days
'Tis colder far, and has nor love nor praise."

John of Salisbury (Policr. iii. 9) quotes these words: "Quis Themistoclis diligentiam, Frontonis gravitatem, continentiam Socratis, Fabricii fidem, innocentiam Numae, pudicitiam Scipionis, longanimitatem Ulyssis, Catonis parcitatem, Titi pietatem imitatur? quis non cum admiratione veneratur? probitas siquidem laudatur et alget." For 'aliquis,' some of the MSS. have 'aliquid;' but the masculine is right. Persius has it (i. 129), "seque aliquem credens;" and Cicero (Ad Att. iii. 15, sub fin.), "meque ut facis velis esse aliquem." The Greeks used τις in the same way; and the same is common in most languages. To be "somebody" is the great object of ambition with half the world.

75. *praetoria,*] Fine houses fit for an emperor (x. 161). As to the Roman tables and their vessels of silver and bronze, see Hor. S. i. 4. 28, n.; ii. 2. 4, n.

76. *stantem extra pocula caprum.*] The Scholiast quotes Martial (viii. 51. 9): "Stat caper Aeolio Thebani vellere Phrixi Cultus." Grangaeus asks, not with his usual judgment, whether 'stantem' means "pedibus erectis ut solent pascere caprae, an eminentem?" It means standing out in bold relief, as in Ovid (Met. xii. 235):

"Forte fuit juxta signis extantibus asper
Antiquus crater."

'Stare' is occasionally used in this sense absolutely, as in Hor. C. i. 9. 1: "Vides ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte," 'see you how white Soracte with deep snow stands out' (see note). Such figures on cups, &c., when they were moveable, were called 'emblemata,' after the Greek. (See v. 38, and the note.) On the ancient Greek vessels they were very handsome and curious. Verres the governor of Sicily laid his hands upon many. Cicero calls them 'scyphos sigillatos,' cups with 'signa,' or carved figures upon them (Verr. ii. 4. 14. See Long's note). The art, though continued till the latter years of the Roman republic, was suddenly dropped, as Pliny says (H. N. xxxiii. 12). The latest artist of the kind whom he mentions, and whom he calls a 'crustarius,' of note, was named Teucer, no doubt a Greek.

78. *praetextatus adulter?*] Heinrich and Madvig take this for a boy paramour, who has learnt his lesson of vice before he has put on the 'toga virilis.' It may be so. Compare ii. 170: "Sic praetextatos referunt Artaxata mores." There is more force in this than in taking the words for a senator, or others who wore the 'toga praetexta,' concerning which see Dict. Ant., and Hor. S. i. 5. 34, n. As to 'sponsae,' see iii. 111, n.

79. *facit indignatio versum,*] These words also are used by John of Salisbury, whose quotations are always well chosen (Nugae, &c., iii. 13): "Disposueram tamen silere de mollibus qui sicut ignominiosi ita

Qualemcunque potest, quales ego vel Cluvienus.
Ex quo Deucalion nimbis tollentibus aequor
Navigio montem ascendit sortesque poposcit,
Paullatimque anima caluerunt mollia saxa,
Et maribus nudas ostendit Pyrrha puellas,
Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli.
Et quando uberior vitiorum copia? quando
Major avaritiae patuit sinus? alea quando

sunt et videntur innominabiles. Silentium indicit reverentia morum, et verecundus animus natura dictante illorum declinat aspectum. Quid multa? Si natura negat facit indignatio versum."

80. *Cluvienus.*] It is impossible to say who is meant by this name. The Scholiast throws no light upon it. He only says it was "delirus poeta vel indoctus."

81. *Ex quo Deucalion,*] Horace has this phrase (C. iii. 3. 21): "Ex quo destituit Deos Mercede pacta Laomedon." Juvenal says that the passions of mankind, such as they have been ever since the flood, are the subjects he has chosen for his pen. The story of Deucalion and Pyrrha, and how men and women sprung up from the stones they threw behind them, is told at length by Ovid (Met. i. 260 sqq.). The mountain on which the vessel landed is said by Ovid, and was generally supposed, to be Parnassus; and the divinity whose oracle Deucalion consulted, was Themis. 'Sortes,' for the answer of an oracle, is taken from the Italian practice, particularly in the temples of Fortuna, whose responses were delivered by lots (Cic. Div. ii. 41. 56), wooden tablets with different inscriptions shaken out of a box ('sitella,' 'cista,' 'urna,' 'arca'), and not by word of mouth, as the Greek oracles were delivered. Virgil has 'Lyciae sortes' twice over (Aen. iv. 346. 377). 'Sortes poscere' is an unusual phrase. 'Poscere' is stronger than 'petere,' which is more commonly used. 'Poscere divos' is not analogous. That is to ask a favour of the gods, as "Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem Vates?" (Hor. C. i. 31. 1.)

83. *caluerunt mollia saxa,*] This seems to be taken from Ovid's description (l. c.):

"Saxa (quis hoc credat, nisi sit pro teste vetustas?)
Ponere duritiem coepere suumque rigorem,
Mollirique mora mollitaque ducere formam."

86. *discursus,*] Forcellini interprets this by "discursationes, conatus, labores, ad opes aut dignitates adipiscendas," and quotes Pliny (Epp. viii. 23), "quo discursu aedilitatem petiit." It seems to signify generally the distractions of a busy life. 'Farrago,' which is derived from 'far,' is properly a mixture of various grains given to cattle (Georg. iii. 205). Here it means a medley of miscellaneous topics. Persius uses it in a different sense (v. 77, see note). 'Libelli' might mean a volume of satires or this present satire only, as in Horace (S. i. 10. 92), "I puer atque meo citus haec subscribe libello," where I think 'libellus' means the satire; but many commentators take it for the book (see Intr.). [Ribbeck has 'nostri farrago libelli est.']

88. *Major avaritiae patuit sinus?*] 'Sinus' means the fold of the toga over the breast within which the purse (crumena) usually hung. A large purse would require a large 'sinus.' Ovid has (Am. i. 10. 18): "Quo pretium condat non habet ille sinum." So Heinrich takes it. The old commentators differ. Grangaeus takes it this way. Britannicus explains it from the bellying of a sail with a fair wind; and Owen translates thus,

"And when did vice with growth so rank prevail?
Or avarice wanton in so fair a gale?"

Holyday, "When open lay to avarice a larger haven?" Mr. Mayor says, "When did the gulf of avarice yawn wider?" comparing the passage quoted by Forcellini from Seneca (Oed. 582), "Subito dehiscit terra et immenso sinu Laxata patuit." I have no doubt the first explanation is right.

88. *alea quando Hos animos?*] "When has the gambling spirit run so high?" (Owen.) This is a pretty literal translation. "When had gambling such spirit as it has now (hos animos)?" Ruperti's explanation of 'hos' as "*tot* animos sc. cepit, occupavit" (i.e. when did gambling seize upon so many minds?) is very bad. Heinecke is

Hos animos? Neque enim loculis comitantibus itur
Ad casum tabulae, positā sed luditur arca.
Proelia quanta illic dispensatore videbis
Armigero! Simplexne furor sestertia centum
Perdere et horrenti tunicam non reddere servo?
Quis totidem erexit villas, quis fercula septem

no better, who takes 'hos animos' for 'hos Romanos,' or proposes 'potius' to change 'hos' into 'haec,' and to explain it thus: "Quando alea haec, i.e. talis, ut nunc est; talis aleae cupiditas animos, homines, sc. cepit." 'Habuit' is easily supplied, as the Scholiast suggests. The verb is often omitted in such questions where there is indignation, as below (vi. 641):

"Tune duos una, saevissima vipera, coena?
Tune duos? Septem, si septem forte fuissent."

Juvenal says elsewhere (xiv. init.) that fathers taught their young children to game. The 'alea' was always 'vetita legibus' (Hor. C. iii. 24. 58), but never checked from the declining times of the republic. Augustus (Vit. c. 70, 71), Caligula (c. 41), Claudius (c. 33), and Domitian (c. 21), are all put down as gamblers by Suetonius; and Claudius wrote a treatise on the subject. Compare S. viii. 10: "Effigies quo Tot bellatorum, si luditur alea pernox Ante Numantinos?"

89. *Neque enim loculis comitantibus*] He says men do not now go to the gaming table with their purse and play for the contents of that, but stake their chest containing all the ready money they had. 'Tabula' is the board on which the dice were thrown. As to 'neque enim,' see Key's Lat. Gr. 1449: "'Enim' must commonly be translated by the English conjunction 'for,' but at times retains what was probably its earlier signification, 'indeed,' as in 'enim vero,' indeed, indeed; 'neque enim,' nor indeed; 'et enim,' and indeed, &c.; as, 'Quid tute tecum? Nihil enim' (Plaut.). 'What are you saying to yourself? Nothing, I assure you.'" For 'ad casum' one MS. of the fifteenth century quoted by Ruperti, and two editions of the same century, Calderini and the Leipzig, have 'ad causam.' M. has that word in the text, with 'casum' in the margin. 'Causam' has no meaning.

91. *dispensatore videbis Armigero!*] 'Dispensator' was the cash-keeper, called also 'procurator' and 'calculator,' who formed one of the establishment in all rich houses. He is called 'armigero' because he furnished the sinews of this warfare, the money: "Utpote qui ludenti domino nummos subministret" (Britannicus). Grangaeus says the 'arma' in 'armigero' are the dice, as below (xiv. 5), "parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo." This is wrong, I think.

92. *Simplexne furor sestertia centum*] The Greeks would say ἁπλῆ μανία, madness and nothing more. Heinrich explains it "non simplex furor, sed duplex vel triplex," which may be right, though I prefer the other. Taking the 'sestertium' at the value in our money of 7*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*, a hundred 'sestertia' would be 781*l.* 5*s.* The Romans did not understand high play if this was enough to make a satirist angry: but the more than madness lay in the selfishness of the man who (as Heinrich explains it) after losing all his money stakes his slave's jacket, and losing that also never restores it. The commentators compare Persius (i. 54), "Scis comitem horridulum trita donare lacerna:" but 'reddere' means here to restore, and is never equivalent to the simple form 'dare.'

94. *Quis totidem erexit villas,*] This reminds us of Horace's complaint more than a century earlier (C. ii. 15):

"Jam pauca aratro jugera regiae
Moles relinquent.——
—— Non ita Romuli
Praescriptum et intonsi Catonis
Auspiciis veterumque norma."

See Lipsius, De Magn. Rom. lib. iii. c. 14. As to 'fercula' see Hor. S. ii. 6. 104, n. 'Secreto' only means 'by himself,' as Virg. Aen. viii. 670, "secretosque pios." A couple of courses was enough for the old Romans according to Servius on Aen. i. 729. "For some ages the Roman nobility commonly used nothing but 'far' and 'puls,' and if a marriage or other joyful feast fell out, they thought it a mighty thing if they added a few small fishes and a few pounds of pork" (Lipsius, De Magn. Rom. iv. 5). Suetonius gives Augustus credit for moderation and good taste combined, because his custom was ordinarily to have but three courses, and at his finest dinners only six

Secreto coenavit avus? Nunc sportula primo
Limine parva sedet turbae rapienda togatae.
Ille tamen faciem prius inspicit et trepidat, ne
Suppositus venias ac falso nomine poscas.
Agnitus accipies; jubet a praecone vocari
Ipsos Trojugenas; nam vexant limen et ipsi
Nobiscum. "Da Praetori, da deinde Tribuno."
Sed libertinus prior est. "Prior," inquit, "ego adsum:
Cur timeam dubitemve locum defendere, quamvis

(c. 74). Various sumptuary laws regulating the expense of dining are given by Gellius, ii. 24; but the Romans never paid much attention to them. See Dict. Ant. 'Sumptuariae leges.' Here were men, according to Juvenal, who at their private dinner tables had seven. The accusative, 'fercula,' is like Horace's "patinas coenavit omasi Vilis et agninae."

95. *Nunc sportula primo Limine parva sedet*] He says that the 'sportula' is now a shabby affair, and that instead of being given in the 'atrium' as a regular entertainment ('coena recta') in the way clients used to be received by their patrons, it was now set out at the door, to be scrambled for by the hungry rabble, closely watched by the master, lest any should get it under false pretences. 'Sportula,' a little basket, was the name given to a dole which first under the emperors it became customary for rich men to give to those dependents who chose to pay their respects to them at their early reception in the morning, and to dance attendance upon them at other times. It was given sometimes in the shape of meat, at others in a small sum of money, usually 100 quadrantes, or one and a half denarii, about eleven pence (v. 120, and v. 127 note). Gifford has confounded the public 'sportula' with the private. The former, not the latter, was established by Nero and abolished by Domitian.

96. *turbae rapienda togatae.*] Ruperti says this is spoken contemptuously, because under the emperors only the poorer and vulgar sort wore the 'toga.' This is nonsense. He refers to Horace, S. i. 2. 63. 82, which only shows that women of bad character wore a 'toga' instead of a 'stola.' The 'toga' was worn out of respect to the great man, and it was counted bad taste for any person of respectability to go abroad without it. At one time it became common for persons of family to go to the theatre without the 'toga,' and Augustus put a stop to the practice. 'Turba togata,' 'gens togata,' were commonly used for the Romans.

97. *trepidat,*] This word expresses any hurried action or emotion. 'Inspicit et trepidat' means he looks in the man's face anxiously, with a sharp scrutinizing eye. 'Ille' can hardly be any but the master, who is supposed to condescend so far as to look on and regulate the distribution. Some take it for the 'dispensator' or 'balneator,' which is the name Martial gives to the servant who distributed the 'sportulae.' "Quos (quadrantes) dividebat balneator elixus" (iii. 7. 3).

99. *jubet a praecone vocari Ipsos Trojugenas;*] The 'praeco' may mean the 'nomenclator,' whose particular duty was to attend the morning visits and to know all his master's acquaintance by sight and name, with their circumstances and all about them. See Hor. Epp. i. 6. 50, n. The master bids this man call up the respectable people first; for, says Juvenal, proud gentlemen of the old families condescend to join us humble folk in begging. The poorer they got the more they stuck to their pedigree, and nothing would satisfy them short of the blood of Aeneas in their veins. See below (viii. 42), "Ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget Iuli;" (ib. 56) "Dic mihi, Teucrorum proles;" (ib. 181) "At vos, Trojugenae;" (xi. 95) "Clarum Trojugenis factura ac nobile fulcrum." See also Horace, S. ii. 5. 63, n.: "Ab alto demissum genus Aenea."

101. *Da Praetori, da deinde Tribuno.*] See S. iii. 128. Martial has an epigram addressed to Paulus, a senator, beginning

"Cum tu laurigeris annum qui fascibus intras
Mane salutator limina mille teras"
(x. 10),

where 'limina terere' corresponds to 'vexant limen' in the last line. Horace (S. i. 8. 18) says of the Esquiline, thieves and beasts were wont 'hunc vexare locum,' to infest it. It must be supposed that some-

Natus ad Euphraten, molles quod in aure fenestrae
Arguerint licet ipse negem: sed quinque tabernae
Quadringenta parant. Quid confert purpura major
Optandum, si Laurenti custodit in agro
Conductas Corvinus oves? ego possideo plus
Pallante et Licinis." Exspectent ergo Tribuni;

times magistrates (who were now sunk very low) were among the crowds who waited on the rich. The master says, "Give the Praetor first, after him the Tribunus;" but a freedman who had come before either of them, asserts his claim to be served before them; and a long speech is put into his mouth, in which he makes himself out to be richer than the men of office, and therefore entitled to take precedence of them, an odd argument at such a time. As to 'libertinus,' see Hor. S. i. 6. 6, n. 'Sed libertinus prior est' is part of the narrative, not the words of the 'Dispensator,' as Ruperti says.

104. *Natus ad Euphraten,*] He may mean from Cappadocia, from which part the Romans got a good many of their slaves (vii. 15). See Martial x. 76:

"Civis non Syriaeve Parthiaeve
Nec de Cappadocis eques catastis."

'Fenestrae' are the holes made for earrings, and they are called 'molles,' which means effeminate. The man says he has five houses, which he lets out for shops, and they are worth 400,000 sesterces, which was an equestrian fortune; unless with Heinrich we understand 'quinque tabernae' to be those spoken of by Livy as banking houses in the forum: "Septem tabernae quae postea quinque et argentariae quae nunc Novae appellantur" (xxvi. 27). In that case the man means his transactions at the 'quinque tabernae' bring him in this income. I incline to this interpretation. With 'quadringenta' 'sestertia' must be supplied. See iii. 153, sq.; v. 132; xiv. 323; and Hor. Epod. iv. 15, n.

106. *purpura major*] That is, (as the Scholiast says) the 'latus clavus,' or broad purple stripe on the tunic worn by senators, as opposed to the 'angustus clavus' worn by 'equites.' (See Dict. Ant.; and Hor. S. i. 5. 36, n.; ii. 7. 10, n.) A 'tribunus militum' of the first four legions was entitled to a seat in the senate, and therefore to the 'latus clavus;' but it was allowed to others who were not senators under the empire.

107. *si Laurenti custodit in agro*] Laurentum, supposed to be at the site of Torre di Paternò, is near the coast, and about eight miles from Ostia. It was a winter resort of the Romans, and abounded with villas. Large flocks of sheep were fed there, and the marshes in the neighbourhood were famous for wild boars, which Horace, however, does not recommend (S. ii. 4. 42). Corvinus was a cognomen of the Messalae, who were a branch of the Valeria Gens, one of the oldest families in Rome. (Hor. C. iii. 21, Int.; S. i. 6. 12, n., "contra Laevinum, Valeri genus.") This gentleman of old family is supposed to be reduced to keeping sheep as a 'mercenarius.' A person is said 'conducere rem faciendam,' in which case he receives pay ('merces') or 'conducere rem utendam,' in which case he pays another for the thing used. (See note on Hor. C. ii. 18. 17, and Long on Cic. in Verr. Act. i. c. 6, there quoted.)

108. *ego possideo plus*] That 'possidere' was used generally in the sense of possessing property, and not confined to the 'possessores' technically so called, is obvious from this and many passages. The 'possessores' of the republican period were occupiers of public lands; and this man could not be a 'possessor' in that sense any more than Pallas or Licinus. He makes himself out to be vastly rich, and yet he is here begging.

109. *Pallante et Licinis.*] The man's speech ends here. Pallas was a freedman of Claudius, in whose reign he got together a large fortune, for the sake of which he was put to death by Nero, A.D. 63. Licinus was a Gaulish slave manumitted by C. Julius Caesar, and made by Augustus governor of Gallia, which he robbed, and thereby grew very rich. The Scholiast says it was to stop people's mouths that he built a 'basilica' in the name of C. Julius Caesar (the Basilica Julia in the Forum Romanum). He died in the reign of Tiberius. This, the Scholiast says, is the Licinus mentioned by Persius (S. ii. 36). This may very likely be the person alluded to by Juvenal here and at xiv. 306. The authorities for his life are quoted in Dict. Biog. The commentators refer to members of the 'Licinia gens,' of which the family of Crassus in particular was very rich. As to

Vincant divitiae, sacro nec cedat honori
Nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis;
Quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum
Majestas, etsi funesta Pecunia templo
Nondum habitas, nullas nummorum ereximus aras,
Ut colitur Pax atque Fides, Victoria, Virtus,
Quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido.

the plural Licinis, where only one person is meant, see note on Horace, S. i. 7. 8.

110. *sacro nec cedat honori*] The person of the 'tribunus plebis' was inviolable, 'sacrosanctus' (Liv. ii. 33). Martial has (viii. 66) "Et Caesar genero sacros honores;" and Virgil (Aen. iii. 484), "Nec cedit honori." Some editions have 'ne cedat.'

111. *pedibus qui venerat albis;*] The Scholiast has a note here, which need not be attended to. Slaves newly imported are generally said to have been chalked on the soles of their feet when exposed for sale. (See Dict. Ant., Art. 'Servus,' 872, b.) Ovid says, "Gypsati crimen inane pedis" (Am. i. 8. 62); and Propertius speaks of slaves for sale,

"——quorum titulus per barbara colla pependit
Cretati medio cum saluere foro"

(iv. 5. 51); but what could have been the use of chalking their soles is not obvious to me. They may have worn white slippers perhaps, or something of that sort.

112. *divitiarum Majestas,*] This condenses Horace's "Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris Divitiis parent" (S. ii. 3. 95).

113. *funesta Pecunia*] Compare Horace, Epp. i. 6. 37, "Et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat," where I have quoted the Christian writers on whose authority Pecunia is said to have been worshipped. Seneca (de Provid. c. 5) says, "Non sunt divitiae bonum. Itaque habeat illas et Ellius leno: ut homines Pecuniam cum in templis consecraverint videant et in fornice." From which it would seem there were statues of Pecunia in the temples.

115. *Ut colitur Pax atque Fides,*] This group is found in Horace, C. S. 57:

"Jam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque
Priscus et neglecta redire Virtus
Audet,"

where I have a note on each of these divinities. The temple of Pax was one of the handsomest buildings in Rome, and was situated on the Via Sacra, about the point where the declivity commenced called (Horace, C. iv. 2. 35) Sacer Clivus, which led down to the Forum Romanum. It was begun by Claudius and finished by Vespasian, who deposited in it the spoils of Jerusalem brought to Rome by Titus. (Joseph. B. J. vii. 37.) It was burnt down in the reign of Commodus, about 120 years after it was built. Fides had a temple on Mons Capitolinus, which was said to have been founded originally by Numa, and was afterwards restored in the consulship of M. Aemilius Scaurus, A. U. C. 639. No less than three temples of Victoria are mentioned, one of which was in the Forum, another on Mons Palatinus, and a third on Mons Aventinus. That on the Palatine was said by tradition to have been originally built by Evander. In his first consulship M. Marcellus built a temple to Virtus near the Porta Capena, from which the Via Appia began.

116. *crepitat Concordia nido.*] "Concordia, who twitters when the birds salute their nest;" that is, her temple sounds with the twittering of the birds. There was a beautiful temple to Concordia in the Carinae, originally built by Furius Camillus after the expulsion of the Gauls, A. U. C. 364, and restored by Livia, Augustus' wife. See Ovid, Fast. vi. 637:

"Te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicat aede
Livia quam caro praestitit illa viro."

See also Fast. i. 639, sq. There was another that stood between the Capitol and the Forum, in which the senate sometimes held their meetings. Sall. B. Cat. 49. Cic. Phil. ii. 8. Some say that the crow, others that the stork was the bird sacred to Concordia. John of Salisbury says (Nugae, &c. i. 13), "Ciconia quoniam avis Concordiae est concordiam invenit et concordiam facit." Aelian (de Animalibus, l. iii.) gives this honour to the crow. Whichever it was Juvenal supposes some bird to have built its nest on the temple of Concordia. Some MSS. have 'ciconia,' the first syllable of which is short, and it would have no mean-

Sed quum summus honor finito computet anno
Sportula quid referat, quantum rationibus addat,
Quid facient comites, quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est
Et panis fumusque domi? Densissima centum
Quadrantes lectica petit, sequiturque maritum
Languida vel praegnans et circumducitur uxor.
Hic petit absenti, nota jam callidus arte,
Ostendens vacuam et clausam pro conjuge sellam.
"Galla mea est," inquit; "citius dimitte; moraris."
"Profer, Galla, caput." "Noli vexare, quiescit."
Ipse dies pulcro distinguitur ordine rerum:
Sportula, deinde forum, jurisque peritus Apollo

ing here. M. has it in the margin. It probably arose from Ovid's "crepitante ciconia rostro" (Met. vi. 97).

117. *Sed quum summus honor*] "But when the highest magistrates take account at the end of the year what the 'sportula' brings them in, and how much it adds to their income, what will their followers do who get every thing, clothes, and victuals, and firing (fumusque) from that source?" 'Referre' is the proper word for entering money in an account book, and 'rationes' are the accounts themselves.

119. *Quid facient comites,*] That is, those parasites whose profession it was to wait upon the rich. See above, v. 46.

120. *Densissima centum Quadrantes*] See note on v. 95. 'Densissima lectica' is equivalent to 'plurima lectica.' Men are not satisfied with going themselves, but they must take their wives with them to get a double allowance, though they be sick or in the family way. Another takes his wife's empty chair, with the curtains drawn round. "It's my wife's Galla," says he; "we are in a hurry, don't detain us." "Put out your head, Galla, that we may see you're there," says the 'balneator.' "Don't disturb her, she's asleep;" and so he takes a second dole. As to the difference between 'lectica' and 'sella' see note on v. 64.

127. *Ipse dies pulcro*] Here follows an account of the divisions of the day, which he calls a 'fair ordering' ironically. The distribution of the dole is the first thing in the morning; then the great man goes to the forum and the law courts, and returns home about dinner time, still attended by his clients, who, after seeing him to his door, retire wearied, and disappointed, because he does not ask them to dinner, as rich men used to do before the 'sportula' was invented. As far as it goes this division of the day corresponds with Martial's (iv. 8). The two first hours, he says, were given up to the 'salutatio,' the next three to the courts, the sixth to sleep and the 'prandium,' the seventh to business again, the eighth to exercise, and the ninth to dinner, which went on ad libitum till bed-time. (See Hor. Epp. i. 7. 47, n.) It is here said that the 'sportula' was the first business. Becker says the dole itself was taken away in the afternoon, though the 'salutatio' took place in the morning (Gall. p. 29, n.). We have a scene below (iii. 249, sqq.) of slaves carrying away hot viands in the afternoon; and Martial (x. 70. 13) says he has to go at the tenth hour for his bath or his 'sportula;' "Balnea post decimam lasso centumve petuntur Quadrantes." It appears, therefore, that people could take the earnings of their servility either in the morning or the afternoon.

128. *jurisque peritus Apollo*] As to the Forum Augusti, which is here alluded to, see Hor. Epp. i. 16. 57, n. There was in it a statue of Apollo inlaid with ivory (Plin. H. N. vii. 53). In this forum were two porticos, in one of which were statues of Aeneas and the Roman kings, and in the other of distinguished soldiers. Compare Sueton. (Aug. 31): "Statuas omnium (qui imperium populi Romani ex minimo maximum reddidissent) triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit," with Ovid (Fast. v. 563, sqq.):

"Hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere sacro
Et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos.
Hinc videt Iliaden humeris ducis arma ferentem
Claraque dispositis acta subesse viris."

Amongst others a colossal one of Augustus

Atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere
Nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches,
Cujus ad effigiem non tantum meiere fas est.
Vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes
Votaque deponunt, quanquam longissima coenae
Spes homini: caulis miseris atque ignis emendus.
Optima silvarum interea pelagique vorabit
Rex horum, vacuisque toris tantum ipse jacebit.
Nam de tot pulcris et latis orbibus et tam

(Mart. viii. 44. 7). Among all Apollo's attributes law was not one, and he is only called 'juris peritus' because he was always listening to lawyers. So Martial says (ii. 64), "Ipse potest fieri Marsya causidicus," because his statue was in the Forum Romanum. (See Hor. S. i. 6. 119, n.)

130. *Aegyptius atque Arabarches,*] This title has caused a good deal of trouble. It occurs in Cicero (Ad Att. ii. 17) where, as here, the MSS. differ, some having 'Arabarches,' and others 'Alabarches.' Ernesti (Clavis) says the sense and MSS. both favour 'Alabarches' (see end of this note). So also in the Codex Justin., iv. 61. 9, a duty upon cattle imported from Arabia into Egypt is variously written 'vectigal Alabarchiae' and 'Arabarchiae.' The reading, however, is not of much importance, for the meaning must be the same even if the *r* became corrupted into *l*. The title must have been that of some Roman officer of consideration in the province of Egypt, whatever his duties may have been. They were discharged in one instance, at least, by the governor of a district, as appears by the inscription on Memnon's statue quoted by Mr. Mayor, where Claudius Aemilius is said to be *ἀραβάρχης καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος Θηβαΐδος.* Juvenal is indignant that a provincial officer should have had a public statue, with his services inscribed on the pedestal (titulos), set up for him among the great men in the forum. The notion of 'Alabarches' being derived from ἄλαβα which Hesychius says means ink, and therefore that the officer was 'scripturae praefectus,' or collector of the tax upon cattle, was first propounded, according to Pullmann, by his contemporary Cujacius, and some later editors have adopted it (Ernesti does so in his 'Clavis' on Cicero, mentioned above). Otherwise it would not be worth noticing.

131. *non tantum*] 'Non tantum' is explained by Horace S. i. 8. 38. Juvenal says that a man may foul this fellow's statue in any way he pleases without offence. (See Pers. i. 113.) Heinrich quotes several instances of 'non tantum' used in this elliptical way, as Liv. x. 14, "Non vero tantum metu," where we are to add "sed etiam ficto;" Plin. Epp. iii. 14, init., "Rem atrocem nec tantum epistola dignam," where Gesner supplies "sed historia vel tragoedia adeo."

132. *Vestibulis abeunt*] The 'vestibulum' was a porch leading from the street to the door of the house. These porches were only attached to large houses. In them the retainers sat. And Juvenal says when they came home with their patron, they got no farther than the porch, and, receiving no invitation to dinner, they laid aside their hopes for the first time, and went away to buy a poor supper and firing to dress it, while their lord and master went in to a fine dinner which he enjoyed by himself. 'Rex,' as applied to the rich, is very common in Horace. See C. i. 4. 14, n.; and below, v. 14. He says that of all the hopes men feed upon, they are least willing to part with that of a good dinner. Rigalti quotes a good answer of Epictetus to Hadrian: "Hadriano interroganti, quid est longissimum? Epictetus respondit, Spes."

134. *caulis miseris atque ignis emendus.*] See above v. 120.

137. *et latis orbibus*] These were round tables made of various costly woods. (Hor. S. ii. 2. 4, n.) They came into fashion in Cicero's time; and some may have been preserved from that day, and would justly be called 'antiqui.' (See below, S. xi. 122.) The use of round tables introduced a change in the distribution of the company usual in Horace's time, which was on the triclinium, or three long couches round a table of three sides to correspond to them. The round tables did not suit this arrangement, and semicircular couches were introduced, with fewer people on them. In large houses there would be several of these in a room. Whoever wishes to see how much might be spent on a Ro-

Antiquis una comedunt patrimonia mensa.
Nullus jam parasitus erit: sed quis ferat istas
Luxuriae sordes? Quanta est gula quae sibi totos
Ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum!
Poena tamen praesens, quum tu deponis amictus
Turgidus et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.
Hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus.
It nova nec tristis per cunctas fabula coenas:
Ducitur iratis plaudendum funus amicis.
Nil erit ulterius quod nostris moribus addat
Posteritas; eadem cupient facientque minores;
Omne in praecipiti vitium stetit. Utere velis,
Totos pande sinus. Dicas hic forsitan, Unde
Ingenium par materiae? unde illa priorum
Scribendi quodcunque animo flagrante liberet

man's dinner may read the ninth chapter of Becker's Gallus, and the description of Trimalchio's dinner by Petronius, on which Becker's fiction is founded. [These two verses, 137, 138, are ejected from the text by Ribbeck, and indeed they do not seem to be genuine; at least they convey no clear meaning, and they interrupt the context.]

139. *Nullus jam parasitus erit:*] 'We shall soon have no parasites; but who shall bear to see this selfish gluttony of yours?' He addresses the man. 'Luxuriae sordes' means avarice and luxury combined. 'Ponere' is the word used for putting dishes on the table. See Hor. S. ii. 4. 14, n., and elsewhere. At large banquets a boar served up whole, and sometimes stuffed with all manner of forced meat and rich things, was usually the chief dish. (Hor. S. ii. 8. 234, n., and 8. 6, n.) Grangaeus says Juvenal has taken 'animal propter convivia natum' from Varro, de Re Rust. ii. 4: "Suillum pecus donatum ab natura dicunt ad epulandum." Juvenal means more than Varro did. He says it is so big as only to be meant to be eaten when several are collected at a feast. He might have said the same of the peacock. 'Natum' is used like 'Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis' (Hor. C. i. 27. 1). For 'ferat' some MSS. have 'feret:' either will do. Heinrich has the future.

142. *Poena tamen praesens,*] 'But the penalty follows hard after the crime, for when he goes to bathe with his stomach full and his hard meat undigested, he gets a fit of apoplexy which puts an end to him. The news gets about from one house to another, and his friends, angry at missing the legacies they expected, are glad to hear of his death.' As he made no will his property would go to his 'heredes.' The peacock first came into fashion in Cicero's time. (Hor. S. ii. 2. 21, n.) The common practice of bathing immediately after meals, though in hot baths, might well lead to sudden deaths and to frequent intestacy, as Juvenal expresses it. See Persius, S. iii. 98, sqq., where there are some powerful lines on this subject. 'Ducere funus' is one of the many applications of that verb, of which a great variety will be found in Horace. [Ribbeck has 'Et nova nec tristis, &c.' with no stop after 'senectus' and 'coenas.']

149. *Omne in praecipiti vitium stetit.*] "All vice is at its height" (Stapylton). "All vice is at its zenith" (Gifford). "All vice is at its pitch-pole" (whatever that may be) is Holyday's version. The notion is, that vice is at a point from which it can climb no higher, and that the age is on the brink of a precipice, and likely to be ruined through its vices. The stone was still rolling in Horace's days:

"Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
Aetas parentum pejor avis tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiorem."
C. iii. 6, fin.

Rigalti quotes Velleius (lib. ii. 10): "adeo mature a rectis in vitia, a vitiis in prava, a pravis in praecipitia pervenitur."

—*Utere velis, Totos pande sinus.*] He addresses his Muse as a ship, and bids her set all sail. But he supposes one to ask

Simplicitas, cujus non audeo dicere nomen?
Quid refert dictis ignoscat Mucius an non?
Pone Tigellinum: taeda lucebis in illa
Qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum media sulcum deducis arena——.
Qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita vehatur

where he is to get the ability for such work, and where the freedom of speech that his forefathers had, but which at that time could not be so much as spoken of, not in public at least.

154. *Quid refert dictis ignoscat Mucius*] The MSS. vary between 'Mucius' and 'Mutius.' The same variation appears in Persius (i.115), where the name occurs again in conjunction with Lupus, whom Horace mentions with Metellus as objects of Lucilius' satire. The man is supposed to ask, 'What does it signify (refert, rem fert) whether you might attack Mucius with impunity, as Lucilius did, or not? Introduce Tigellinus, and you will be served as the Christians were.' 'Pone' is used in Pers. i. 70: "nec ponere lucum Artifices;" where the Scholiast says, "Ponere dicit scribere;" and he quotes Horace, A. P. 120: "Scriptor honoratum si forte reponis Achillem." There 'reponere' has reference to the stage. Here it means, perhaps, 'put up as your mark,' or it may be 'put into your verse.' He means, if you attack any of the great man's great men you will suffer for it. Sophronius Tigellinus (whose name is used proverbially) was Nero's chief favourite, and his accomplice in the burning of Rome. The origin of the fire was traced to his house (Tac. Ann. xv. 39). To avert from himself and his friend the odium of this crime, Nero, as is well known, charged it upon the Christians, who were put to death in great numbers and in the most cruel fashion. Among other torments they were hung up on crosses, tarred, and set fire to by way of torches (Tac. l. c. cap. 44). 'Taeda' here means either a pitched shirt, called below 'tunica molesta' (viii. 235), or, as Heinrich takes it, the pine wood with which they were burnt. Juvenal represents the poor wretches with a stake thrust under their chin. Two of the oldest MSS., P. and the oldest of the Nürnberg, have 'pectore' for 'gutture,' which is the reading of the other MSS. In P. the word is corrected to 'gutture' by a later hand. Jahn and Ribbeck adopt 'pectore.'

157. *Et latum media sulcum deducis*] The variety of readings, and still greater variety of conjectures, in respect to 'deducis,' involve the passage in almost hopeless difficulty. To judge by the MSS., which are nowhere so various as here, the verse must always have been hard to understand. Pithoeus says of it; "nec ullus est in his Satyris locus, quem ego ex Grammaticorum Glossis minus grammatice intelligam." Gesner, quoted by Ruperti, supposes Juvenal to mean that his body would be dragged through the arena. Rigalti had said this long before: "ardebis in tunica molesta, et jam ecce raptaris per mediam arenam ut pice oblitus et impactus unco flammeris." I incline to this interpretation, which Heinrich also approves. The present for the future only represents the action as if now going on. 'Et' for 'aut' presents no difficulty. But Heinrich thinks it should be 'aut,' which is not in any MS. Another explanation is that the 'sulcus' is a stream or gutter formed by the melted pitch running off the man's body on the ground. I do not see how 'sulcus' can have that meaning. Madvig's explanation, adopted by Mr. Mayor, is to my mind without any value. He reads 'deducit,' and derives a nominative (quae taeda) from what goes before, and then supposes the furrow to be formed in the earth by a number of victims buried up to their waists in a long row and set fire to. Some take the meaning to be ploughing the sand and wasting labour, quoting "tenuique in pulvere sulcos Ducimus, et sterili littus versamus aratro" (vii. 48, sq.). But this gives a poor meaning here. Nearly all the MSS. have the third person, fluctuating between 'di' and 'de' and the present and future tenses. P. has 'deducis' as a correction; and Robt. Stephens' oldest MS., which Ruperti describes as of high character, has the same. Stephens' edition has 'deducit;' but the joint edition of his grandson and Rigalti (Paris, 1613) has 'deducis;' and I believe that to be the true reading.

158. *Qui dedit ergo*] Probus, quoted by the old commentators, says Tigellinus had three uncles, and poisoned them all and forged wills by which he got their money, which is most probably an invention derived

Pensilibus plumis, atque illinc despiciat nos?
"Quum veniet contra digito compesce labellum:
Accusator erit qui verbum dixerit, Hic est.
Securus licet Aeneam Rutulumque ferocem
Committas; nulli gravis est percussus Achilles,
Aut multum quaesitus Hylas urnamque secutus.
Ense velut stricto quoties Lucilius ardens
Infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens est
Criminibus, tacita sudant praecordia culpa.
Inde irae et lacrimae. Tecum prius ergo voluta
Haec animo ante tubas: galeatum sero duelli
Poenitet."—Experiar quid concedatur in illos
Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

from the text. The Scholiast says more truly that Juvenal is speaking generally against those who gain their bad ends by poison. 'Pensilibus plumis' means a 'lectica' with soft feather-bed and cushions, raised aloft on men's shoulders.

162. *Securus licet Aeneam*] 'You may safely set Aeneas and Turnus fighting; Achilles will not hurt you if you write of his death at the hand of Paris; and Hylas is at the bottom of the well with his pitcher, so you may say what you like about him.' Hylas was a favourite of Hercules; drawing water at a well he was dragged in by the nymphs, and Hercules sought him long, sorrowing and calling upon his name, and set the people of the country (Mysia) to seek him; a subject much handled by the old poets. Virgil asks, "Cui non dictus Hylas puer?" (Georg. iii. 6.) 'Committere' is to match one against another. So he says below (vi. 436): "Committit vates et comparat."

165. *Ense velut stricto*] This reminds us of Horace, S. ii. 1. 39, sqq.:

"——Sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
Quemquam animantem, et me veluti custodiet ensis
Vagina tectus; quem cur distringere coner
Tutus ab infestis latronibus?"

What Ruperti says about Damocles' sword is ridiculous.

167. *tacita sudant praecordia culpa.*] A cold sweat coming over the heart through the power of conscience and the fear of exposure is a forcible description. 'Praecordia' are the intestines rather than the heart. In these passion and feeling had their seat, according to the Romans: the heart was the seat of intelligence.

168. *Inde irae et lacrimae.*] Terence's "Hinc illae lacrimae" (Andr. i. 1. 99) came to be a proverb. Horace uses it, Epp. i. 19. 41; and Cicero likewise (pro Coelio, c. 25).

169. *ante tubas:*] Before the battle is begun. When a man has put on his armour it is too late to draw back. The substance of his friend's advice is, that if he must write he had better attack those who are dead and gone; and the poet says he will follow his advice. From this it might be inferred that this Satire was written before the others. But I do not think it is a proof that can be depended upon. The 'Via Latina' was the oldest road out of Rome, and ran through the heart of Latium to Beneventum, where the 'Via Appia' joined it. The 'Via Flaminia' has been mentioned above, v. 61. The chief roads leading out of Rome were lined for several miles with the tombs of the wealthier citizens, burial within the walls of the city being forbidden by the twelve tables. "Hominem in urbe ne sepelito neve urito" (Cic. de Legg. ii. 23). So that burning was practised as early as the decemvirate. It grew afterwards into general use, and was not discontinued till the end of the second century of the Christian era (see Becker's Gall., Exc. on the interment of the dead). Heinrich supposes Juvenal, by mentioning the Flaminian and Latin roads, to hint at Domitian and his favourite, Paris the actor, of whom the former was buried on the Via Flaminia, and the other on the Via Latina.

SATIRA II.

INTRODUCTION.

This satire is levelled at those persons in the upper ranks of society (and particularly it would seem at the Emperor Domitian) who, pretending a stoical virtue and crying out against vice and calling up stringent old laws against it, were themselves practising the worst vices in secret, and giving to the age a character which never had been equalled, and could never be surpassed, for debauchery of the filthiest kind. The Commentators have generally supposed the Satire to be aimed at the professional philosophers of the day. "The poet in this Satyr inveighs against the Hypocrisie of the Philosophers and Priests of his time," is Tate's account of the argument. What his notions of a Roman priest may have been it is hard to say, but he writes:

"When hypocrites read lectures, and a sot,
Because into a Gown and Pulpit got,
Tho' surfeit-gorged and reeking from the Stews,
Nothing but Abstinence for's theme will chuse."

Heinrich, in a dissertation of much sagacity, has shown that Juvenal's meaning is very different from this, and the scope of the poem more wide and important. The vices and hypocrisy of Domitian were imitated by the respectable people, and at these he aims his invectives.

From the word 'nuper' in v. 29, it has been inferred that the satire was written soon after the events there referred to, which took place A.D. 83. 'Nuper' admits a good deal of latitude, as it often does in Cicero, but it is reasonable to suppose that Juvenal wrote while the matter was pretty fresh; and as the satire clearly has reference to the time of Domitian, that it was written before his reign was over. Domitian was assassinated in September, A.D. 96. It is not very likely that he gave it much publicity while the tyrant was alive.

For indignant power there is none of the poems that excels this. The nature of the subjects however renders it almost unreadable, and nothing but the honesty of the writer could make the task of editing it endurable. Whoever would judge of the difference between the spirit of true indignation and that of a weak or impure mind in dealing with such painful subjects, should compare Juvenal with his translator Tate, who has taken from the satire the best recommendation it has, which is the virtue of the author. If the psalm-translator and poet-laureate was a man of purity, he has done himself injustice. The other translators have executed their task better in this respect.

ARGUMENT.

I would gladly run to the utmost North when canting hypocrites dare talk of morals, mere ignorant fellows, though they fill their shelves with busts. No faith is in their outside. The whole town is teeming with these solemn villains. What, you reprove vice, the foulest of all foul pretenders! They affect few words, and silence, and cropped hair; more honest far is Peribomius, who makes no secret of his sin. I leave him to his destiny; I pity him. But they are worst who with fine words attack such vices. "I am no worse than you," says Varillus the degraded. Let the straight-limbed laugh at the bandy-legged, the fair at the blackamoor. For who would tolerate the Gracchi complaining of sedition, nor exclaim if Verres should affect to hate a thief, Milo a murderer, Clodius an adulterer, Catiline Cethegus, or Sulla's pupils carp at his proscription? But such was he who, while his fatal incest was in the doing, and while his niece was spawning her abortions, restored the bitterest laws against adultery.

The most corrupt may therefore well despise these moralists, and turn the tables on them, as Lauronia did when she heard one cry for the Julian law: "O happy times (cried she) with such a bulwark for its morals! Let the town blush, another Cato is come down from heaven! But whence, pray, this perfumery? If you must call old laws up from their rest, you'd better summon the Scantinian first. Look at the men, for they are worse than we, but their compact array and numbers save them; the lewd will hang together: among us nought so detestable is found. Say, do we meddle with the forum and the laws? A few, and but a few, are seen in the arena. But you will sit and spin and do our women's work better, yea than the best of us. We all know who was Hister's heir, and by what complaisance his wife got rich; and others may do likewise. And yet we are condemned; and censure spares the raven to hunt down the dove." These Stoics fled confused before the truth of her rebuke.

V. 65. What will not others do when you put on those clothes of gauze and go and preach before admiring crowds against the female sinners, Creticus? They would at least put on a decent toga if it came to that. "But it is so hot," say you: why then go naked; madness is less disgraceful. Look at the dress in which, had you lived then, our hardy ancestors had seen you in the rostra. Would you not cry out, "Heaven and earth!" if you saw a judex so attired? How would a witness look in clothes like these? And yet you, stern unbending Stoic, go transparent!

V. 78. The infection has spread, and will farther spread, like murrain among sheep, or scurf in pigs, or contagious rot from grape to grape. You will go on to something worse than this. The height of wickedness is reached by slow degrees. Soon we shall see you among those who mock the rites of Bona Dea, driving out the women, and keeping up such orgies as the Baptae tire Cotytto with. They wear long garlands on their heads and jewels on their neck, and sacrifice, and pour libations. Here one paints his eyebrows and makes his eyes look languishing: another drinks from an obscene glass with his long locks tied up in a net of gold, with a handsome tunic, while his slave swears by his master's Juno! Another holds a mirror to his face such as vile Otho carried when he went to the wars; a novel piece of furniture for a camp! Of course it is a great man's part to kill a tyrant—and to mind his skin; to aim at empires—and to smooth his face. Semiramis and Cleopatra did not so. Here is no reverence for the table, none; but Cybele's foul licence and the languishing voice, a fanatic high priest with his white hair, rare glutton he and master of his art. Long since they should have cut their useless parts, as the Phrygian priests are wont.

V. 117. Gracchus his portion brought to a trumpeter: the marriage deeds were signed; the blessing spoken; the feast prepared; the new bride lay upon his husband's bosom. Ye nobles! need we the censor or the haruspex here? What if a woman calved or a cow lambed? you'd shudder more and count them greater monsters. The priest of Mars who sweated with the ancilia puts on a bridal dress! Gradivus, whence this shame to Latin shepherds? whence have thy sons this itch? A man of birth and wealth marries a man, and yet thy wrath is still! quit then the plain which thou dost so neglect. "I must be up betimes, and do my duty by the Quïrinal." "What duty?" "What duty! why my friend will take a husband—the marriage will be private." But soon there'll be no privacy, they'll want to put it in the news. And yet they must die barren (this torments them), in spite of herbs and the Lupercus' blows.

V. 143. But this is less than noble gladiators, who scour the arena, better born than all the fine folk who look on by the podium, yea than the great man too who gives the games. The fables about manes, Styx, and Charon's boat we leave to babes. But only think them true, and what would all those mighty spirits say when such a shade came down! They'd cry for lustral water, sulphur, pine, and laurel.

V. 159. So changed are we, alas! Our arms are carried to the furthest North, but those barbarians do not what their conquerors do. Yet one, Armenian Zalates, more soft

than all the rest, indulged the tribune's lust. See what bad company does! he came to us a hostage. 'Tis here we fashion men. Let children stay with us, and they will find a lover. They'll throw away their breeches and their sports, and carry back foul habits to their home.

ULTRA Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glacialem
Oceanum, quoties aliquid de moribus audent
Qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt.
Indocti primum, quanquam plena omnia gypso
Chrysippi invenies, nam perfectissimus horum est
Si quis Aristotelem similem vel Pittacon emit,
Et jubet archetypos pluteum servare Cleanthas.

1. *Ultra Sauromatas*] It is enough for this place to say, that Sarmatia represented Poland, and the Russian empire in Europe and part of Asia, from the Vistula to the Volga and from the Euxine to the Northern Ocean, including regions unexplored by the ancients, countries of fable, to which, according to Pindar (Pyth. x. 40)—

ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν ἂν εὕροις
————θαυματὰν ὁδόν.

See note on Horace, C. ii. 20. 16: 'Hyperboreosque campos.'

2. *aliquid de moribus audent*] 'Audere' is here used as we might say, 'venture any thing on morals,' i. e. have the boldness to say any thing about morals.

3. *Qui Curios simulant*] 'Who affect the Curii.' On this plural see last Satire, v. 109, n. Horace has "Et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis" (Epp. i. 1. 64), where, as here, the person referred to is M. Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus, and the type of honesty in all after ages among the Romans; a pattern of the good old times (see note on the above passage of Horace). Martial (i. 25) has the following epigram on a lately-married man, which, besides this place, illustrates vv. 8 and 9 (see notes):

"Adspicis incomptis illum, Deciane, capillis,
Cujus et ipse times triste supercilium;
Qui loquitur Curios assertoresque Camillos?
Nolito fronti credere; nupsit heri."

So he says to one Chrestus (ix. 28): "Curios Camillos Quintios Numas Ancos Loqueris."

4. *Indocti primum,*] 'In the first place they are ignorant fellows, though they profess a great acquaintance with authors; but with all their show you cannot trust their outsides; within they are full of abomination, and overrun the town with their lewdness.' 'Primum' has no 'deinde' after it, and does not require it. It is not uncommonly used to introduce a subject. Ruperti makes a 'deinde' at 'frontis nulla fides' (8), a 'praeterea' at 'hispida membra quidem' (11), and a 'denique' at 'rarus sermo illis' (14.) The 'frons,' or outside show, on which no dependence is to be placed, is their affectation of studious habits and learning.

—*quanquam plena omnia gypso Chrysippi*] 'Though you will find all parts of his house full of busts of Chrysippus (the reputed founder of the Stoic philosophy, though third in descent from Zeno—see note on Hor. S. i. 3. 125), made of gypsum,' of which casts were commonly made. It was usual to see busts of this sort in libraries, both public and private—see note on Hor. S. i. 4. 21: "Beatus Fannius ultro Delatis capsis et imagine."

6. *Si quis Aristotelem*] 'Similem' means a good likeness. So Martial uses the word in an epigram on Issa, a little dog of Publius (i. 110):

"Hanc ne lux rapiat suprema totam
Picta Publius exprimit tabella,
In qua tam similem videbis Issam
Ut sit tam similis sibi nec ipsa.
Issam denique pone cum tabella,
Aut utramque putabis esse veram,
Aut utramque putabis esse pictam."

7. *Et jubet archetypos*] Cleanthes was the teacher of Chrysippus and disciple of Zeno, and was born at Assos, about the year B.C. 300. Pittacus, one of the seven wise men, was born at Mitylene, about B.C. 650. 'Pluteus' was a shelf fixed to the wall for books or other things to stand upon. See Pers. i. 106, n. The translators say that Cleanthes' busts are set to guard the books. It is the shelves that are ordered to hold the busts. For 'pluteum' has been substi-

Frontis nulla fides. Quis enim non vicus abundat
Tristibus obscoenis? Castigas turpia quum sis
Inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinaedos.
Hispida membra quidem et durae per brachia setae
Promittunt atrocem animum: sed podice levi
Caeduntur tumidae medico ridente mariscae.

tuted, in two of the old editions (Nürnberg, 1497, and Ascensius of Paris, 1498), 'puteum,' probably through inadvertence. But the word has been taken up by commentators (Valesius, Graevius, Heinsius, are mentioned by Ruperti) and a new sense given to the passage. Cleanthes is reported to have earned the means of living by drawing water; and he is said to have been called in consequence φρεάντλης. Wherefore these critics have supposed Juvenal to have meant that these men set up images of Cleanthes to guard their wells, 'puteum servare.' More consideration has been given to this suggestion than it deserves. 'Archetypos' is usually rendered 'original.' τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, τὸ πρωτότυπον signify the model or pattern from which copies are taken. 'Archetypum' was the same; but the word is not found as early as Augustus. 'Prototypia' occurs in the Codex Theodos. (see Forcell.), in the same sense. The adjective 'archetypus' is found only here and in Martial vii. 11, where he says to his friend, Aulus Pudens, who had asked him for a copy of his poems corrected with his own hand: "O quam me nimium probas amasque Qui vis archetypas habere nugas?" See also xii. 69: "Sic tanquam tabulas scyphosque, Paulle, Omnes archetypos habes amicos."

8. *Frontis nulla fides.*] Some of the oldest editions and four of the MSS. quoted by Achaintre, have 'fronti,' which Ruperti adopts. Most of the editions, and all the other MSS. appear to have the genitive. The difference is not important. 'Fronti nulla fides' would mean 'there is no trust to be put in the outside;' 'frontis,' that the outside has nothing trustworthy in it; in the one case 'fides' is 'faith,' in the other that on which faith is exercised. The expression of the brow represents as much as any part of the face the working of the mind, and 'frons' appears with every epithet that expresses character and feeling. But the face may be tutored and expression assumed, and the lewdest villain may wear the most modest brow. μὴ κρίνετε κατ' ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν κρίνατε, is the divine command.

9. *Tristibus obscoenis?*] 'Tristibus' is here 'grave,' 'serious.' Horace opposes it to 'jocosus,' S. i. 10. 11: "Et sermone opus est modo tristi saepe jocoso." The two adjectives are not commonly joined together. 'Obscoenus' signifies that which is common or unclean. It is said to contain the Greek κοινὸς, which is doubtful. It is applied to things, persons, words, &c., of ill omen; but also as here, and as we use it, to the lewd.—'quum sis:' 'although you are.' Quintilian (Inst. xii. 3. fin.) throws light upon the subject of this Satire, when (writing in Domitian's time) he speaks of men "pigritiae arrogantioris, qui subito fronte conficta immissaque barba veluti despexissent oratoria praecepta, paulum aliquid sederunt in scholis philosophorum, ut deinde, *in publico tristes*, domi dissoluti, captarent auctoritatem contemtu ceterorum. Philosophia enim (he adds) simulari potest, eloquentia non potest."

10. *Inter Socraticos*] The commentators and translators, old and modern, are divided as to the meaning of 'Socraticos.' The sense is the same as in 'fictos Scauros' (v. 34, n.); these men carried on their vile practices under the disguise of moralists. The Socratics they would affect to imitate were Antisthenes and the Cynics. They are called Stoics below, v. 65 (see Int.). Others, like the Scholiast, suppose that Juvenal adopted the libel against Socrates, which made him as bad in that respect as they. Of Socrates personally Juvenal speaks with respect (xiii. 185, sq.). 'Sotadicos' has been suggested as an emendation, derived from one Sotades, who, according to Athenaeus and others, was the first who practised this abomination. But no MSS. support the word; nor have any editors, I believe, adopted it, though it has always been thought necessary to notice it.

12. *atrocem animum:*] 'A bold, manly mind.' 'Atrox' commonly has the meaning of a dogged courage, as in Horace, C. ii. 1. 23:

"Et cuncta terrarum subacta
Praeter atrocem animum Catonis."

Rarus sermo illis et magna libido tacendi
Atque supercilio brevior coma. Verius ergo
Et magis ingenue Peribomius : hunc ego fatis
Imputo, qui vultu morbum incessuque fatetur :
Horum simplicitas miserabilis ; his furor ipse
Dat veniam. Sed pejores qui talia verbis
Herculis invadunt et de virtute locuti
Clunem agitant. "Ego te ceventem, Sexte, verebor ?"
Infamis Varillus ait : "quo deterior te ?"
Loripedem rectus derideat, Aethiopem albus.

14. *Rarus sermo illis*] Many will be reminded of Gratiano's description in the Merchant of Venice (Act i. sc. 1):

"There are a sort of men whose visages
Do cream and mantle like a standing pond,
And do a wilful stillness entertain,
With purpose to be dress'd in an opinion
Of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit;
As who would say, I am Sir Oracle,
And when I ope my lips let no dog bark.
O my Antonio, I do know of those
Who therefore only are esteemed wise
For saying nothing,"

which is all an expansion of what Solomon says: "Even a fool when he holdeth his peace is counted wise; and he that shutteth his lips a man of understanding" (Prov. xvii. 28).

15. *brevior coma.*] Their short-clipped hair was another affectation of wisdom, following, it is said, the fashion of the Stoics. See Pers. iii. 54: "detonsa juventus Invigilat." Britannicus quotes in Latin what he says is a Greek proverb : "nullus comatus qui idem cinoedus non sit." But the Stoics had a bad name in this matter ; and yet Lucian (Hermotimus c. 18, quoted by Ruperti, and referred to by Turnebus, Adv. l. xv. c. 17) speaks of them as ἐν χρῷ κουρίας τοὺς πλείστους, most of them with their hair clipped down to the skin. Ruperti has a long note upon 'supercilium,' which is not worth attending to.

16. *Peribomius :*] The Scholiast says he was an 'Archigallus,' or chief among the priests of the Galatian 'Cybele' (Hor. S. i. 2. 121, n.), but followed an infamous trade. Ruperti supposes the name to be taken from βωμός. περιβώμιος is used in the Septuagint translation for a sacred grove (2 Kings xxiii. 4, and elsewhere). 'Peribonius' is the reading of M. and many other MSS. This man made no concealment of his trade, but showed it in his gait and face, and as he was at any rate more honest, Juvenal lets him alone, and charges him (by which he means his wickedness) on the fates, supposing him to be mad, θεοβλαβής, as Heinrich says. 'Imputare' is a word used in accounts, for putting to a person's credit, as 'acceptum referre,' or (as 'expensum referre') to his debit. To 'impute' a thing to any one is to lay it to his charge. The openness ('simplicitas') of such persons, and their blind madness, he says, may excite compassion and get them some indulgence. Heinecke justly reproves Ruperti for substituting 'quem' for 'qui,' as if 'morbum' was the object of 'imputo.' 'Morbum' means his vice, 'mentis morbum' as Horace has it (S. ii. 3. 80).

19. *qui talia verbis Herculis invadunt*] 'Who attack such vices with big words, stout, terrible language, such as Hercules might use.' There is no allusion to the language of disdain with which Hercules rejected the addresses of Pleasure in Prodicus' story. Ruperti has taken this notion up from Britannicus, who tells the whole story. But Heinrich thinks Hercules is mentioned because the Cynics professed to imitate him in dress and voice.

21. *Sexte,*] The Scholiast says this was some senator, which is not improbable. The name 'Varillus' is varied in some MSS. but is so written in most.

22. *quo deterior te?*] So Davus addresses his master (Hor. S. ii. 7. 40):

"Tu, cum sis quod ego et fortassis nequior, ultro
Insectere velut melior verbisque decoris
Obvolvas vitium? Quid, si me stultior ipso," &c.

23. *Loripedem rectus derideat,*] 'Loripes' is the same as ἱμαντόπους. Pliny (vii. 2) speaks of a tribe among the Indians who were "anguium modo loripedes." See

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?
Quis caelum terris non misceat et mare caelo
Si fur displiceat Verri, homicida Miloni,
Clodius accuset moechos, Catilina Cethegum,
In tabulam Sullae si dicant discipuli tres?
Qualis erat nuper tragico pollutus adulter

Forcellini, who explains it of those who in walking twist their legs about like a thong of leather, or whose legs are naturally distorted. He quotes also Plautus (Poen. iii. 1. 7): "Nequicquam hos fuscos mihi elegi loripedes tardissimos." The soft word for such appears to have been 'varus,' or 'scaurus' (Horace, S. i. 3. 47, n.). The Scholiast explains 'loripedem' as 'solutum pedibus aut curvis.'

24. *Quis tulerit Gracchos*] This might stand 'si Gracchi querantur, quis tulerit?' 'If the Gracchi were to complain, who would bear it?' (See Key's Lat. Gr. 1209.) Every one will understand the charge of sedition laid upon the Gracchi (Tiberius and Caius), the friends of the poor, and feared by the aristocracy. It is not surprising that their names passed into proverbs under the empire.

25. *Quis caelum terris*] See below, vi. 283: "clames licet et mare caelo Confundas homo sum.' He means, who would not cry out invoking heaven and earth at such hypocrisy? as Stasimus cries out in Plautus (Trinum. iv. 3. 63): "Mare, terra, caelum, di vostram fidem, Satin' ego oculis plane video?" The words of Juvenal are borrowed from Virgil (Aen. v. 790): "maria omnia caelo miscuit," who, as Grangaeus remarks, may have got his from Lucretius (iii. 854): "non si terra mari miscebitur et mare caelo."

26. *Si fur displiceat Verri,*] That is, if the plunderer of a province were offended with a common robber. 'Furtum' included all theft and robbery, with or without violence; but where a distinction is meant it is opposed to 'rapina,' which is 'furtum' attended with force. See note on Hor. S. i. 3. 122, 'Furta latrociniis.' Cicero's seven orations have made Verres immortal. His iniquities are enshrined in the finest specimens of forensic eloquence that have come down to us from antiquity. Milo's murder of Clodius, his adversary and Cicero's (A. U. C. 702), and the blood he and his followers shed in his contests with that person, made his name proverbial. Clodius was, besides, infamous for his intrigue with Caesar's wife, Pompeia, and his violation of the mysteries of 'Bona Dea,' in pursuit of his mistress. Catiline and Cethegus, fellow-conspirators, are mentioned together again viii. 231; x. 287. C. Cornelius Cethegus was not inferior to Catiline in bloody violence, and next to Lentulus was his chief supporter.

28. *In tabulam Sullae*] The 'tabula' means the proscription table or lists of Sulla; and they who are here called his three disciples are Antonius, Caesar Octavianus, and Lepidus, whose proscription (A.U.C. 711) was more bloody than Sulla's, thirty-eight years before. It is said to have included 3000 equites and 300 senators, and among them were Cicero and others of the first distinction. Lucan calls Cn. Pompeius a pupil of Sulla (Phars. i. 325):

"Bella nefanda parat suetus civilibus armis
Et docilis Sullam sceleris vicisse magistrum."

As to 'tabulam Sullae' Grangaeus quotes Florus (iii. 21): "proposita est illa ingens tabula, et ex ipso equestri ordinis flore ac senatu duo millia electi qui mori juberentur." 'Dicere in' is used in the sense of 'dicere contra.' Cicero has "multa praesens in praesentem et dixerat et fecerat" (Ad Att. xi. 12).

29. *Qualis erat nuper*] He here alludes to the adulterous intercourse of Domitian with his niece Julia Sabina, a daughter of Titus, who was married to Flavius Sabinus, her father's and Domitian's first cousin. Suetonius (Domit. 22) relates that she was offered Domitian in marriage while yet a virgin, and that he refused her because he was married already to Domitia. But not long after her marriage (to Sabinus), and before he came to the throne, he seduced her; and when he was emperor, murdered her husband on the pretext (mentioned by Suetonius, c. 10) that when they were proclaimed consuls together (A.D. 82), the year after Domitian's accession, the herald proclaimed Sabinus imperator instead of consul. The true reason no doubt was the emperor's lust for Julia; and Juvenal therefore calls his connexion with her 'tragicus con-

Concubitu, qui tunc leges revocabat amaras
Omnibus atque ipsis Veneri Martique timendas,
Quum tot abortivis fecundam Julia vulvam
Solveret et patruo similes effunderet offas.
Nonne igitur jure ac merito vitia ultima fictos
Contemnunt Scauros et castigata remordent?
  Non tulit ex illis torvum Lauronia quendam
Clamantem toties: "Ubi nunc lex Julia? dormis?"
Ad quem subridens: "Felicia tempora quae te
Moribus opponunt! Habeat jam Roma pudorem:
Tertius e caelo cecidit Cato. Sed tamen unde

cubitus.' Julia afterwards died in an attempt forced upon her by Domitian, to procure abortion, which is alluded to in v. 32, sq. Pliny (Epp. iv. 11. 6), speaking of Domitian, says he put to death a Vestal for incest and was as bad himself: "Quum ipse fratris filiam incesto non solum polluisset verum etiam occidisset, nam vidua abortu periit." According to Dion Cassius (67. 3) this happened A.D. 83; the same year, probably, as the murder of Sabinus. At the same time Domitian was engaged in the reforming of public morals (Sueton. Vit. c. 8. "Suscepta morum correctione," &c.), having taken upon himself the censorship for life; he being the first of the emperors who had nominally assumed that office (see S. iv. 12). The 'lex Julia de Adulteriis' may have been loosely observed, and Suetonius speaks of Domitian having enforced with severity, and on several occasions, the law against unchaste Vestals, "a patre suo quoque et fratre neglecta" (c. 8); see below, iv. 9, n. In that loose age the 'lex Julia de Adulteriis' above mentioned (see Dict. Ant.) would be called 'amara omnibus,' and a terror to the adulterous Mars and Venus. 'Abortivis' signifies means of abortion. 'Tunc' means that he was restoring the laws at the very time when he was carrying on his intrigue.

34. *vitia ultima*] The most vicious of men, 'res pro persona;' as 'servitium' for 'servus,' 'remigium' for 'remiges,' &c. 'Fictos Scauros' are those villains who profess to be as virtuous as M. Aemilius Scaurus, who is alluded to again (xi. 91) in conjunction with the Fabii, Cato and Fabricius. See Horace, C. i. 12. 37, n., "Regulum et Scauros animaeque magnae Prodigum Paullum," where the plural is used as here. See note on S. i. 109; and above, on vv. 3. 10. Because Sallust (B. Jug. 18) speaks of Scaurus as 'callide vitia occultans,' Ruperti supposes Juvenal may mean that these men were like Scaurus in his dissimulation. But whatever Sallust may have thought of Scaurus, he was classed with the noble and honest citizens of Rome by others. Juvenal says that the lowest characters, who made no concealment of their vices, despised these hypocrites, and when they attacked them returned their bite, as Horace says (Epod. vi. 3):

"Quin huc inanes, si potes, vertis minas
  Et me remorsurum petis?"

36. *Lauronia*] This is any woman of the town. The name is said, without any probability, to be taken from Lauron, a town of Hispania Tarraconensis (Beck, quoted by Ruperti in his Var. Lect.). Some MSS. have Laronia, which occurs in inscriptions. The woman smiles quietly at these hypocrites crying out pathetically for the 'lex Julia' (see note on v. 29), and says to one of them: 'Lucky times are these, which present such a barrier to immorality as you. Let the town blush at her lewdness; another Cato has dropped from the skies. But where did you buy your perfumery?' And then she breaks out in a fierce invective against men, and a defence of her own sex. 'Subridens' expresses bitterness, as in Aen. x. 742: "Ad quem subridens mista Mezentius ira." The taunt about the ointment is sarcastic enough; and the speech, which passes from quiet irony to the utmost scorn, is well managed.

40. *Tertius e caelo cecidit Cato.*] This seems to be an allusion to Domitian's censorship spoken of above (v. 29. n.). Some commentators do not see why there should be three, that is, why Cato of Utica should be associated with the Censor. But Juvenal has put them together, and the younger was an honest man.

Haec emis hirsuto spirant opobalsama collo
Quae tibi? Ne pudeat dominum monstrare tabernae.
Quod si vexantur leges ac jura, citari
Ante omnes debet Scantinia. Respice primum
Et scrutare viros; faciunt hi plura: sed illos
Defendit numerus junctaeque umbone phalanges.
Magna inter molles concordia. Non erit ullum
Exemplum in nostro tam detestabile sexu.
Tedia non lambit Cluviam, nec Flora Catullam:
Hispo subit juvenes et morbo pallet utroque.
Numquid nos agimus causas, civilia jura
Novimus, aut ullo strepitu fora vestra movemus?

41. *spirant opobalsama*] 'Spirare' is commonly used with respect to perfumes, as Virgil (Aen. i. 407): "Ambrosiaeque comae divinum vertice odorem Spiravere." 'Opobalsamum' is the juice (ὀπός) of the 'balsamum' (amyris Gileadensis), the balm of Gilead mentioned in Scripture, of which a correct description is given by Pliny, H. N. xii. 25. He says that its scent was preferred to every other; and he gives the same account that Bruce the traveller gives of the extraction of the juice by an incision in the bark, and how it was collected in very small quantities, so that it took a long summer's day to fill a small bottle. It was therefore very rare and costly, as it is still. There was a tax upon the tree Pliny says (l. c.): "Servit nunc haec et tributa pendit cum sua gente."

43. *Quod si vexantur leges ac jura,*] 'If you are to disturb laws that have gone to rest, you should call up the Scantinia.' 'Citare,' a form of 'cieo,' means here 'to wake up,' alluding to 'dormis' (v. 37). The 'lex Scantinia' was a law for the suppression of unnatural crimes. Domitian did revive this law, according to Suetonius: "Quosdam ex utroque ordine (equites and senators) lege Scantinia condemnavit" (c. 8). In a large number of the MSS. the reading is 'Scatinia.' This law existed in Cicero's time. The penalty of death was first imposed on these crimes by the Christian emperors Constantine and Constans. As to 'leges et jura,' see below, v. 72, n.; and for the distinction between them the reader is referred to Smith's Dict. Ant. and to Hor. Epp. i. 16. 41, n. [Ribbeck has 'leges, at jure citari.']

45. *faciunt hi plura:*] It seems as if Juvenal remembered that line of Horace (A. P. v. 432), "Et faciunt hi plura dolentibus." 'Junctaeque umbone phalanges' is expressed by the Greek military term συνασπισμὸς, which was the closest order of the phalanx in charging: or it represents in the Roman warfare the 'testudo,' or interlacing of shields, which formed the most effectual shelter against the darts and other missiles of the enemy. The 'umbo,' or ὀμφαλὸς, was the boss in the centre of the 'clipeus' or 'parma,' which helped to throw off the darts that struck the shield, and being furnished with a spike, or else by its own projection, was itself a weapon of offence. So Martial says (iii. 46): "In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repellet." The Scholiast quotes Lucan: "Quicquid multis peccatur inultum est."

47. *Magna inter molles concordia.*] John of Salisbury quotes this (Nugae, &c. iii. 12) on the question whether friendship can exist between the bad, which he decides in the negative, and goes on, "Magna utique inter molles et malos concordia, sed ea tantum a caritate discedit quantum lux distat a tenebris." 'Molles' are effeminate, in the worst sense.

51. *Numquid nos agimus causas,*] She says, 'Do we meddle with men's business as they do with ours.' Horace has (S. i. 9. 38): "Inteream si Aut valeo stare aut novi civilia jura." For the component parts of 'Jus Civile,' which included things human and things divine, see Dict. Ant. Art. 'Jus;' and v. 72, n.

52. *fora vestra*] There were several 'fora' in Rome at this time; but the three in which most legal business was done were the Forum Romanum, Forum Julium, and Forum Augusti. The last is particularly referred to in the last satire (v. 128), and was that in which most judicial business was transacted.

Luctantur paucae, comedunt coliphia paucae:
Vos lanam trahitis calathisque peracta refertis
Vellera: vos tenui praegnantem stamine fusum
Penelope melius, levius torquetis Arachne,
Horrida quale facit residens in codice pellex.
Notum est cur solo tabulas impleverit Hister
Liberto, dederit vivus cur multa puellae.
Dives erit magno quae dormit tertia lecto.
Tu nube atque tace: donant arcana cylindros.

53. *Luctantur paucae,*] That some women engaged in the combats of the arena has been said before (i. 22, n.); and she admits it, but says they are few, while the men-women were many. 'Coliphia' are said to have been athletes' food, and this passage confirms it. Salmasius (ad Tertull. de Pallio, p. 220, quoted by Cramer on the Scholiast here) derives the word from the Greek *κώληψ, κωλήπιον*, which means the knee or ankle joint; from which Forcellini infers that the word means masses of dry tough meat, chiefly pork or beef. One of the Scholiasts says that Pythagoras taught the athletes to train upon roast beef and bread, they having been accustomed to eat figs before, and that 'coliphia' means generally the food taken by athletes. Some, he says, affirm that 'coliphia' were made of honey and leaven in an obscene form. Another Scholiast says that 'coliphia' means unleavened bread; and on Plautus (Pers. i. 3. 12: "Collyrae facite ut madeant et coliphia") Weise explains them as 'panes recenti caseo commixti.' The derivation above given seems very doubtful, but the context leaves no doubt what the food was used for sometimes.

54. *Vos lanam trahitis*] 'Trahere' is commonly used for spinning, as in Horace (C. ii. 18. 7):

"Nec Laconicas mihi
Trahunt honestae purpuras clientae."

"You spin wool, and in baskets bear your clews," is Stapylton's translation. The wool was spun into threads and put by in baskets. 'Stamen' is the thread with which the spindle was 'pregnant,' when it was twisted round it ready for weaving. Sophocles makes Oedipus say of his sons (Oed. Col. 337):

*ὢ πάντ' ἐκείνω τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νόμοις
φύσιν κατεικασθέντε καὶ βίου τροφάς.
ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄρσενες κατὰ στέγας
θακοῦσιν ἱστουργοῦντες ....*

57. *Horrida quale facit*] 'Such as a dirty slave girl makes sitting on her codex,' which was a log of wood that slaves were sometimes compelled to wear tied to their leg by way of punishment. Propertius, iv. 7. 43, says:

"Nostraque quod Petale tulit ad monumenta coronas,
Codicis immundi vincula sentit anus."

In Plautus (Poen. v. 3. 39), quoted by Forcellini and the commentators for this sense, Melphio only means he will send the slaves to cut wood:

"——quos ego jam detrudam ad molas;
Inde porro ad puteum atque ad robustum codicem."

'Pellex' is one who, being unmarried, had intercourse with a married man. She was so called with respect to the man's wife. (See Forcellini.) Here therefore the punishment may be supposed to be inflicted by a jealous mistress, as the Scholiast says. *ἕδραι ἄτιμοι*, such as sitting in the stocks, were common punishments of the milder sort among the Greeks and Romans, as Casaubon shows in his note on Sueton. Aug. 24.

58. *tabulas impleverit Hister*] This man, if it is the same, he calls below Hister Pacuvius (xii. 111), where he is a will-hunter, but here he makes his own will and makes his freedman who had served his lust 'heres ex asse,' the heir of all his property. As to 'tabulas,' see note on i. 68. He gave large sums of money to his wife before his death to let his filthy practices go on. As to 'puellae' for married women, compare Hor. C. iii. 14. 10: 'Vos o pueri et puellae Jam virum expertae.' 'Virgines' are used in the same way in the same stanza, and in C. ii. 8. 23, 'nuper Virgines nuptae.'

61. *donant arcana cylindros.*] The reward of secrecy is jewels. 'Cylindri' were stones cut in this shape. See Pliny, H. N. xxxvii. 5: "Cylindros ex beryllo facere malunt

De nobis post haec tristis sententia fertur.
Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas."
Fugerunt trepidi vera ac manifesta canentem
Stoicidae. Quid enim falsi Lauronia? Sed quid
Non facient alii quum tu multicia sumas,
Cretice, et hanc vestem populo mirante perores
In Proculas et Pollitas? Est moecha Fabulla;
Damnetur, si vis, etiam Carfinia: talem
Non sumet damnata togam. "Sed Julius ardet,
Aestuo." Nudus agas; minus est insania turpis.
En habitum quo te leges ac jura ferentem

quam gemmas quoniam est summa commendatio in longitudine." 'Tu' is addressed to any unmarried woman, and is a common way of speaking, as in Horace (Epp. i. 2. 62): "animum rege qui nisi paret imperat; hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catena."

52. *De nobis post haec*] 'And yet after this, harsh verdict is passed upon us women; so does judgment spare the raven and hunt down the dove.' The last example is not very dove-like. 'Sententiam ferre' is more properly derived from the senate than the 'judicia,' where the 'judices' were said 'sententiam dicere' or 'pronuntiare.' In 'censura' Heinrich sees an allusion to Domitian's censorship.

64. *canentem Stoicidae.*] See note on v. 10. 'Trepidi' means 'in confusion.' See note on Hor. C. ii. 11. 4. The indignant language of the woman is expressed by 'canentem.' It would apply to Cassandra or any one of that sort. 'Stoicidae' is only a contemptuous form of 'Stoici.' The Scholiast makes it feminine, and compares it with "O vere Phrygiae nec dum Phryges" (Virg. Aen. ix. 617), and with 'Troiades' in Persius, i. 4. But the form is masculine, as in Hor. S. i. 1. 100, 'fortissima Tyndaridarum.'

66. *quum tu multicia sumas,*] The Satire now turns to those who, while they affected the Stoic opinions and character openly, practised vice in secret. The 'multicia' were garments of some fine transparent texture, such as the 'Coae vestes' mentioned by Horace, C. iv. 13. 13, and S. i. 2. 101: "Cois tibi paene videre est Ut nudum." See below v. 78, and xi. 188. Also vi. 259: "Hae sunt quae tenui sudant in cyclade," and viii. 101: "conchylia Coa." 'Creticus' is a name put for any person of station, as the Scholiast says. It occurs again in viii. 38. 'Perorare' is often used by Cicero, not only for the conclusion of a speech, but for the speech itself, as Forcellini shows. Juvenal says the man goes and harangues the people against lewd women while he is wearing these lewd garments and the people are admiring them. 'Proculae' is a name that occurs in inscriptions. 'Pollitas' appears in various shapes in the MSS. For 'Fabulla,' which is the reading of P. and occurs in Martial, i. 65; xii. 94, a large number of MSS. have 'Labulla.' The editions are divided. 'Carfinia' also appears as 'Carphinia,' 'Calphurnia,' and other forms. These last represent married women, who if convicted of adultery would be obliged to put off the stola, which was the honest matron's ordinary dress, and to wear a toga, which was the dress of a 'meretrix.' See Hor. S. i. 2. 63, n. Ruperti says Juvenal does not allude here to this. I think he does.

70. *Sed Julius ardet,*] Creticus is supposed to answer, in excuse for his garments, that in this hot weather his blood boils. He is told that he had better go into court naked at once, for though the people would call him mad, madness was not so disgraceful as indecency. 'Nudus' was said of one who appeared only in his tunic. See Cicero, Phil. ii. 86: "O praeclaram illam eloquentiam tuam quum es nudus contionatus! quid hoc turpius? quid foedius? quid suppliciis omnibus dignius," by which and like passages Heinrich supports the reading 'infamia' instead of 'insania,' which is that of most MSS. and all editions but his own and Grangaeus', who says, "albis dentibus ridendi qui legunt insania pro infamia."

72. *En habitum*] Ruperti conjectures 'me' for 'te,' and supposes Creticus to speak what follows, which he says is "difficillimus locus." It appears to me pretty plain. Heinecke's interpretation given by Ruperti seems equally with his beside the mark. Juvenal says, "See the dress in which the citizens just returned

Vulneribus crudis populus modo victor et illud
Montanum positis audiret vulgus aratris!
Quid non proclames in corpore judicis ista
Si videas? Quaero an deceant multicia testem?
Acer et indomitus libertatisque magister,
Cretice, perluces. Dedit hanc contagio labem
Et dabit in plures: sicut grex totus in agris
Unius scabie cadit et porrigine porci,
Uvaque contacta livorem ducit ab uva.
Foedius hoc aliquid quandoque audebis amictu.

victorious with wounds yet green, those mountaineers who left their ploughs, would hear you proposing laws." He supposes Creticus to be living in the good old times, and the rough soldier fresh from the wars to see him in the rostra in that dress. 'Populus modo victor' and 'illud montanum vulgus,' who left their ploughs to go to the wars, are the same subject. They are

"——rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
Versare glebas,"

who, according to Horace, belonged to the age of the Punic Wars. (C. iii. 6. 37, sqq.) 'Ferre' properly applies to a 'lex;' that is, a law brought forward in the 'comitia centuriata' after being approved by the Senate. ['Jura' is thus defined by Gaius, Inst. i. § 2: "constant autem jura ex legibus, plebiscitis, senatusconsultis, constitutionibus Principum, edictis eorum qui jus edicendi habent, responsis prudentium."] 'Ferre leges et jura' is a loose way of speaking, but 'leges et jura' seems to have become a common way of expressing law in general. See above, v. 43.

75. *Quid non proclames*] He asks, 'how would you not exclaim if you saw those clothes of yours (ista) on the person of a judex? but do transparencies become even a witness?' that is, would not any one so dressed deserve to be ordered out of court, or would not his testimony be rendered suspicious by such a licentious dress? 'And yet you, stern impassive Stoic, master of your freedom, and led captive by no lusts, are showing your nakedness!' 'Libertas' means freedom from the dominion of impulse and the passions. According to Ruperti it means 'libertas vivendi ut velis' (Cic. Parad. v. 1. 4), but that does not suit the scope of the passage, which is, that he who professed to be free was the slave of his own filthy mind. The liberty appears to be that recommended by Horace in his Epistle to Numicius (i. 6): 'Nil admirari prope res est una Numici,' &c., where see note.

79. *sicut grex totus*] The Scholiast quotes Virgil: 'Nec mala vicini pecoris contagia laedant,' and Grangaeus Ovid (Rem. Am. 613): 'facito contagia vites Haec et enim pecori saepe nocere solent.' The MSS. and old editions vary between 'prurigo' and 'porrigo:' the first means the itch, and the second scurf. Turnebus quotes Justin (l. xxxvi.), who says of the Jews: "cum scabiem et pruriginem paterentur." On v. 81 the Scholiast quotes a proverb: 'Uva uvam videndo varia fit;' and 'One plum gets colour by looking at another' is said to be a Persian phrase to express the propagation of opinions, &c. (Gifford) [Ribbeck has 'uvaque conspecta']. The Greeks said βότρυς πρὸς βότρυν πεπαίνεται, but from the context Juvenal seems to mean that one bad grape spoils another by contact, which is true. 'Livor,' however, is the usual word for the healthy colour of the dark grape. Horace says:

"——jam tibi lividos
Distinguet Autumnus racemos
Purpureo varius colore,"
C. i. 5. 10, sqq.;

and Propertius speaks of 'liventibus uva racemis' (iv. 2. 13).

82 *Foedius hoc aliquid*] He says he will go on from bad to worse if he takes to that dress. He will soon join a profane set, who it appears from this place amused themselves with parodying the rites of Bona Dea, as performed by women, who wore long chaplets of vine leaves on their heads, and jewels on their neck, and offered sacrifice and libation to the goddess. Her rites were only attended by women; but the persons Juvenal refers to turned out the women

Nemo repente venit turpissimus : accipient te
Paullatim qui longa domi redimicula sumunt
Frontibus, et toto posuere monilia collo,
Atque Bonam tenerae placant abdomine porcae
Et magno cratere Deam ; sed more sinistro
Exagitata procul non intrat femina limen :
Solis ara Deae maribus patet. "Ite profanae!"
Clamatur : "nullo gemit hic tibicina cornu."
Talia secreta coluerunt orgia taeda
Cecropiam soliti Baptae lassare Cotytto.
Ille supercilium madida fuligine tactum
Obliqua producit acu pingitque trementes

and had these mock ceremonies to themselves. Roman women wore very handsome necklaces of all kinds. Specimens are given in the Dict. Ant., Art. 'Monile.' 'More sinistro,' 'in perverse fashion,' means that they reversed the proper practice.

83. *Nemo repente venit*] 'Venit,' in the sense of 'evenit,' is used below in vii. 29: "Ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra." Ruperti and Heinrich both adopt it here, though only two MSS. have yet been found to favour it. All other editions have 'fuit;' some MSS. have 'fiat.' I prefer 'venit' to 'fuit.' 'Redimicula' was the name of various kinds of fillets and ribands worn by women on the head. Ribands streaming from the cap or net in which the hair was tied up were so called. 'Ite profanae' is a burlesque of the proclamation of the priest ordering away all the uninitiated when the mysteries were to begin, like Horace's 'Odi profanum vulgus et arceo' (C. iii. 1. 1, note, where the parody of Aristophanes, Frogs, 353, sqq. is quoted). The festival of Bona Dea or Fauna, who was a Roman divinity, and connected with Faunus, was held yearly on the 1st of May, on the Aventine, and conducted by the vestals, assisted only by women. Wine was set in a large bowl, supposed to contain milk and honey, and out of this the women not only poured libations, but drank freely, which Juvenal says was notorious (vi. 314, sqq.).

91. *Talia secreta coluerunt orgia taeda*] He says that these impious rites were like the mysteries of Cotys or Cotytto, a Thracian divinity, whose festival was imported into Greece and from thence into Sicily. The Romans do not appear to have been acquainted with it, except from report. She is called 'Cecropiam' from her worship having been introduced at Athens. Βάπται was the name of her priests. The carrying of torches was common to all such festivals, which were celebrated by night. The rites of Cotytto were mysteries, and might not be divulged. (Horace, Epod. xvii. 56, n.) Milton refers to them in words partly borrowed from Juvenal:

"Dark veiled Cotytto, to whom the secret flame
Of midnight torches burns, mysterious dame,
That ne'er art called but when the dragon womb
Of Stygian darkness spits her thickest gloom." (*Comus.*)

[After v. 90, Ribbeck places vv. 110—114, 'Hic nullus' to 'conducendusque magister,' and so these verses come between 'tibicina cornu' and 'Talia secreta.' He also makes these five verses a continuation of the supposed address which begins, "Ite profanae."

After 'lassare Cotytto' v. 91, he places vv. 115, 116.]

93. *Ille supercilium*] Here follows a graphic description of the way these wretches proceed. One blacks his eyebrows with soot, and extends them by the same means, using a crisping pin for the purpose. Pliny (H.N. xxviii. 11) says that the Romans used bears' grease for the purpose of restoring the hair of the head and eyebrows, "cum fungis lucernarum et fuligine quae est in rostris earum," that is, with the burnt part of the wick, and the soot which accumulates on the rim of the lamp. 'Obliqua acu' means with a needle drawn across it. They painted their eyelids with a powder called by the Septuagint translators στίβη, and by the Romans 'stibium.' Pliny says that it was a white stone found in silver mines, and that it was called by many 'platyophthalmon,' because it had the effect of making

Attollens oculos: vitreo bibit ille Priapo
Reticulumque comis auratum ingentibus implet,
Caerulea indutus scutulata aut galbina rasa,
Et per Junonem domini jurante ministro.
Ille tenet speculum, pathici gestamen Othonis,
Actoris Aurunci spolium, quo se ille videbat
Armatum quum jam tolli vexilla juberet.
Res memoranda novis annalibus atque recenti
Historia, speculum civilis sarcina belli.
Nimirum summi ducis est occidere Galbam,

the eyes look larger (H.N. xxxiii. 6). 'Trementes oculos' are what Horace calls 'putres.' "Omnes in Damalin putres Deponent oculos," C. i. 36. 17. The phrase is repeated below (vii. 241). The man raises his quivering eyes, mimicking a lascivious woman.

95. *vitreo bibit ille Priapo*] He drinks out of a glass made in this obscene shape, ties up his great bushy hair in a net of gold thread, wears a blue dress picked out in square or lozenge pattern, or fine green cloth with the nap closely clipped. 'Galbinus' is said to be derived from 'galbus,' a particular shade of green. According to this etymology it would naturally be written 'galbina,' not 'galbana' ('gum'), with which it has no connexion. 'Rasa' is opposed to 'pexa,' cloth with the nap left on it. 'Scutulatus' is a word of which the derivation is uncertain: but 'scutulae' is used for the squares of a tessellated pavement, or any thing of that sort.

98. *Et per Junonem domini*] The genius of a woman was called her Juno (see note on Hor. Epp. i. 7. 94). This man's slave, by way of keeping up the farce, swears by his master's Juno. [Ribbeck places a full stop after 'rasa,' and has 'En per Junonem domini jurante ministro Ille tenet speculum;' and he omits vv. 102, 103.]

99. *Ille tenet speculum,*] The mirrors of the ancients were of metal, though there may have been glass mirrors at this time, but they were of inferior quality. They were only made for the hand, and were usually held by slaves before their mistress (see Dict. Ant.). This man holds it for himself, and Juvenal says it was the identical mirror in which Otho had looked at himself, and of which this person had robbed him, which is a jest. To make the absurdity greater, we have a parody of Virgil's words (Aen. iii. 286): "Aere cavo clipeum magni gestamen Abantis;" and again (Aen. xii. 93), Turnus "validam vi corripit hastam Actoris Aurunci spolium." Suetonius says of Otho (c. 12) that he was of short stature and lame: that he was effeminate in his personal habits, keeping his skin smooth (as men of the worst passions did), and that he wore a wig which fitted him so well that nobody would find out it was a wig. Piso addressing the soldiers speaks of Otho's "vitia quibus solis gloriatur," and asks, "habitune et incessu an illo muliebri ornatu mereretur imperium?" Juvenal says he carried his mirror into the camp with him when he went to attack Vitellius. Tacitus (Hist. i. 88) says that when he was leaving Rome some of his soldiers bought "luxuriosos apparatus conviviorum et irritamenta libidinum ut instrumenta belli," and there may have been a story current about the emperor's mirror, which with his habits he could hardly dispense with. Juvenal says the appearance of a mirror in the camp was an event to be recorded in a new page of history.

104. *Nimirum summi ducis*] Otho having long been in favour with Nero (i. 39, n.), deserted him and paid his court to Galba; but being disappointed in his expectation that Galba would make him his heir, with the support of a small body of troops by whom he was proclaimed emperor he attacked Galba, who was killed by one of the soldiers in the fray, A.D. 69. According to Suetonius (c. 12), when Otho himself was dead most people began to speak well of him, saying that he had killed Galba not so much for his own advancement as for the public good. The soldiers wept over him "fortissimum virum unicum Imperatorem praedicantes." 'Of course,' says Juvenal, 'it showed a consummate commander to kill a tyrant and take such care of his own skin, and an excellent citizen to aim at stealing an empire and at the same time to plaster his face with soft bread.' The satire lies in the bathos in both cases. Gifford, though he has not translated the verses well, is

Et curare cutem: summi constantia civis
Bebriaci campo spolium affectare Palati,
Et pressum in facie digitis extendere panem:
Quod nec in Assyrio pharetrata Semiramis orbe,
Moesta nec Actiaca fecit Cleopatra carina.
Hic nullus verbis pudor aut reverentia mensae;
Hic turpis Cybeles et fracta voce loquendi

right I think in his notion of its meaning. He says in these lines "we have the original of the mock heroic so much admired in the Rape of the Lock:"

"Whether the nymph shall break Diana's law,
Or some frail china jar receives a flaw;
Or stain her honour or—her new brocade,
Forget her prayers or miss—a masquerade,
Or lose her heart or—necklace at a ball."

This sense is given in the Argument. Suetonius (l. c.) says: "Quin et faciem quotidie rasitare, ac pane madido linere consuetum, idque instituisse a prima lanugine ne barbatus unquam esset." Horace speaks of the Phaeacians as "In cute curanda plus aequo operata juventus" (Epp. i. 2. 29), and of himself as "pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute" (Epp. i. 4. 15).

106. *Bebriaci campo*] Otho was proclaimed emperor in Rome on the 15th of January, A.D. 69, and in March following he led an army into Cisalpine Gallia against Vitellius, and in less than a month his troops were defeated with immense loss about twenty miles from a small town called Bebriacum, or Bedriacum, which lay between Verona and Cremona. He immediately afterwards destroyed himself. Although the battle was fought so far from Bebriacum, it got its name from that town, owing to Otho's army being encamped there before the battle and pursued thither after it. All the MSS. of Juvenal are in favour of Bebriacum; those of Tacitus are divided. The form that the editors adopt is Bedriacum; Ruperti does so, though in this place he has the 'b,' and according to him the greatest number of MSS. have the same in Tacitus. (See Rup. on Tac. Hist. i. 23.)

108. *Quod nec in Assyrio*] Semiramis, the mythical queen and joint founder of Nineveh, was reported to be as voluptuous as she was great and brave. See Ovid. Am. i. 5. 11: "Qualiter in thalamos formosa Semiramis isse Dicitur et multis Lais amata viris." The Assyrian world represented in its day what the Roman world did afterwards, all the civilization of the earth. [Ribbeck omits vv. 108, 109.]

109. *Moesta nec Actiaca*] The battle of Actium was fought B.C. 31, and Cleopatra's fleet fled before the battle began. Horace (C. i. 37. 16) represents Augustus pursuing her

"——ab Italia volantem,
Remis adurgens, accipiter velut
Molles columbas——
——quae generosius
Perire quaerens nec muliebriter
Expavit ensem," &c.

Heinrich thinks the reading should be 'moecha,' and that the monks altered it to 'moesta.' All the MSS. have 'moesta.' See iii. 108, n.

110. *Hic nullus verbis pudor*] He goes back after the digression about Otho to the scene at the mock rites of Fauna. They had no shame as to what they said, nor any regard for the decorum of the table, in respect to which Grangaeus quotes Synesius, Epist. 57, τράπεζα μὲν ἱερὸν χρῆμα δι' ἧς ὁ θεὸς τιμᾶται φίλιός τε καὶ ξένιος, and Claudian (in Ruffin. i. 228), "Jurata Deorum Majestas teritur, nunquam reverentia mensae," which seems to be copied from Juvenal. The daily offering to the Lares at the principal meal gave it in theory a sacred character; and on the same principle Horace says (C. iv. 15. 25, sqq.):

"Nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
Inter jocosi munera Liberi
Cum prole matronisque nostris,
Rite deos prius apprecati,
Virtute functos more patrum duces
(canemus)."

111. *Hic turpis Cybeles*] If this be the true reading 'Cybeles' and 'loquendi' must both depend on 'turpis libertas;' 'Cybele's foul licence and the liberty to speak in feeble voice.' One MS. has 'turpis Cybele est.' I do not think that mends the matter much. The worship of Cybele or Rhea, the mother of the gods, as she is

Libertas, et crine senex fanaticus albo
Sacrorum antistes, rarum ac memorabile magni
Gutturis exemplum conducendusque magister.
Quid tamen exspectant Phrygio quos tempus erat jam
More supervacuam cultris abrumpere carnem?
Quadringenta dedit Gracchus sestertia dotem
Cornicini, sive hic recto cantaverat aere;
Signatae tabulae; dictum Feliciter! Ingens

sometimes called, like some others, was a late importation into Rome. Her image, which according to Livy (xxix. 11) was a stone, was brought from Pessinus in Galatia during the second Punic War, and she had a temple built her on Mons Palatinus, and consecrated by M. Junius Brutus, A.U.C. 563. (See below, iii. 137, n.) The festival called Megalesia (from μεγάλη θεά) was established in her honour. It began on the 4th of April, and lasted six days. Cybele was called Idaea Mater, Berecyntia, Dindymene, from hills of Phrygia where she was principally worshipped with impure rites and much discordant noise, her priests being called Corybantes. In Rome they were called Galli, from the place they came from, and they were eunuchs. (Hor. S. i. 2. 121.) It does not appear from Ovid's description (Fasti, iv. 179—384) that the same impurities were practised at Rome as in the East. They were regulated by the Curule Aediles, and they are called by Cicero (de Harusp. Resp. 12) "maxime casti solemnes religiosi." (See ad Fam. ii. 11.) As to 'fracta voce,' Forcellini quotes Pliny, Epp. ii. 14, "fracta pronuntiatione dicere," which he explains, "effeminata, enervi; cui opponitur intenta, incitata, fortis." Quintilian (xii. 10) says Cicero's contemporaries ventured to attack him as "in compositione fractum ac paene viro molliorem." In this sense the reading 'frangitur artubus' for 'fingitur artibus,' in Hor. C. iii. 6. 22, is supported. (See note.)

112. *et crine senex fanaticus albo*] He says the chief priest of these orgies was an old man with white hair, an extraordinary glutton, and one who might be hired to teach the science of eating. 'Fanaticus' is derived from 'fanum;' and was applied commonly to the priests of Bellona, but also to those of any frantic ritual. From the particularity with which he writes, it appears as if Juvenal was describing something that had taken place.

115. *Quid tamen exspectant*] He means why do they not proceed at once to make themselves what the Galli were (see note on v. 111), for they ought to have done so long ago, being "Phrygians long since in heart" (Gifford). 'Tempus erat' seems to be used in cases where further delay is deprecated, as if the time had come and was being allowed to pass away. See Hor. C. i. 37. 4 (and the note):

> "—— nunc Saliaribus
> Ornare pulvinar deorum
> Tempus erat dapibus, sodales."

See also S. iii. 163, n. below. Here this abominable scene is brought to an end.

117. *Quadringenta dedit*] He now goes on to tell how some rich person entered into a mock marriage with a musician, and gave him a 'dos' equal to the fortune of an eques, and how at the marriage-supper he lay on his bosom as his bride in the presence of a large company. Tacitus describes how Nero went through a solemn farce of this kind, in which he acted as bride as this Gracchus did: "Uni ex illo contaminatorum grege (Comp. Contaminato cum grege turpium Morbo virorum, Hor. C. i. 37. 9) cui nomen Pythagorae fuit in modum sollennium conjugiorum denupsisset. Inditum Imperatori flammeum (a veil worn by brides), visi auspices, dos et genialis torus et faces nuptiales; cuncta denique spectata quae etiam in femina nox operit." (Ann. xv. 37.) How he married the boy Sporus has been mentioned above on i. 62. As to 'quadringenta sestertia,' see i. 106, n., and vi. 134, and Hor. C. iii. 24. 18, n. 'Dos' was the portion brought by the wife to the husband. Gracchus therefore acted the bride. 'Recto aere' means the 'tuba,' which was straight, while the 'cornu' was curved. (See note on Hor. C. i. 1. 23; and Ovid, Met. i. 98.) Juvenal says the man played on the 'cornu' or 'tuba,' he does not know which. It seems as if his story was founded on fact. 'Cantare' is used not only for the human voice, but for instrumental music.

119. *Signatae tabulae;*] Before the

Coena sedet; gremio jacuit nova nupta mariti.
O proceres, censore opus est an haruspice nobis?
Scilicet horreres majoraque monstra putares,
Si mulier vitulum vel si bos ederet agnum!
Segmenta et longos habitus et flamea sumit,
Arcano qui sacra ferens nutantia loro
Sudavit clipeis ancilibus! O pater Urbis,

marriage a contract was signed, which was called 'sponsalia' (vi. 25). The tablets on which it was written were called 'legitimae tabulae' (vi. 200). 'Dictum Feliciter!' means that the usual form of congratulation was gone through. It was usual for the bridegroom to give a supper on the day of his marriage, at which there was always more or less licentiousness. See note on Hor. S. ii. 2. 59. 'Coena' is put for the guests at the 'coena.' In the ordinary arrangements of a triclinium the 'imus lectus' was occupied by the host and his family, and the wife reclined next to her husband. See Hor. S. ii. 8. 20, n. Hence Ovid says (Amor. i. 4. 5, 35) to a married woman:

" Alteriusque sinus apte subjecta fovebis?
Injiciet collo cum volet ille manum?
* * * *
Nec premat indignis sinito tua colla lacertis,
Mite nec in rigido pectore pone caput."

121. *O proceres,*] He cries out to the nobles to condemn one of their own set, and asks whether this monstrous conduct requires the censor's branding or to be looked into by the haruspices, that they might declare how it must be expiated. 'But doubtless you would be more shocked, and count it a more frightful omen (requiring the intervention of the "haruspex") if a woman gave birth to a calf or a cow to a lamb.' The 'haruspices' were persons whose profession it was to declare the will of the gods by the consulting of entrails and in respect of signs and prodigies. There appears to have been a 'collegium' of them, as of the augurs, under the empire. They were an inferior body to the augurs, whose business was properly connected with the omens derived from the flight of birds. In 'censore' Heinrich sees another allusion to Domitian (see above, vv. 29, 63). I think he strains this point.

124. *Segmenta et longos habitus*] He is indignant that Gracchus, who was one of the Salii, priests of Mars, should have taken to wearing female ornaments and dress. 'Segmenta,' as applied to dress, means ribands, fringes, flounces, and so forth. See Ovid de A. A. iii. 169:

" Quid de veste loquar? nec vos, segmenta, requiro,
Nec quae bis Tyrio murice, lana, rubes."

The women wore the 'stola,' corresponding to the men's 'tunica,' down to the feet, and being made longer than the person it was fastened up in folds above the waist (Hor. S. i. 2. 29, n.). 'Flameum' or 'flammeum' was a veil, usually worn by brides. See note on v. 116, and below on vi. 225. The veil is said by Verrius Flaccus and Festus to have had its name from the wives of the 'flamines' (flaminicae), who wore it always, as a sign that their marriage could never be dissolved. Others derive it from 'flamma,' as being of a red colour; but Pliny (H. N. xxi. 8) says it was yellow; and Lucan (ii. 361) has "Lutea demissos velarunt flamea vultus." The MSS. vary, but the old editions all have 'flamea.' The 'ancilia' were twelve shields sacred to Mars, of which eleven were said to have been made by Numa in exact imitation of one which in his reign was supposed to have been sent down from heaven. The 'Salii' were twelve priests, one to each 'ancile,' who, on the Kalends of March, carried them through the city with songs and dances. (Hor. C. iv. 1. 28, n., and Epp. ii. 1. 86, n.) The shields were struck with rods in tune with the dance, and hung to the neck with a leather thong, which is here called 'arcanum' or mystic, an epithet belonging properly to the shield itself. The shields are described as 'nutantia,' swaying about with the motion of the dancers, who found it hard work it seems. They lived too well.

126. *O pater Urbis,*] This is explained by 'Gradivus' below. That name belonged to Mars, according to Servius (on Virg. Aen. iii. 35), when angry. Because it is said to be derived from 'gradior,' Holyday rather absurdly renders it 'Great Marcher.' The derivation cannot be this. The word in-

Unde nefas tantum Latiis pastoribus? unde
Haec tetigit, Gradive, tuos urtica nepotes?
Traditur ecce viro clarus genere atque opibus vir:
Nec galeam quassas, nec terram cuspide pulsas,
Nec quereris patri? Vade ergo et cede severi
Jugeribus campi quem negligis! "Officium cras
Primo sole mihi peragendum in valle Quirini."
Quae causa officii? "Quid quaeris? Nubit amicus,
Nec multos adhibet." Liceat modo vivere, fient,
Fient ista palam cupient et in acta referri.
Interea tormentum ingens nubentibus haeret
Quod nequeunt parere et partu retinere maritos.

volves 'divus.' The sentiment is repeated in the next Satire (v. 67): "Rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna, Quirine." And to those who boasted of their pedigree he says (viii. 274):

"Majorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum
Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo."

'Latiis pastoribus' refers to Romulus and Remus, the shepherd-kings as they were called, and their followers. 'Urtica' (the nettle) is used for the pricking of lust only here and in xi. 168.

129. *Traditur*] 'A man of family and wealth is married to another man.' Tacitus uses 'tradere' in the same sense (Ann. iv. 40): "At enim Augustus filiam suam Equiti Romano tradere meditatus est." (Ib. c. 75): "Tiberius neptem Agrippinam Germanico ortam quum coram Cn. Domitio tradidisset in Urbe celebrari nuptias jussit."

131. *patri?*] That is, to Jove. In xiii. 113 he makes the same sort of appeal to Jove himself that he here makes to Mars. [Ribbeck has 'Nec quereris patri nec terram cuspide pulsas, Nec galeam quassas?']

Vade ergo] 'Go then and quit the soil of that stern field thou dost neglect,' the Campus Martius which bore his name, which was the scene of the comitia, and over which every triumphal procession passed in the best days of Rome.

132. *Officium cras*] Somebody is supposed to say he must be up early next morning to attend the wedding of a friend who lives under the Quirinal, and who is to act bride on the occasion. 'Nubere,' which signifies to put on a veil, is therefore only used with reference to the woman, who wore the 'flameum' above mentioned. By using the word here the writer is not obliged to add another sentence to explain the character of the marriage. Martial has an epigram (xii. 42) on the same disgusting subject, which illustrates this part of the satire and the forms of a Roman marriage:

"Barbatus rigido nupsit Callistratus Afro
Hac qua lege viro nubere virgo solet.
Praeluxere faces, velarunt flamea vultus,
Nec tua defuerunt verba, Talasse, tibi.
Dos etiam dicta est: nondum tibi, Roma, videtur
Hoc satis? exspectas numquid ut et pariat?"

The fourth verse refers to a song which was sung during some part of the marriage festival. 'Nec multos adhibet' means he does not invite many friends to his marriage, he was not quite destitute of shame.

136. *cupient et in acta referri.*] He says, if he lives a little longer he shall see these things which the man speaks of (ista) going on without any concealment, and even gazetted. The 'acta diurna' was a published record of all the principal events of the day, with most of the information that is contained in our newspapers, with the exception of the proceedings of the senate, which were not officially published until the consulship of C. Julius Caesar, B.C. 59, one of whose first acts was to establish the regular publication of the daily proceedings of the senate (acta senatus) and also the 'populi diurna acta.' Augustus forbade the publication of the 'acta senatus,' but they were still recorded. (Sueton. Vit. Aug. 36.)

138. *retinere maritos.*] To retain the affections of their husbands through their mutual children. So Claudian writes (in Eutrop. i. 72):

Sed melius quod nil animis in corpora juris
Natura indulget. Steriles moriuntur, et illis
Turgida non prodest condita pyxide Lyde,
Nec prodest agili palmas praebere Luperco.
Vicit et hoc monstrum tunicati fuscina Gracchi,
Lustravitque fuga mediam gladiator arenam
Et Capitolinis generosior et Marcellis
Et Catulis Paulique minoribus et Fabiis et

"Faemina quum senuit retinet connubia partu,
Uxorisque decus matris reverentia pensat."

139. *nil animis in corpora juris*] It is well, he says, that nature grants their wills no power over their bodies.

141. *condita pyxide Lyde,*] This is an old fat woman (turgida) professing to sell drugs to cure barrenness, 'pyxide condita' being a box full of such.

142. *palmas praebere Luperco.*] The Luperci were priests of the god Lupercus, whose festival, the Lupercalia, was celebrated every year on the Ides of February, from the earliest times to a late period of the empire. Lupercus was the god of fertility. At his festival the priests, among other ceremonies, ran about the city with thongs in their hands cut from goats sacrificed on the occasion, and with these they struck any one who came in their way, and the effect was supposed to be the gift of fertility. They struck the people on the back or on the palms of the hands. Ovid makes Lupercus the same as Pan. (Fast. ii. 266, sqq.) 'Agili' is explained by the activity of the priests, who put off their clothes that they might run the quicker.

143. *Vicit et hoc monstrum*] He says that even this monstrous vice is surpassed by the indignity offered to the nobility by their members appearing as gladiators in the arena of the amphitheatre. The 'retiarius,' who was one of the many classes of gladiators, carried a net, which it was his business to throw over the head of his adversary if he could, and a three-pointed spear, 'fuscina,' which was another name for Neptune's trident. He wore only a tunic, and did not wear armour as the Samnites did. [Ribbeck omits vv. 143—148, 'Vicit et hoc,' . . . to 'retia misit.']

145. *Et Capitolinis generosior*] Capitolinus was a cognomen in the Quintia gens and the Manlia. The latter derived it from M. Manlius, who saved the Capitol from the Gauls (A.U.C. 364), according to the common tradition. T. Quintus Capitolinus Barbatus, who was six times consul, and triumphed for his victories over the Aequi and Volsci A.U.C. 286, was the first of that family who bore it. The dictator Cincinnatus was of the same family, and was called Capitolinus. The Marcelli were a plebeian family of the Claudia gens. The first was M. Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse A.U.C. 542. Hor. C. xi. 12. 45: "Crescit occulto velut arbor aevo Fama Marcelli." Catulus was the name of a family belonging to the Lutatia gens, who were plebeians. C. Lutatius Catulus, by his naval victory over Hanno off the coast of Sicily, brought the first Punic war to a close, A.U.C. 513. Q. Lutatius was the colleague of C. Marius, alluded to in viii. 253. He was afterwards included in Marius' proscription, and destroyed himself A.U.C. 677. His son, who was first the colleague of M. Aemilius Lepidus in the consulship, and afterwards defeated him at the head of the remains of Marius' party ten years after his father's death, was an honest and able man, a staunch supporter of Cicero. The Pauli best known in history were of the patrician Aemilia gens. L. Aemilius, who died at Cannae A.U.C. 538 ("animaeque magnae prodigum Paulum," Hor. C. i. 12. 37), and his son Lucius, who had the cognomen Macedonicus for his victory over Perseus, and triumphed for the same A.U.C. 587, were the most illustrious of the family, but their distinction was such that Juvenal speaks of all their descendants being ennobled by them. The Fabia gens, which was patrician, was distinguished in various families from the earliest times of the republic. All the gens was destroyed by the Veientes at the river Cremera, A.U.C. 277, with the exception of one man. See below, v. 153, n. The name they then bore was Vibulanus, which was dropped for Ambustus, and this was lost in Maximus, earned by Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, the conqueror of the Samnites in the second war. He was great-grandfather to him who, for his tactics

Omnibus ad podium spectantibus. His licet ipsum
Admoveas cujus tunc munere retia misit.
Esse aliquos manes et subterranea regna,
Et contum et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
Atque una transire vadum tot millia cumba
Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere lavantur.
Sed tu vera puta. Curius quid sentit et ambo
Scipiadae? quid Fabricius manesque Camilli?

in the war with Hannibal, was called Cunctator.

147. *Omnibus ad podium spectantibus.*] These were all men of station, who had a place to themselves between the 'podium' or wall which ran round the arena, and the ordinary seats which rose to the top of the amphitheatre. (Hor. Epp. i. 1. 6, n.) 'Ipsum' means the 'editor ludorum,' the person who gave the show, and who sat on a high seat within the 'podium,' called the 'editoris tribunal.' Here probably is meant the emperor himself, whose throne was called 'suggestus' or 'cubiculum.' If it was Domitian, the man who was of nobler birth than all the families just named would certainly be nobler than he, for his father Vespasian was the son of a man of obscure birth in the town of Reate in the Sabine country. This use of 'admovere' for 'adjungere' is not noticed by Forcellini. As to 'retia misit,' see note above, v. 143.

149. *Esse aliquos manes*] One MS. has 'aliquid,' on which authority Ruperti adopts it. It is more likely, perhaps, that one copyist should have invented 'aliquid' than that all the rest should have fallen into an error in 'aliquos.' The former is the more plausible reading, particularly as Propertius had written "Sunt aliquid Manes, letum non omnia finit" (iv. 7. 1), and Ovid (Met. vi. 543) "Si numina Divum sunt aliquid." Persius (v. 152) has "cinis et Manes et fabula fies," which he has imitated from Horace (C. i. 4. 16), "Jam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes," where see note. Lucretius, the exponent of Epicurean doctrine, says:

"Cerberus et Furiae jam vero et lucis egestas
Tartarus horriferos eructans faucibus aestus,
Qui neque sunt usquam nec possunt esse profecto." (iii. 1024.)

Ovid makes Pythagoras say:

"O genus attonitum gelidae formidine mortis,
Quid Styga, quid tenebras, quid nomina vana timetis,
Materiem vatum falsique piacula mundi?" (Met. xv. 152, sqq.)

Juvenal probably spoke the opinion of most of his contemporaries. As to 'manes,' the spirits of the good, see note on Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 138.

150. *Et contum*] P. has 'pontum,' and the Scholiast has 'pontum' by an oversight, for he quotes Virgil (Aen. vi. 302): "Ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat," where also he writes 'ponto.' It is strange that sensible editors like Grangaeus and Henninius should adopt this word, which has no sense here. One MS. of no character has 'cantum,' which Ruperti rather prefers, but does not adopt. [Ribbeck has 'Cocytum et Stygio' &c.]

152. *nisi qui nondum aere lavantur.*] Except those who are too young to go to the baths, where the ordinary price for bathing was a quadrans, or about half a farthing of our money. See vi. 447, and Hor. S. i. 3. 137: "dum tu quadrante lavatum Rex ibis," where see note, and also Becker's Gallus, Exc. on the Baths. "Unde datur quadrans?" (Martial iii. 30.)

153. *Sed tu vera puta.*] 'But in your case only suppose it all to be true.' As to Curius, see above, v. 3. The form 'Scipiada' is used by Horace (S. ii. 1. 17), "Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius," and by Virgil (Georg. ii. 170), "Scipiadas duros bello," and (Aen. vi. 843) "duo fulmina belli Scipiadas, cladem Libyae, parvoque potentem Fabricium," where, as here, the two Sciplones are associated with C. Fabricius Luscinus, the opponent of Pyrrhus and contemporary of Curius. Camillus is M. Furius, the conqueror of the Gauls, and the deliverer of Rome. 'Cremerae legio' are the Fabii mentioned above (on v. 145). The whole gens, consisting of 306 persons, with the consul Kaeso at their head, having quarrelled with the patricians, quitted Rome, and founded a settlement on the Cremera, a stream or torrent a few miles

Quid Cremerae legio et Cannis consumpta juventus,
Tot bellorum animae, quoties hinc talis ad illos
Umbra venit? Cuperent lustrari, si qua darentur
Sulfura cum taedis et si foret humida laurus.
Illuc heu miseri traducimur! Arma quidem ultra
Litora Juvernae promovimus et modo captas
Orcadas ac minima contentos nocte Britannos:
Sed quae nunc populi fiunt victoris in Urbe
Non faciunt illi quos vicimus: et tamen unus
Armenius Zalates cunctis narratur ephebis

north of Rome flowing into the Tiber. From this point they carried on war with the people of Veii for two years, and were finally surprised by them and cut to pieces. The number of men the Romans lost at Cannae, including their consul Paulus (v. 146) and many of their best officers, is said to have been about eighty thousand.

156. *Tot bellorum animae,*] This is an unusual sort of expression. It cannot mean 'tot animae bellatorum,' as Ruperti supposes. 'Tot' belongs to 'bellorum,' and the meaning is, 'souls of so many wars,' that is, which have known so many wars. He says they would ask to be purified if such a degenerate spirit came near them, provided there was at hand sulphur and pine branches, and a wet laurel bough. 'Lustratio' or purifying was performed in a multitude of matters by the Romans when pollution had been or might have been contracted, and consisted usually in sprinkling water by means of a branch of olive or laurel, and carrying round the object burning sulphur or pine torches, besides the sacrifice of a victim. Tibullus (i. 2. 61) says,

"Et me lustravit taedis, et nocte serena
Concidit ad magicos hostia pulla Deos."

Servius, on Aen. vi. 229,

"Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
Spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae,
Lustravitque viros,"

says 'circumferre' is equivalent to 'purgare:' "nam lustratio a circumlatione dicta est vel taedae vel sulphuris." Ovid, describing the lustration of flocks at the Palilia (Fast. iv. 739), says,

"Caerulei fiant vivo de sulfure fumi,
Tactaque fumanti sulfure balet ovis."

159. *Illuc heu miseri traducimur!*] 'To this point, poor wretches, are we brought and changed;' that is, to what follows. The expression is like Horace's "Nimirum hic ego sum," Epp. i. 15. 42: "ne fueris hic tu," Ib. i. 6. 40. The Greeks used ἐκεῖσε, ἐνταῦθα in the same way. 'Traducere' is used for changing, bringing over from one state to another, as Ovid. Met. xv. 483: "gentemque feroci Assuetam bello pacis traducit ad artes." [Ribbeck has 'si foret umida laurus Illic. Heu miseri traducimur!' but it is not easy to see what sense he gives to 'traducimur.']

160. *Litora Juvernae*] This is the form of the name given by Ptolemy (Geog. ii. 2), who calls one of the tribes Ἰουέρνιοι, and the island Ἰουερνία, a form of the native name. Ierne, Iverna, Hibernia, are others. Agricola had thoughts of taking the island, which he told Tacitus could easily be done with one legion and a few auxiliaries, but there is no evidence that the Roman legions ever entered it; but mercatores probably had been there, and from them Ptolemy may have got some of his knowledge of the island. It was in the year A.D. 82, the year after Domitian's accession, that Agricola turned his attention to Ireland. (Tac. Agr. 24.) The Orkneys and Shetland Islands (Orcades) were first discovered and taken possession of by Agricola when he sailed round Britain in the last year of his government, A.D. 84. (Tac. Agr. c. 10). The Satire, therefore, could not have been written before that year, or many years after it, for he says 'modo captas.'

161. *minima contentos nocte*] So Tacitus says (Agr. c. 12), "Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram et nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas."

163. *et tamen unus*] 'The barbarians we conquer do not the gross things we do, and yet if they come to Rome evil communications soon corrupt them likewise, as was the case with the Armenian hostage.'

164. *Armenius Zalates*] This is a name

Mollior ardenti sese indulsisse tribuno.
Aspice quid faciant commercia: venerat obses;
Hic fiunt homines: nam si mora longior Urbem
Indulsit, pueris non unquam deerit amator:
Mittentur braccae, cultelli, frena, flagellum.
Sic praetextatos referunt Artaxata mores.

not otherwise known. Ruperti supposes he may have been one of those 'obsides' with whom Caligula is said by Suetonius (c. 36) to have carried on an unnatural intercourse, and that he is meant by 'tribuno.' (See xi. 7.) It may be so. Armenia was at this time governed by its own kings of the race of the Arsacidae, but the Romans had frequently to interfere in its affairs, and its kings were under their protection. On two occasions Tacitus mentions hostages being given to the Romans by Vologeses, king of the Parthians, who claimed the crown of Armenia and expelled Rhadamistus, the king whom the Romans recognized. Cn. Domitius Corbulo was sent against him by Nero (A.D. 54), and he retired, and sent some of the noblest of his family as hostages to Rome (Ann. xiii. 9). These were not Armenians, but Parthians; but the difference might not be observed by Juvenal, or hostages may have been sent by others. Every new reign began in violence of some sort. This man, more soft than any of the Roman youth, is said to have given himself up to the passion of the tribunus. This is a regular construction with 'indulgere;' it is repeated immediately below. 'Ephebus' is a term borrowed from the Greeks, with whom it signified a youth of eighteen to twenty. The Romans applied it to those who had attained the age of puberty: 'adolescentes' is the proper Roman word, though that extends over a longer space of time.

167. *Hic fiunt homines:*] 'It is here that men are fashioned.' Some take the passage as if these words were opposed to 'venerat obses,' 'he had come a hostage, but here they become men.' For this meaning 'viri' would be used. The stop should be at 'obses' (for which one MS. only has 'hospes').

169. *Mittentur braccae,*] 'They will soon throw aside their trousers, their hunting knives, their reins, their whips, that is, all the manly sports of their boyhood, and carry home immodest manners learnt at Rome.' 'Artaxata,' which is plural here, was the capital of Armenia, situated on the Araxes (Aras). 'Praetextatus' is applied, by later writers, to language, in the sense of 'impure.' (See Forcellini.) It is nowhere else used in that sense with 'mores,' or any thing but language. The origin of this meaning is plainly contained in the word itself, which is only another form of 'praetexere,' and means to put a veil or covering over any thing. 'Braccae' (breeches) were worn by all the barbarians, that is, all but the Greeks and Romans, who in their better days despised them. They were looser than we wear them now, but not so loose among the European nations as in the East. During the empire they were partially worn by the Romans.

SATIRA III.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS satire is perhaps better known than any of the others. English readers are familiar with Johnson's imitation of it who are not so familiar with the original, which has the advantage of having been written for the scene it describes, while the other is too close a copy to be always applicable to its subject. I think the merits of Johnson's poem have been exaggerated.

Meaning to describe the vexations and inconveniences of a town life, Juvenal supposes his friend Umbricius leaving Rome in disgust to retire to Cumae; he accompanies him a little way out of the town; and while the carriage is being packed Umbricius breaks out

and tells his reasons for leaving his native place. No honest man can thrive there, he says; the town is overrun with cunning foreigners and upstarts who have tricked themselves into riches and influence, making themselves necessary to families and getting their masters' secrets. The poor too have no chance, and poverty apes wealth; every thing has to be bought, and every thing is dear. There are fires and falling houses, and even these are only ruinous to the poor: the rich help one another, while the poor man starves. The noises at night are such that no one can sleep, at least no poor man in the lodging-houses. The rich man rides safely through the streets, while the poor is elbowed by the crowd, and has a good chance of being killed by great beams and stones, or by pots from the upper stories, and so forth, or by some drunken brawler who picks a quarrel with him, or by robbers who break into his house at night.

There are some parts of the satire which remind the reader of Horace's style; particularly the quaint description of a poor man's encounter with a drunken bully, who, after beating his victim savagely, summons him for an assault.

Umbricius is any body. There was an 'haruspex' of that name, of whom Tacitus relates that he warned Galba of his fate. But there is no sense in supposing him to be the man. It was a common name. The satire may have been written about the same time as the last; but it is impossible to say.

ARGUMENT.

Though I am in despair at the loss of an old friend, I cannot but commend Umbricius' resolution to quit the town and go away to the pleasant shores of Cumae. There is no wilderness I would not myself prefer to the dangers and annoyances of this city.

V. 10. While his family and goods were all being packed into one cart, we stopped in the valley of Aegeria, whose wood is let to beggarly Jews, and her native fountain disfigured by art. And thus my friend began:

V. 21. "No room is here for virtue, no return for honest labour; and as I am getting poorer every day, I mean to take myself to Cumae while I have any vigour left. I bid my native place farewell; let rogues live there, and by their dirty trades get rich; till trumpeters shall rise to give the shows they once proclaimed, and get monopolies of every thing, raised high by fortune in her merry moods. What can I do at Rome? not lie, or praise poor books, or tell the stars, or search the insides of frogs. I am no pimp or thief. So all avoid me as a useless limb. None but accomplices are patronized, with horrid secrets burning in their bosoms. The thief loves him who can accuse him when he pleases. No gold will pay you for the wretched nights it costs you to be feared of your great friend.

V. 58. "The town is overrun with Greeks; and worse, Syria has poured her refuse into Rome—her language, customs, harps, and drums, and harlots. Away all ye who love the turbaned strumpets! Thy hardy sons, Quirinus, put on Greek shoes, and grease their necks for the 'palaestra.' From every town they swarm and creep into rich houses—clever, abandoned, impudent, prompt, fluent. What should you say that man was? Any thing you please, all arts and sciences he knows; the starveling Greek will put on wings if you bid him—for Daedalus was a Greek, and born at Athens.

V. 81. "What, must I not avoid their purple? shall that man rank before me who came to us with the plums and figs? Have I not breathed from infancy the air of Rome, and is that nothing? These flatterers by trade know how to gain belief when they praise a blockhead's talents, and a plain man's face, long neck, and squeaking voice. If I should praise them, no one would believe me. Their acting is quite perfect; their whole tribe are players. You laugh, they laugh still louder; you weep, they weep but grieve not; call for a fire, they'll get their cloak; say you it's hot, they sweat. So

we're no match; they have the best of it who never cease from acting. No woman in the house is safe from them, resolved to worm their master's secrets out and get him in their power.

V. 114. "Speaking of Greeks, let's pass to the Gymnasia and to a crime of deeper dye. Think of that Stoic who killed Barea, betrayed his friend and pupil, the old wretch born at Tarsus. There is no room for Romans here, where slaves of Greece are kings, who keep their great friends to themselves and thrust me from their doors by poisonous lies peculiar to their tribe; so all my faithful services are gone. It matters nothing now to lose a client.

V. 126. "What are a poor man's services, when praetors rush before them to do their homage to rich childless ladies? The freeman's son waits on a wealthy slave who spends a tribune's pay on one night's lust, while you would hesitate to hire a common prostitute. Bring up a witness honest as Nasica, pious as Numa or Metellus—first they must know his income, character comes last; for a man's credit is as his fortune may be. A poor man's oath is nought; men laugh at him, at the rent in his cloak or shoe, and nothing in the poor man's lot is harder than this ridicule. 'Fie! quit the equestrian bench, you're poor: the bawd's son must sit here, the gladiator's, or trainer's;' so Otho has arranged it. What poor man gets a wife, or an inheritance, or humblest office? All Romans true should long ago have joined to fly their country. 'Tis hard to rise where virtue is kept down by poverty, but hardest here at Rome, where food and lodging are so dear.

V. 168. "Here is a man ashamed to dine off earthenware. Not so when he goes from Rome to the hills and Sabine fare. In many parts of Italy no one puts on the 'toga' till he's dead. At the country plays you'll see in the grassy theatre both great and small dressed all alike in their white tunics. Here men dress beyond their means and borrow money; 'tis a common vice, ambitious poverty. Here all things must be bought. How much will you give to call on Cossus, or for a glance from Veiento? If a slave's hair is cut or his beard shaved, cakes are poured in upon him, which he sells; and here's more stuff to stir your bile; we must pay toll, and swell the savings of the favourite slave.

V. 190. "And in the country who fears falling houses? Rome is shored up with buttresses; and when he has patched our houses thus, the villicus bids us sleep secure. I'd rather live where there are no fires or midnight terrors. The lower room's on fire—your garret smokes and you're asleep—you get no notice till the flames are on you. Codrus has little for the fire to take, but loses all that little, and goes forth to beg a home and bread, and each man turns him from his door. If rich Asturicus' house is burnt to the ground, the town goes into mourning, business is suspended, all sorts of costly presents are poured in; and you might swear the man had burnt his house himself, for he is richer by the fire than ever.

V. 223. "If you can quit the circus, you may buy at Sora or such places a house for what a garret's rent is here—aye, and a little garden and a well; there you may hoe the ground, and grow a feast for a hundred Pythagoreans. 'Tis something, wheresoe'er you are, to own the run of a lizard.

V. 232. "Here sick men die of watching (and their sickness is all from undigested food and heated stomach), for who can sleep in lodgings? Sleep is dear at Rome: the rolling cart and shouting of the drivers in the narrow streets shall keep a sea-calf waking.

V. 239. "The rich man rides at his ease, while the poor must push his way through crowds that crush his loins, or break his head, or tread upon his toes. See there the crowd returning with their dole: slaves with the kitchens on their heads: their poor patched tunics torn: the long beam nodding on the passing waggon and threatening death to all: what if that stone should fall, where would they be? all gone like a

breath. The slaves at home are busy with their master's bath and supper, while he, poor wretch, is shivering by the Styx without a farthing for the ferryman.

V. 268. "The night has other dangers—such as pots from the lofty windows; count yourself happy if you get no more than their contents. A wise man makes his will before he walks abroad at night.

V. 278. "A drunken rioter meets you, who sleeps not till he kills his man. But, drunken though he be, he knows how to avoid the rich man's train and torches; while I'm his victim, who go forth by the light of a candle or the moon. This is the way he picks a quarrel (if that be quarrel where one gives, the other does but take the blows)—he plants himself before you; 'Stop!' says he, and you perforce obey. 'Where are you from? whose vinegar and beans have filled your belly? what cobbler were you supping with to-night? What, not a word? Speak out, or I shall kick you. Where do you stand, and where is your proseucha?' Whether you speak or not it's all the same. He knocks you down, then drags you into court. This is the poor man's licence when he's beaten, to pray he may be suffered to carry home a few teeth in his head.

V. 302. "Then when your doors are closed and barred the robber breaks into your house and robs or murders you. For thieves come to the town as their preserve. Their fetters soon will leave no iron for our tools. Happy our ancestors, who with one prison were content!

V. 315. "But I must go; the horses and the driver are impatient, and the sun is setting. Farewell, remember me; and when you go to Aquinum send for me, and I'll come help you write another satire."

Quamvis digressu veteris confusus amici,
Laudo tamen vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
Destinet atque unum civem donare Sibyllae.
Janua Baiarum est et gratum litus amoeni
Secessus. Ego vel Prochytam praepono Suburrae.

2. *sedem figere Cumis*] The town of Cumae was not so much frequented by the Romans as Baiae and the towns that lay within the Sinus Cumanus (the bay of Naples). Juvenal calls it 'vacuis.' Horace speaks of 'vacuum Tibur' (Epp. i. 7. 45), and 'vacuas Athenas' (Epp. ii. 2. 81), where he means 'idle.' Juvenal has "pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris" (x. 102). He says Umbricius is gone to give one Roman citizen to the Sibyl, which shows the town was but little frequented. The supposed residence of the Sibyl at Cumae was a large artificial cave which existed till the middle of the sixth century, when it was destroyed by Narses, the Roman general who expelled the Goths from Italy. Virgil describes it as 'antrum immane' (Aen. vi. 11), and the rock out of the face of which it was hewn 'Euboïca rupes,' the Chalcidians of Euboea and the Cymaeans of Aeolis being the reputed founders of Cumae. Ovid mentions it as 'vivacis antra Sibyllae.' There are some remains of such a cavern still, and it is supposed to have been the Sibyl's.

3. *unum civem*] Plautus (Persa iv. 3. 5) has a like passage:

"Sumne probus, sum lepidus civis, qui
Atticam hodie civitatem
Maxumam majorem feci, atque auxi cive
faemina?"

4. *Janua Baiarum*] Cumae was about four miles north-west of Baiae, and six from the headland of Misenum. It was not situated on the pleasant bay ('amoeni secessus') that bore its name, but the Via Domitiana, which had lately been constructed, and which was a branch of the Via Appia from Sinuessa, led to Cumae, from whence there was an older road that led to the principal towns on the bay, round which it passed to Surrentum, on the opposite promontory. Hence it is called 'janua Baiarum.' See note on Hor. Epp. i. 15. 11, "non mihi Cumas est iter aut Baias." Misenum, Bauli, Baiae, Puteoli, Neapolis, were all favourite resorts of the wealthy Romans lying on this 'gratum littus,' which was so thickly studded with houses that, according to Strabo, they looked like one town (v. 247).

5. *Ego vel Prochytam*] This is a small island (now called Procida) of volcanic for-

Nam quid tam miserum, tam solum vidimus, ut non
Deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus
Tectorum assiduos ac mille pericula saevae
Urbis et Augusto recitantes mense poetas?
  Sed dum tota domus rheda componitur una,
Substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam.
Hic, ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae,
Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Judaeis, quorum cophinus foenumque supellex.
Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est

mation, lying between the island Aenaria (Ischia) and Cape Misenum. It appears at that time to have been a lonely place, but it is now well cultivated and populous. Servius (on Virgil ix. 715, "tum sonitu Prochyta alta tremit") says the island derived its name from the verb προχύειν, because it was cast off from its neighbour; and he accounts for Virgil calling it 'alta' (whereas it lies low) from its once having formed part of Aenaria, which is lofty. This is not worth much. Suburra or Subura was the name of a low street leading from the Esquiline to the Viminal, the St. Giles's of Rome. (Hor. Epod. v. 57, n.) As to the orthography, see Quinct. i. 7. 28. Juvenal speaks of the town as if it was all one Suburra.

9. *Augusto recitantes mense poetas?*] See S. i. init. It was bad enough at any time; but in August, the hottest month of the year, it might be reckoned, in a jocular way, among "the thousand dangers of the barbarous town."

10. *rheda componitur una,*] The 'rheda' was a four-wheeled travelling carriage, such as Horace travelled in part of the way to Brundisium (S. i. 5. 86. See note on S. ii. 6. 42).

11. *veteres arcus madidamque Capenam.*] The 'porta Capena' was that from which the Via Appia began, in the southern quarter of the city. It led to Capua, from which it probably got its name. The Aqua Appia, the earliest aqueduct at Rome, constructed by the Censor Appius who made the road, was conducted on arches over the Porta Capena, which is therefore called 'madida,' as the Scholiast says, and he adds that they called the gate in his time 'arcum stillantem,' the dripping arch. Martial has an epigram (iii. 47) beginning "Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta." The arches which Juvenal calls 'veteres' were about 400 years old at that time, having been built A.U.C. 442.

12. *Hic, ubi nocturnae*] This and the four following verses Jahn puts after v. 20, against all the MSS. [Ribbeck does the same.] 'Constituo' is used absolutely for making an appointment as we say, either with a dative of the person or an ablative with 'cum.' See Forcellini for examples. The nature of the appointment is usually expressed. Here it is easily understood. The grove where Numa is said to have met his mistress and teacher Aegeria was close to the Porta Capena (Plutarch, Num. c. 13). It had a fountain in it (Livy i. 21). Numa was said to have built a shrine there, and to have dedicated the whole to the Camenae, of whom Aegeria was one. The wood and fountain of Aegeria, in the valley of Aricia, about fifteen miles from Rome, are connected with a different legend, and must not be confounded with those under the walls of Rome. It appears that the Jews on payment of a certain rent were allowed to inhabit this place when they were forbidden the city, as they were during the reign of Domitian. They were so poor that he says their whole furniture consisted in a basket and a bed of hay. They were not allowed to trade, and were driven it appears to beg (see vi. 542, sq.).

15. *Omnis enim populo*] These two lines Ruperti puts in a parenthesis, with a comma after 'supellex,' joining 'In vallem Aegeriae descendimus' with 'hic' in v. 12. The editors have given themselves unnecessary trouble about the arrangement. It does very well as it stands in the text. They got the utmost rent from the poor wretches. 'Merces' is the proper word for rent (Horace, S. ii. 2. 115, "fortem mercede colonum," and the passage from the Digest quoted in the note). Suetonius says Domitian was very severe in collecting the taxes from the Jews. "Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est" (c. 12). A poll-tax of two drachmae was levied from all Jews and Christians throughout the empire.

Arbor, et ejectis mendicat silva Camenis.
In vallem Aegeriae descendimus et speluncas
Dissimiles veris. Quanto praestantius esset
Numen aquae, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum.
Hic tunc Umbricius, Quando artibus, inquit, honestis
Nullus in Urbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum,
Res hodie minor est here quam fuit, atque eadem cras
Deteret exiguis aliquid, proponimus illuc
Ire fatigatas ubi Daedalus exuit alas,
Dum nova canities, dum prima et recta senectus,
Dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat, et pedibus me

16. *ejectis mendicat silva Camenis.*] The Camenae to whom the wood was dedicated, and who are here said to have been ejected to make way for beggars, were not the Muses, though by the Latin poets the two names are confounded, from Camenae being connected with Carmen in the sense of a prophecy. They were four prophetic divinities peculiar to Italy. Their names were Antevorta, Postvorta, Carmenta, and Aegeria.

17. *In vallem Aegeriae*] This is supposed to be the valley now called La Caffarella, in which there is a fountain and grotto by some identified with Aegeria's here described. It is one of the sources of the small river Almo, now called Acquataccia, perhaps a corruption of Acqua d'Appia, as the Via Appia crossed it about a mile and a half from the Porta Capena (see Smith's Dict.Geog.Almo). Juvenal speaks of artificial grottos, but does not probably mean more than one. He says it was not like a natural cave, and that the divinity of the stream, or the spring where the divinity was supposed to live, would look much better if the fountain had a grass margin there than with marble spoiling the native stone. There was probably a statue in that grotto representing the god, as there is still in that mentioned above.

et speluncas] Servius (on Virgil, Georg. ii. 469, "speluncae vivique lacus") says: "id est bona naturalia, non sicut in urbibus labore quaesita, unde Juvenalis Et speluncas dissimiles veris."

18. *Quanto praestantius esset*] The MSS. have all 'praestantius esset,' with the exception of P., which is imperfect, and has 'praes*ntius.' Grangaeus first, and after him Heinsius, conjectured 'praesentius,' which Heinrich and Jahn have adopted. Virgil has "praesentia numina Fauni" (Georg. i. 10); "nec tam praesentes alibi cognoscere Divos" (Ec. i. 42), on neither of which places does Servius, who is fond of quoting Juvenal, quote this place. I think Juvenal wrote 'praestantius,' for the copyists were not likely to coin that word out of 'praesentius,' especially with a knowledge of Virgil's lines.

20. *ingenuum violarent marmora tophum.*] 'Tophus' is a stone which Pliny (H. N. xvii. 4) describes as 'scaber, natura friabilis,' 'rotten-stone.' Ovid describes Diana's fountain in the valley of Gargaphie thus (Met. iii. 157) (Juvenal would have admired it, and perhaps thought of this description):

"—— in extremo est antrum nemorale recessu,
Arte laboratum nulla: simulaverat artem
Ingenio Natura suo: nam pumice vivo
Et levibus tophis nativum duxerat arcum."

'Ingenuum' means 'plain, unsophisticated,' and 'violare' 'to spoil.'

23. *here quam fuit,*] As to 'here' the ablative and 'heri' the dative form, see note on Hor. S. ii. 8. 2.

25. *ubi Daedalus exuit alas,*] The legend of Daedalus flying from Crete and alighting first at Cumae, where he dedicated his wings to Phoebus, is told by Virgil (Aen. vi. 14, sqq.).

27. *Dum superest Lachesi*] This is like Horace (C. ii. 3. 15):

"Dum res et aetas et sororum
Fila trium patiuntur atra."

In the Greek conception of the Μοῖραι, who according to Hesiod were three, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, it was Clotho's business to spin the thread of human life. Lachesis determined the duration and condition

Porto meis nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.
Cedamus patria: vivant Artorius istic
Et Catulus; maneant qui nigrum in candida vertunt,
Quis facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus,

of it. But, as in Horace, the three sisters are sometimes represented as spinning, and here Clotho's functions are usurped by Lachesis. Elsewhere Clotho represents all three (see Dict. Myth. 'Moerae').

29. *Cedamus patria:*] Juvenal may in this scene have had in mind the way in which Charinus in Plautus' Mercator (Act V. Sc. 1) takes leave of Athens:

"Hunc hodie postremum extollo mea domo patria pedem.
Ego mihi alios deos Penates persequar, alium Larem,
Aliam urbem, aliam civitatem; ab Atticis abhorreo.
Nam ubi mores deteriores increbescunt indies,
Ubi qui amici infideles sint nequeas pernoscere,
Ubique id eripiatur animo tuo quod placeat maxume,
Ibi quidem si regnum detur non cupita est civitas."

vivant Artorius istic] These are names, according to the Scholiast, of men of low birth, who got their living by cheating, and made themselves rich by such means. But this is only gathered from the context.

30. *qui nigrum in candida vertunt,*] 'Who will swear black is white,' which was a proverbial way of speaking with the Romans as with us. Ovid describes Autolycus as

"—— furtum ingeniosus ad omne,
Qui facere assuerat, patriae non degener artis,
Candida de nigris et de candentibus atra."
Met. xi. 313, sqq.

31. *Quis facile est aedem conducere,*] As to 'conducere,' see i. 107, n. Horace, describing the town, says (Epp. i. 1. 76):

"—— nam quid sequar? aut quem?
Pars hominum gestit conducere publica: sunt qui
Crustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras,"
&c.:

where 'conducere publica' is probably to take contracts for public works, though it may mean the farming of the taxes likewise. Government contracts have in all times been profitable affairs. Ruperti need not have been anxious to change 'aedem' into 'aedes,' though he had the authority of one MS. of inferior quality. 'Aedes' in the singular is a sacred building, as in the plural it stands for a private dwelling, as is well known. Juvenal speaks therefore of men contracting for the repair of temples and shrines, as well as for clearing the beds of rivers, cleansing and keeping the sewers, the repairing of harbours, and likewise for funerals, and for the sale of slaves by auction. Public works, which under the republic were looked after by the aediles, had special officers (curatores) to superintend them during the empire, and the functions and dignity of the aediles were much curtailed. Suetonius (Aug. c. 37) tells us that Augustus "quo plures partem administrandae reipublicae caperent nova officia excogitavit: curam operum publicorum, viarum, aquarum, alvei Tiberis." These officers engaged contractors (redemptores) to carry out the necessary works.

The clearing of the Tiber was particularly necessary from the quantity of alluvial soil brought down by the stream and the rapidity with which weeds formed in the bed. Gellius (xi. 17) gives part of an old praetor's edict, beginning "QUI FLUMINA RETANDA PUBLICE REDEMTA HABENT," &c., where 'retare' probably signifies to drag (as we say), though Gellius gives a different explanation.

The Cloaca Maxima, said to have been constructed by Tarquinius Priscus, was large enough for a boat or a waggon of hay to pass down it. Lipsius infers from a passage of Pliny (H. N. xxxvi. 15) that there were seven principal sewers which emptied themselves into the Cloaca Maxima, and there were drains from all private houses into these, so that the underground works of Rome were on nearly as large a scale in proportion as those of London. The cost of keeping these drains in repair was very large; though the solid construction of the Cloaca Maxima with stone arches, of which remains still exist, left little to be done for that. Livy (xxxix. 44) says that in the year A.U.C. 568 the censors contracted for the cleansing of the sewers and for constructing others where they were wanted; and Dionysius

Siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver,
Et praebere caput domina venale sub hasta.
Quondam hi cornicines et municipalis arenae
Perpetui comites notaeque per oppida buccae
Munera nunc edunt, et verso pollice vulgi

Halic. mentions an occasion on which the censors paid a thousand talents to contractors for repairing and cleaning them. (See Lipsius de Mag. Rom. iii. 12.)

On occasions when a public funeral ('funus indictivum' or 'censorium') was decreed, such as Tacitus often mentions, it was performed through a 'redemptor,' whose duty it would be to provide mourners (men and women), musicians, 'lectica,' and bearers, funeral pile, and every thing connected with the procession, burning, and burial of the body, on such a scale as the senate might determine. (See Lipsius' note on Tac. Ann. iv. 15.) 'Busta' were places adjoining sepulchres, where the bodies were burnt.

A sale by auction on the public account, as of confiscated property, or for recovery of fines, or of the property of a man dying without either will or heirs, or any thing else, was called 'sectio.' It was conducted by a 'praeco' in the presence of a public officer, and a spear was set up on the spot where the auction took place. It may have been called 'domina' in this place because the sale transferred to the purchaser 'dominium,' or ownership in the thing purchased. Ruperti's conjecture of 'dominis' is very bad. (See Dict. Ant. 'Sectio' and 'Auctio.') The spear is said to have been derived from the practice followed in old times in the selling of prisoners and booty on the field of battle. 'Praebere' is here 'to put up to auction.' The word 'venalia' belonged especially to slaves. Seneca (De Ira, i. 2) speaks of passion leading, among other mischiefs, to "totarum exitia gentium et principum sub civili hasta venalia capita," their chief men being reduced to slavery and sold. Grangaeus and some others take the meaning to be, 'he who is ready to put himself up to auction,' which is foreign to the passage.

34. *Quondam hi cornicines*] These men, who made so much money by public contracts, started, he says, from the lowest beginnings, as trumpeters, who went about with companies of wrestlers and fighters to the different towns, where their puffed cheeks, he says, were well known. See Hor. Epp. i. 1. 49: "Quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax," &c., and note. 'Now they give shows of gladiators themselves, and put men to death to please the people,' who, when a gladiator had his adversary down, gave the signal for his despatch, or to spare him, by turning their thumbs up or down. (See note on Hor. Epp. i. 18. 66: "Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum.") The number of victims at these shows was enormous, and they were never more frequent than in the reign of Domitian. The expense lavished on them was likewise beyond belief. Lipsius (de Mag. Rom. ii. 11) quotes from Lactantius (Inst. lib. vi.): "Quid dicendum est de iis qui populari levitate ducti vel magnis urbibus suffecturas opes exhibendis muneribus impendunt?" and from Ambrose (Serm. 81): "Magistratus in theatris, mimis, et athletis, gladiatoribus, aliisque hujusmodi generibus hominum, totum patrimonium suum largitur et prodigit, ut unius horae favorem vulgi acquirat." Half a century before this was written, Constantine had put down gladiatorial shows, but they seem to have revived.

36. *Munera nunc edunt,*] Public games were called 'munera' from the shows that in early times were given at funerals. The word contains the same root as *μοῖρα*, and is equivalent to 'justa,' as applied to the rites due to the dead. Some MSS. have 'vulgus,' and others have 'quem libet,' 'quum libet,' 'quum jubet.' Jahn has 'vulgus quem jubet,' which is a compound of these readings. P. has 'vulgus qum libet.' The Scholiast appears to have read 'vulgus quum jubet' [which Ribbeck has]; but his explanation is not worth attending to. In the reading I have adopted 'vulgi' may go with 'quem libet' or 'pollice.' I think it is the former. The 'editor spectaculorum' sat in a conspicuous place within the 'podium,' and it is probable the signal would be taken from him, though he may have followed what appeared to be the general wish of the spectators. He might therefore be said very naturally, by the turning of his thumb, to have put to death whom he pleased of the rabble, that is, the gladiators. An old note given by Valla is to this same effect: "Loco imperatoris occidit gladiatores, cum paulo ante intra gladiatorum fuisset numerum."

Quem libet occidunt populariter: inde reversi
Conducunt foricas: et cur non omnia? quum sint
Quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
Extollit quoties voluit Fortuna jocari.
Quid Romae faciam? Mentiri nescio; librum
Si malus est nequeo laudare et poscere; motus
Astrorum ignoro; funus promittere patris
Nec volo nec possum; ranarum viscera nunquam
Inspexi. Ferre ad nuptam quae mittit adulter,
Quae mandat, norint alii: me nemo ministro
Fur erit, atque ideo nulli comes exeo, tanquam
Mancus et exstinctae corpus non utile dextrae.
Quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius et cui fervens
Aestuat occultis animus semperque tacendis?
Nil tibi se debere putat, nil conferet unquam,
Participem qui te secreti fecit honesti:
Carus erit Verri qui Verrem tempore quo vult

37. *inde reversi Conducunt foricas:*] They give them shows, and then go back to their trade, which condescends to low gains. They are not above farming the public 'foricae,' places of convenience in Rome for passengers, which were erected at the public expense and farmed. They were no doubt like the cabinets d'aisance at Paris, where they are private property. 'And what,' says Umbricius, 'is to prevent their having a monopoly of all these things, since they are of the number of those whom Fortune, when in a merry mood, raises from low degree to the highest?' The persons who contracted for these last mentioned places were called 'foricarii.' See Casaubon on Sueton. Vesp. c. 23: "Quod etiam urinae vectigal commentus esset." He quotes Lucretius, iv. 1026, sqq.

42. *laudare et poscere;*] 'Poscere' is generally supposed to mean 'to ask for a copy,' as Gifford says. It may be to call for the book, i.e. to ask to hear it.

motus Astrorum ignoro;] 'I cannot make gain by astrology, of which I know nothing.' See below, vi. 553, sqq., xiv. 248, and Hor. C. i. 11, Introd. A favourite subject for consulting these fortune-tellers upon was the probable time when a relation would die and leave his money behind, as appears from this place and the above: "neque ulla de re saepius consulebantur astrologi." (Casaubon on Pers. ii. 10.)

44. *ranarum viscera*] He means the 'rubeta,' from which poison was extracted. (See i. 70, n.) He could not profess to be an haruspex, to ascertain such matters from the entrails of animals. See below, vi. 548, sqq., where it is said the astrologer had more credit than the haruspex.

46. *norint*] The MSS. read 'norunt.' Several old editions and Heinrich have 'norint,' which is the better reading.

47. *nulli comes exeo,*] 'For this reason I never go abroad in company, I have no companion, because all have some thieving to do, and they look upon me as one maimed, with a hand fit for nothing, a mere lump of dead flesh.' This is the meaning of 'exstinctae corpus non utile dextrae,' where 'dextrae' is the genitive of quality. 'Comes' means 'comes exterior,' the great man's walking companion (v. 131, n.).

49. *nisi conscius*] 'Conscius' is an accomplice, as "miseram se conscia clamet" (Hor. S. i. 2. 130), and "quo te demisit peccati conscia herilis" (S. ii. 7. 60). The next is a good expressive line, the heart boiling with secrets it is afraid to betray, being a party to the crimes through taking reward to hide them. Martial (vi. 50) says of one Thelesinus, as long as he kept good company he could not buy himself decent clothes, but when he took to that of lewd men he could afford to buy all manner of fine things. Therefore says he: "Vis

Accusare potest. Tanti tibi non sit opaci
Omnis arena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum,
Ut somno careas ponendaque praemia sumas
Tristis et a magno semper timearis amico.
  Quae nunc divitibus gens acceptissima nostris
Et quos praecipue fugiam properabo fateri,
Nec pudor obstabit. Non possum ferre, Quirites,
Graecam urbem : quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei ?
Jam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes
Et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
Obliquas, nec non gentilia tympana secum

fieri dives, Bithynice? conscius esto." The name of Verres has never ceased to be proverbial since the exposure of his crimes by Cicero. See S. ii. 26, and viii. 106.

54. *opaci Omnis arena Tagi*] Martial expresses both (the shade and the gold) in his Epigram to Licinianus (i. 50. 15):

"Aestus serenos aureo franges Tago
Obscurus umbris arborum."

The Pactolus, Po, Ganges, and Hebrus were all reputed to have gold in their sands. See below, xiv. 299, and Pliny H. N. xxxiii. 4.

56. *ponendaque praemia*] Rewards you must one day part with, lay down, like 'deponere.' See Forcellini for examples. "Reddenda, ut quae male ante quaesita sunt." (Scholiast.)

58. *Quae nunc divitibus gens*] He goes on to tell how the town is overrun with Greeks and Eastern strangers, and though he is ashamed to think of it, that shall not make him hold his peace. 'Properabo fateri' implies that the confession is disgraceful, and that he forces himself to it as a man who makes haste to do a disagreeable duty and get it over. He repeats his complaint about the Greeks in S. xv. 10.

61. *quamvis quota portio*] He corrects himself and says, 'and yet how small a portion of our dregs are from Greece?' 'Quota' with 'pars' (or here 'portio') generally signifies 'how small a part,' as Lucretius (vi. 652): "Et quota pars homo sit terrai totius unus." (See Forcellini.) 'Quotus' is the question which is answered by an ordinal numeral, and 'quota pars' means properly, in a series of graduated parts what place would the thing occupy? and the implication is that it would come very late in the series. 'Whath part' (if we had such a word) would express 'quota pars,' as 'septima pars,' 'octava,' &c., would be the seventh, eighth, &c., part. (See Key's L. G. § 248, and note.)

62. *in Tiberim defluxit Orontes*] The Orontes (Nahr-el-Asy), which flows from the south in Coele-Syria to the north, where it enters the sea four miles below the ancient Seleucia, is here put generally for the province of Syria, which was added to the Roman dominions by Cn. Pompeius A.U.C. 689. Its own trade, and that of the East, to which it opened a wider door, brought to Rome that influx of slaves of which Juvenal complains. The Orientals have little or no ear for music; and on lower ground than Umbricius takes, he might have run away from the music of Eastern flageolets, harps, and drums. They were probably such as are still in use all over Asia, and no discord is comparable to that which is there listened to with satisfaction. The first instrument has usually but two or three holes, and no stops, and the last (corresponding to the Indian tom-tom) is beaten with no perceptible reference to time. The sort of harp here mentioned was called 'sambuca,' and it was triangular, which is meant by 'obliquas.' The girls are those who were called 'Ambubaiae.' (See note on Hor. S. ii. 1. 1, "Ambubaiarum collegia.") Dinacium in Plautus (Stich. ii. 3. 356), says Epignomus has returned from the East, and brought with him "fidicinas, tibicinas, sambucinas, eximia forma." The Circus Maximus had vaults under it, which were occupied by prostitutes. 'Jussas' means that they were hired for the purpose by others, who made gain of their prostitution. Propertius (ii. 23. 21) says:

"Et quas Euphrates, et quas mihi misit Orontes
Me capiant: nolim furta pudica tori."

Vexit et ad Circum jussas prostare puellas.
Ite quibus grata est picta lupa barbara mitra!
Rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna, Quirine,
Et ceromatico fert niceteria collo.
Hic alta Sicyone, ast hic Amydone relicta,
Hic Andro, ille Samo, hic Trallibus aut Alabandis,
Esquilias dictumque petunt a vimine collem,

66. *picta lupa barbara mitra!*] 'Pictus,' like ποικίλος, means 'embroidered.' The women in Eastern Asia do not wear any thing on their head but a veil to draw over their face. The 'mitra,' a sort of light turban, belonged to the women of Syria and Asia Minor. "Mitra proprie Lydorum fuit" is Servius' note on Aen. ix. 616: "Et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae: O vere Phrygiae neque enim Phryges." The effeminate Romans took to wearing it. It is always associated with them or with harlots. Why these persons should be called by a name which means a she-wolf is obvious. According to Livy the story of Romulus and Remus being nursed by a wolf is founded on their having sucked the breasts of a 'meretrix.' I agree with Heinrich, who says 'ite' means 'go thither,' i. e. to the Circus. Ruperti says 'in malam rem.'

67. *Rusticus ille tuus*] See last Satire, 127, n. Here he apostrophizes Romulus as there he spoke to Mars, though according to Servius, there quoted, Mars was called Quirinus when he was in a quiet mood. Of 'trechedipna' the Scholiast says they were Greek shoes (caligulae) worn by parasites running to dinner. The derivation from τρέχειν and δεῖπνον is obvious enough; and whatever the things were, the context shows they were Greek. That they were shoes may be inferred from the name. Also a parasite was called τρεχέδειπνος. Beyond this nothing can be said with certainty about 'trechedipna,' which is found nowhere else. 'Rusticus' does not here mean a rustic literally, but the descendants of rustics; and Henninius' supposition, therefore, that Juvenal is indignant that even the rustics of Italy should be shod like Greeks, despising their native shoes, is not to be regarded, as the next verse might have told him.

68. *Et ceromatico fert niceteria collo.*] 'Ceroma' (κήρωμα) was a preparation of clay, oil, and wax, with which the Greek wrestlers were anointed. 'Niceteria' (νικητήρια) here means the prizes of victory for wrestling, a practice only introduced at Rome under the empire. The early Romans despised the Greek gymnastic exercises, and Nero was the first to build a public gymnasium or training-school for wrestlers, &c. Juvenal mentions this as one of the discreditable Greek innovations. He uses Greek words designedly.

69. *Hic alta Sicyone,*] 'These Greeks come from all parts,' he means. One from Sicyon, which he calls 'alta.' That part of Sicyonia which lay on the coast (of the Sinus Corinthiacus) was level, and the city of Sicyon, its capital, was originally on the plain, about a mile and a half from the shore. But this was destroyed by Demetrius Poliorcetes, and a new town was built by him, which, according to Strabo (viii. p. 382), stood on a fortified eminence. Sicyon was celebrated for its refinements. Amydon is introduced as being at the other end of Greece, on the banks of the Axius in Macedonia. Homer mentions it in his Catalogue, Il. ii. 849. Others, he says, are islanders, some from Andros, and others from Samos, the name of which represented all that was refined and luxurious in the earlier history of the Asiatic Greeks, but which was itself much decayed at this time. Tralles and Alabanda were flourishing towns on the main land; the former in Lydia, on the right bank of the Maeander; the other in Caria, on the river Marsyas.

71. *Esquilias dictumque*] He chooses to represent the city by an important part of it, including the third and fifth Regions, which comprised the Esquiline and Viminal hills, and some of the best houses in Rome. Mons Viminalis was supposed to have been so called from an osier plantation that grew on the top of it. He says, these slaves are brought to Rome, to be introduced into great houses, and become so necessary to them as to be themselves the heart and virtual masters of those houses. This he follows up by a description of their character, quick talents, reckless effrontery, and great abundance of words, which, considering the licence the Romans gave their upper slaves, would naturally lead to the results he fears.

Viscera magnarum domuum dominique futuri.
Ingenium velox, audacia perdita, sermo
Promptus et Isaeo torrentior. Ede quid illum
Esse putes? quem vis hominem secum attulit ad nos:
Grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes,
Augur, schoenobates, medicus, magus: omnia novit.
Graeculus esuriens in caelum jusseris ibit.
Ad summam, non Maurus erat neque Sarmata nec Thrax
Qui sumpsit pennas, mediis sed natus Athenis.
Horum ego non fugiam conchylia? me prior ille
Signabit? fultusque toro meliore recumbet
Advectus Romam quo pruna et cottona vento?

72. *Viscera magnarum domuum*] 'Domus' has its dative and ablative singular, and genitive and accusative plural, of the second or fourth declension. The other cases are of the fourth. See Servius on Virgil, Aen. ii. 445: "Turres ac tecta domorum."

74. *Isaeo torrentior.*] This Isaeus was a rhetorician of great eminence who lived in Juvenal's time. Pliny the Younger (Epp. ii. 3) says of him, "Summa est facultas, copia, ubertas," that he always spoke extempore, but just as if he had written his speeches; with much more in the highest strain of praise. 'Torrens' is repeated in the same connexion in S. x. 9 and 128. It is like Horace's description of Pindar (C. iv. 2. 5):

> "Monte decurrens velut amnis imbres
> Quem super notas aluere ripas
> Fervet immensusque ruit profundo
> Pindarus ore."

Ede quid illum] 'Come tell us what you think he is (that is, what is his particular accomplishment). Why, he is every thing or any thing you please.' Heinrich reads, on his own conjecture, 'esse jubes.' But the evidence of all the MSS. is in favour of 'putes.' Heinrich says the indicative is wanted after 'ede,' as below (v. 296), 'ede—in qua te quaero proseucha;' but he leaves out 'ubi consistas,' which corresponds more nearly to this place. 'Quaero' does not depend on 'ede.' By 'illum' is plainly meant any one of these Greeks. They were ready to open schools for grammar or rhetoric or geometry or drawing or wrestling; to tell the will of heaven or to dance upon the tight-rope; to administer medicines or charms; it was all the same to them. It must be remembered that the Grammatici and Rhetorici, or teachers of grammar and rhetoric, were mostly foreigners and freedmen. These subjects formed the regular teaching of a Roman boy, till he put on the 'toga virilis,' and rhetoric he continued afterwards. 'Aliptes' seems to mean 'a trainer,' the name being taken from the 'ceroma' with which the wrestlers were greased (v. 68). The Latin for 'schoenobates' was 'funambulus.' These persons were very expert. (See below, xiv. 266, and Dict. Ant.) The professional physicians at Rome were chiefly Greeks; the first, according to Pliny, having been one Archagathus, a Peloponnesian, who arrived in Rome A.U.C. 535. But the chief 'medici' were either slaves or freedmen living in families.

78. *Graeculus esuriens*] 'The starveling Greek, bid him fly up to the skies and he'll do it' (or try). This seems to have been a proverbial way of speaking. Horace says, "Caelum ipsum petimus stultitia" (C. i. 3. 38). Juvenal adds, 'In short (if you doubt me), it was no other than a Greek, born in the heart of Athens, who put on wings and flew.' Daedalus was generally reputed to have been an Athenian. 'Jusseris' is 'suppose you bid him,' on which construction, see Key's L. G. 1227 b, and note on Hor. S. i. 1. 45. Johnson has given this verse a turn which changes its meaning, and is not saved by fidelity from the charge of coarseness.

80. [Ribbeck has 'pinnas.']

81. *fugiam conchylia?*] Their fine clothes dyed with purple, the juice of the shell-fish purpura and murex. Persons of most consideration would naturally sign wills and so forth as witnesses before their inferiors, and lie upon handsome sofas with fine coverings ('stragulae vestes.' See Hor. S. ii. 3. 118, n.).

83. *quo pruna et cottona vento?*] Pliny

Usque adeo nihil est, quod nostra infantia caelum
Hausit Aventini, baccā nutrita Sabina?
Quid, quod adulandi gens prudentissima laudat
Sermonem indocti, faciem deformis amici,
Et longum invalidi collum cervicibus aequat
Herculis, Antaeum procul a tellure tenentis,
Miratur vocem angustam, qua deterius nec
Ille sonat quo mordetur gallina marito.
Haec eadem licet et nobis laudare; sed illis
Creditur. An melior quum Thaida sustinet, aut quum
Uxorem comoedus agit vel Dorida nullo
Cultam palliolo? Mulier nempe ipsa videtur
Non persona loqui: vacua et plana omnia dicas
Infra ventriculum et tenui distantia rima.

(H. N. xiii. 5) says 'cottona' was the name of small figs from Syria. He also speaks in the same place of plums from Damascus, of which both were well known to the Italians (utramque jam familiarem Italiae). Martial mentions the kind of baskets in which 'cottona' were imported, conical-shaped wicker-baskets (xiii. 28):

"Haec tibi quae torta venerunt condita meta;
Si majora forent cottona ficus erant."

To these imported fruits the 'bacca Sabina' is opposed,—the olive grown on the Sabine hills, where they still grow in abundance. The Aventine is put for Rome as the Esquiliae and Viminal were above. 'Hausit caelum' is borrowed from Virgil, Aen. x. 899: "ut auras Suspiciens hausit caelum mentemque recepit." Ruperti adopts the reading of a few MSS., 'Aventinum.' Either form will do.

86. *Quid, quod adulandi*] I have removed the note of interrogation that generally appears after 'quid.' See below, v. 147. It introduces another illustration of the subject, a common use of 'quid' and 'quid enim.' (See Hor. S. i. 1. 7, note.) Cicero cautions his brother Quintus particularly against the Greeks in his province (Asia). A very few, he says, were worthy of old Greece: "Sic vero (as times now go) fallaces sunt permulti et leves et diuturna servitute ad nimiam assentationem eruditi." (Ad Qu. Fr. i. 1. 5.)

88. *collum cervicibus aequat*] 'Collum' signifies the whole neck before and behind, including the throat; 'cervix' the hinder part, where the strength of the neck lies. 'Cervix' is only used in the plural number by Cicero; and Quintilian remarks (viii. 3) that it appears more commonly in that number than the singular (see Forcellini). Antaeus, the giant wrestler of Libya, was beaten by Hercules only by lifting him up from his mother earth, from whom he got all his strength, and so squeezing him to death. There were many pictures and sculptures representing the scene; and Juvenal writes as if he had seen one. The struggle is described with some power by Lucan (iv. 597, sqq.).

91. *quo mordetur gallina marito.*] There can be no doubt that the poets sometimes used the construction of the ablative of the agent without the preposition *a*, and that 'quo,' the reading of all the MSS., is right. See note on Hor. C. i. 6. 2. 'Marito' is put in the ablative by attraction, as (Hor. S. i. 4. 2) "Atque alii quorum comoedia prisca virorum est;" (Ib. 10. 16) "Illi scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est."

92. *sed illis Creditur.*] 'We may flatter just as they do, but they are believed (and we are not).' They knew how to administer flattery so as to make a man believe himself what they represented. An instance of this is mentioned by Suetonius in the life of Nero (c. 22). He had a great opinion of his musical talents, and paid a visit to Greece in order to display them there. He sang at a dinner party, and being highly applauded, he is said to have cried, "Solos scire audire Graecos, soloseque se et studiis suis dignos."

93. *An melior quum Thaida sustinet,*] 'Is there a better actor than he when he plays a courtezan, or a chaste matron, or an unveiled strumpet? You could declare it was a woman before you, not a masked

Nec tamen Antiochus, nec erit mirabilis illic
Aut Stratocles aut cum molli Demetrius Haemo:
Natio comoeda est. Rides, majore cachinno
Concutitur; flet si lacrimas conspexit amici,
Nec dolet; igniculum brumae si tempore poscas,
Accipit endromidem; si dixeris, aestuo, sudat.
[Non sumus ergo pares: melior qui semper et omni
Nocte dieque potest alienum sumere vultum,
A facie jactare manus, laudare paratus
Si bene ructavit, si rectum minxit amicus,
Si trulla inverso crepitum dedit aurea fundo.
Praeterea sanctum nihil est et ab inguine tutum:

man.' The mask is put for the man who wore it. 'Palliolum' was a small square cloth worn over the head to protect it from the weather, or, in the case of prostitutes, to hide the face. Men only wore it when they were sick, wherefore Ovid recommends the lover to wear it (A. A. i. 733, sq.):

"Arguat et macies animum; nec turpe putaris
Palliolum nitidis implicuisse comis."

For 'nullo' Jahn has adopted the conjectural word 'pullo.' All the MSS. have 'nullo;' and Priscian quotes the verse with that word (iii. 7. 41). The note explains the force of 'nullo.'

98. *Nec tamen Antiochus,*] 'And yet there (in Greece) even Antiochus, Stratocles, Demetrius, and Haemus would not be thought much of, for they are a nation of comic actors.' Stratocles and Demetrius are mentioned by Quintilian (xi. 3. 178). Haemus is referred to in S. vi. 199 with Carpophorus; he and Antiochus are not found elsewhere.

103. *Accipit endromidem;*] This was a thick Gaulish blanket, worn in cold weather, or when a man had heated himself by running, from which the name is derived. Martial has an epigram upon it describing its various uses (iv. 19). The diminutive 'igniculum' is often used by Cicero in a metaphorical sense; there is no particular force in it here. Gifford quotes Hamlet's dialogue with Osric:

"*O.* I thank your lordship, 'tis very hot.
H. No, believe me, 'tis very cold; the wind is northerly.
O. It is indifferent cold, my lord, indeed.
H. But yet methinks it is very sultry and hot for my complexion.
O. Exceedingly, my lord, it is very sultry as it were, I can't tell how."

The Scholiast quotes from Terence (Eun. ii. 2. 19) Gnatho's speech: "Negat quis, nego; ait, aio: postremo imperavi egomet mihi Omnia assentari."

104. *Non sumus ergo pares:*] This verse Jahn marks as spurious [and Ribbeck also]. It is hard to say why. The MSS. all have it, and John of Salisbury quotes it (Nugae, &c. iii. 4). See v. 108, n.

106. *A facie jactare manus,*] Bringing the hand to the lips and kissing it, to throw the kiss towards a person by way of respect, as (iv. 118) "Blandaque devexae jactaret basia rhedae." (See also vi. 584, n.) In Phaedrus (v. 7) a musician, in return for the applause of the audience, which he supposes is meant for him, kisses his hand by way of acknowledgment:

"In plausus consurrectum est. Jactat basia
Tibicen; gratulari fautores putat."

Tacitus says of Otho, "Nec deerat protendens manus adorare vulgus, jacere oscula, et omnia serviliter pro dominatione." (Hist. i. 36.) 'Adorare' is derived from this custom, which is of Eastern origin. With us it implies more familiarity than it did with the ancients. The old commentators have mistaken the passage, except Holyday, who thinks this may be its meaning. It can be nothing else. Gifford's translation, "At deeds of shame their hands admiring raise," is quite wrong. Dryden speaks of "the panegyrick hand."

108. *Si trulla inverso*] 'Trulla,' which is connected with the Greek τρύβλιον, is

Non matrona Laris, non filia virgo, neque ipse
Sponsus levis adhuc, non filius ante pudicus.
Horum si nihil est, aviam resupinat amici.]
Scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri.
Et quoniam coepit Graecorum mentio, transi
Gymnasia atque audi facinus majoris abollae.
Stoicus occidit Baream, delator amicum

used for a drinking-cup and a washing-basin. It seems here to be used for a more homely vessel, which one rich man at least, if Martial says true (i. 38), chose to have of gold or gilt. The Scholiast and commentators are divided in respect to the interpretation. The decent one may be thus given, "if with upturned bottom the golden goblet smacks;" that is, if the great man drinks off a large bumper at a draught and smacks his lips as if he had done a great thing. I am afraid this version will not do in connexion with what goes before. John of Salisbury in his quotation substitutes (or the writer of his MS. had done so) the following line for this, "Quod proferre palam non possit lingua pudica," which shows what his notion of the meaning was. It also shows that the ecclesiastics of the middle ages altered parts that they did not like, a remark Heinrich makes on ii. 109 above.

110. *Non matrona Laris,*] 'Laris' means 'a man's house,' as "inopemque paterni Et laris et fundi." (Hor. Epp. ii. 2. 51.) 'Sponsus' was one who was betrothed to a woman, as 'sponsa' was a woman who was betrothed to a man. A youth could not contract marriage till he had ceased to be 'impubes,' the time of which was not strictly defined, but was generally taken to be fourteen. But a contract of marriage might be made after seven, and a child might so be 'sponsus.' By a law passed in the time of Augustus a girl might not be betrothed till she was ten, the age of puberty being twelve from the earliest times.

113. *Scire volunt secreta domus*] This is given as the reason for their intimacy with the women of the house, that they might get the master's secrets out of them, and so have him in their power (v. 57). [Ribbeck omits 'Scire volunt' to 'Graecorum mentio.']

114. *transi Gymnasia*] It is doubted whether this means, as the Scholiast says, 'pass by,' that is, 'say no more of the gymnasia, and let us go on to a crime of a larger sort;' or, whether, as Lubinus supposes, 'let us pass on to the schools, and speak of a crime committed by one of your greater philosophers,' as if it were 'transi ad gymnasia.' And this is a legitimate construction, as in Plautus (Stich. iii. 1. 3): "Ego per hortum amicam transibo meam." Heinrich takes it this way, and so do Grangaeus and others, and I agree with them. The philosophers' schools were called 'gymnasia' because they commonly held them in buildings erected for gymnastic exercises. 'Crimen majoris abollae' the Scholiast says was a proverb: "Quasi majoris togae, id est, sceleris potioris." He adds, "vel per ironiam dixit quasi sanctioris philosophiae." The origin of the saying, I think, must remain doubtful. It means in some way or other a greater crime. 'Abolla,' which is derived from ἀμβολλά, a form of ἀναβολή, is used in the next Satire (v. 76), and then it is worn by a senator. It was probably used indiscriminately for the outer garment worn out of doors, whether 'lacerna,' 'pallium,' or whatever it might be, or the military 'sagum.' Some suppose 'majoris abollae,' to be equivalent to 'duplice panno' in Horace, which was the dress of the Cynics (see note on Epp. i. 17. 25); and this is against this interpretation, for he goes on immediately to say the man was a Stoic.

116. *Stoicus occidit Baream,*] Servilius Barea Soranus was proconsul of Asia in the reign of Claudius, and a man of high character. He fell under the displeasure of Nero, and was charged with treasonable practices, and his daughter Servilia with aiding him. They were condemned to death. The chief witness against them was P. Egnatius Celer, whom Tacitus (Ann. xvi. 32) speaks of as "cliens Sorani et tunc emptus ad opprimendum amicum:" and he adds: "auctoritatem Stoicae sectae praeferebat, habitu et ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti exercitus, ceterum animo perfidiosus, subdolus, avaritiam ac libidinem occultans." The man was afterwards, in Vespasian's reign, charged with this offence by Musonius Rufus, and was condemned to death. Rufus speaks of him as "perditor corruptorque amici, et cujus se magistrum ferebat;" which explains 'discipulum,' and

Discipulumque senex, ripa nutritus in illa
Ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi.
Non est Romano cuiquam locus hic, ubi regnat
Protogenes aliquis vel Diphilus aut Hermarcus,
Qui gentis vitio nunquam partitur amicum,
Solus habet. Nam quum facilem stillavit in aurem
Exiguum de naturae patriaeque veneno,
Limine summoveor; perierunt tempora longi
Servitii. Nusquam minor est jactura clientis.
  Quod porro officium, ne nobis blandiar, aut quod
Pauperis hic meritum, si curet nocte togatus
Currere, quum praetor lictorem impellat et ire
Praecipitem jubeat dudum vigilantibus orbis,
Ne prior Albinam et Modiam collega salutet?
Divitis hic servi claudit latus ingenuorum

supports the reading of all the MSS. against a conjecture of Ritter's adopted by Mr. Mayor [and Ribbeck] 'discipulam' (Tac. Hist. iv. 10. 40). See note on S. i. 33.

117. *ripa nutritus in illa*] The Scholiast says this was the city of Tarsus, which was situated on the banks of the Cydnus in Cilicia, and was supposed to have been founded by Perseus. Pegasus, who is said to have sprung from the blood of the Gorgon Medusa, when Perseus slew her at Tartessus in Spain, is supposed to have dropped a hoof here (ταρσός), and thus to have given its name to the city. But this is not what Juvenal says, and it is impossible to say what place he means.

120. *Protogenes aliquis*] All these are Greek names representing parasites, who contrived to monopolize their great friends as only Greeks were wont ('gentis vitio'). The Scholiast calls them μονοφιλεῖς. What follows is bitter enough. As to 'summoveor' see S. i. 37, n.

125. *jactura clientis.*] It must be remembered that the word 'cliens' is used to express a totally different relation between patron and dependant from what it expressed in the earlier times of the republic. At this time it did not involve a legal and political distinction, and meant no more than a humble friend, a dependant who looked to another for support, counsel, and so forth. 'Jactura' is explained by Forcellini as "ἀποβολή quod ex navi in mare jacitur in tempestate, ejus exonerandae causa." "'Jacturam facere' is to throw a thing away it seems to save the rest." (Long on Caesar, B. G. vi. 12.) 'To throw a person overboard' is a common conversational phrase with us, meaning to get rid of him.

126. *Quod porro officium,*] He here enters upon a subject we have had before (S. i. 101, n.). He says 'what is the good of the poor man's service and attentions if his betters are to become his rivals, and when he takes pains to run before daybreak to pay his duty to the rich, he finds a praetor has got there before him?' 'Porro' means 'to proceed,' 'in the next place.' 'Ne nobis blandiar' is another way of saying 'to speak the truth.' It seems like a conversational idiom, as 'si verum admittimus' below, v. 171. As to 'togatus,' see S. i. 96. There were at this time eighteen praetors in the city (Dig. 1. tit. 2. s. 34). Each praetor had two lictors allowed him. 'Ire praecipitem jubeat' is a common expression of haste. 'Orbus' was the legal word for a married person who had no children. The speaker means to say these rich ladies have long been up waiting for their visitors, and the praetor is in a fright lest one of his colleagues should get to the house before him.

131. *Divitis hic servi*] 'Claudere latus' means in effect to give a man you are walking with the wall. See note on Horace, S. ii. 5. 17. "Ne tamen illi Tu comes exterior si postulet ire recuses. Utne tegam spurco Damae latus?" Ulysses asks indignantly. The 'servus' is now a freedman, and the young gentleman is glad to wait upon him. 'Ingenuus' is one born of free parents (see Hor. S. i. 6. 6, n.). 'Alter' means the freedman, and what follows is

Filius: alter enim quantum in legione tribuni
Accipiunt donat Calvinae vel Catienae,
Ut semel atque iterum super illam palpitet: at tu,
Quum tibi vestiti facies scorti placet, haeres
Et dubitas alta Chionen deducere sella?
Da testem Romae tam sanctum quam fuit hospes
Numinis Idaei; procedat vel Numa vel qui
Servavit trepidam flagranti ex aede Minervam;
Protinus ad censum, de moribus ultima fiet
Quaestio: "quot pascit servos? quot possidet agri
Jugera? quam multa magnaque paropside coenat?"

only a way of saying he was very rich and could indulge himself as he pleased.

132. *quantum in legione tribuni Accipiunt*] It does not appear what the pay of a tribune was, but we may conclude from this passage that it was not a small sum compared with prices in these times. Indeed, the pay was so good that it passed into a proverb, as Lipsius says (de Mil. Rom. v. 16), quoting Pliny (H. N. xxxv. 3), who speaking of costly candelabra from Aegina says, "nec pudet tribunorum militarium salariis emere."

133. *Calvinae vel Catienae,*] These represent women of birth. Such a one, related to Augustus and sister of L. Silanus, is mentioned by Tacitus (Ann. xii. 4).

135. *vestiti facies scorti*] She in pursuit of her trade would appear in a toga, carried about in a chair (S. i. 65, n.), to invite and be inspected by customers. Or else she sat in a chair in her house, and those who came in to admire must pay her well before she would get down. To invite her from her sella, whichever it was, would be the same as to consent to her price. Seneca (de Benef. i. 9) says a man was counted a barbarian and hated by the women "si quis conjugem in sella prostare vetuit et vulgo admissis inspectoribus vehi undique perspicuam." Chione is a name that is found repeatedly in Martial.

137. *Da testem Romae*] He goes on to say honest poor men are not believed at Rome on their oath. By the host of the Idaean divinity, Cybele, he means P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, who for his great merits was chosen by the senate to escort the image of that goddess, which was brought from Pessinus to Rome A.U.C. 550 (see S. ii. 111, n.: Livy, xxix. 14; xxxv. 10). L. Caecilius Metellus, who triumphed during the first Punic war, who was twice consul, once magister equitum, dictator, and for twenty-two years Pontifex Maximus, shortly after he was promoted to that office rescued the palladium from the temple of Vesta when that was on fire. He lost his sight on that occasion (see vi. 265, "Lepidi caecive Metelli"). The Romans professed to have in the temple of Vesta the original Trojan palladium, brought from Troy by Aeneas. The oldest tradition made it an image not of Pallas Athene, but of another damsel of that name (Pallas), whom the goddess slew. But this was lost sight of, and the possession of the image was counted a sufficient pledge of the help of Minerva and the safety of Rome.

140. *Protinus ad censum,*] They directly look at the man's income, not his character, which is the last question they ask. "Virtus post nummos" (Hor. Epp. i. 1. 54).

141. *quot pascit servos?*] The slaves in some households at this time, if the statements on record are to be believed, were counted by thousands. There must have been many masters who had slaves by hundreds in their 'familia urbana' and 'rustica' together. (On this subject see Becker's Gallus, Exc. on the slave family.) Pliny (H. N. xviii. 6) complains of the extent of the lands held by single owners, and says it is ruining the cultivation of Italy, and that the same mischief was extending to the provinces: "Verumque confitentibus latifundia perdidere Italiam; jam vero et provincias." He refers to Virgil's maxim, "Laudato ingentia rura, Exiguum colito" (Georg. ii. 412). The word 'latifundia' seems to have been invented at this time to express these large farms. It is not found earlier than Pliny. Seneca makes great complaints upon the same subject in a variety of places, which are referred to by Mr. Mayor. (Senec. Epp. 88, 89.) 'Possidet' means the owner.

142. *paropside*] This is one of the many names the Romans had for their dishes,

Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca
Tantum habet et fidei. Jures licet et Samothracum
Et nostrorum aras contemnere fulmina pauper
Creditur atque deos, dis ignoscentibus ipsis.
Quid, quod materiam praebet causasque jocorum
Omnibus hic idem, si foeda et scissa lacerna,
Si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter
Pelle patet: vel si consuto vulnere crassum
Atque recens linum ostendit non una cicatrix.
Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se
Quam quod ridiculos homines facit. "Exeat," inquit,
"Si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri
Cujus res legi non sufficit, et sedeant hic
Lenonum pueri quocunque in fornice nati,
Hic plaudat nitidi praeconis filius inter
Pinnirapi cultos juvenes juvenesque lanistae."

borrowed from the Greek. See Hor. S. ii. 2. 4, n.

143. *Quantum quisque sua*] So the world says, according to Horace, "tanti quantum habeas sis" (S. i. 1. 62, where see note).

144. *Jures licet et Samothracum*] The most secret mysteries known to the ancients were connected with the worship of the Cabiri, deities of whose nature little is known (see Dict. Myth.). They were worshipped in more than one island of the Aegean, but in none so solemnly as in Samothrace, which retains its ancient name, and lies in the north of that sea. He says though a poor man swore by the altars of these awful divinities and those of his country to boot, he would not be believed, for it would be supposed he was reckless of the vengeance of the gods, and that they only smiled at a poor man's perjury and pardoned it—a very bitter way of speaking. As to swearing by the altar, which was common, see note on Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 16: "Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras."

147. *Quid, quod*] See above, v. 86, n. As to 'lacerna,' see S. i. 27, n. 'Sordidulus' is a diminutive that is not found elsewhere. 'Calceus' was a walking shoe, and all these remarks bear on the appearance of the poor man out of doors, where he is obliged to show his poverty among well-dressed upstarts who sneer at him. Horace speaks of poverty as 'magnum opprobrium' (C. iii. 24. 42), and its mortifications will continue while the world lasts. Compare xi. 2:

"quid enim majore cachinno
Excipitur vulgi quam pauper Apicius?"

153. *"Exeat," inquit,*]

"Pack hence, and from the cover'd benches rise,
The master of the ceremonies cries."
(Dryden.)

This person was called 'designator' (Plautus, Poen. Prol. 18, sqq., quoted on Horace, Epp. i. 7. 6). The five following lines must be given to this functionary, whom they do not fit very well; but that does not much matter.

154. *de pulvino surgat equestri*] That is, let him leave the seats of the equites, the fourteen front rows of the theatre, which had cushions and were reserved for that order by a law (A.U.C. 687) proposed by the tribune L. Roscius Otho. Any one who had the equestrian census of 400,000 sesterces might take his place there. Hor. Epod. iv. 15, n.:

"Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques
Othone contempto sedet."

Here might come then the pander or the fat auctioneer, or the gladiator and the trainer. 'Praecones' were criers of various sorts. See note on Hor. S. i. 6. 86: "Si praeco parvas aut ut fuit ipse coactor Mercedes sequerer." The 'pinnirapus' was one of the many sorts of gladiators. He may be supposed to have been so called because it was his business to snatch a feather from the head of his adversary, and this we are

Sic libitum vano qui nos distinxit Othoni.
Quis gener hic placuit censu minor atque puellae
Sarcinulis impar? quis pauper scribitur heres?
Quando in consilio est Aedilibus? Agmine facto
Debuerant olim tenues migrasse Quirites.
Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat
Res angusta domi: sed Romae durior illis
Conatus; magno hospitium miserabile, magno

told by Varro was worn by the Samnites, another class. The name is not found elsewhere. 'Lanistae' were the persons who trained the gladiators in their 'ludi,' training-schools, either on their own account to let them out, or for private persons.

160. *censu minor*] Less than the equestrian above mentioned, or it may be taken generally for a man of small means. 'Sarcinulis' the Scholiast explains by 'dos,' and Forcellini by 'doti et opibus,' which is not satisfactory. The 'dos' was not given by the husband, but it means every thing which on the occasion of a woman's marriage was transferred by her, or by another person, to the husband for the purpose of enabling him to sustain the charges (onera) of the marriage state. Achaintre, with Ruperti's approval, explains 'sarcinulis' by the French word 'trousseau,' which is the stock of clothing given to a woman on her marriage. Perhaps the word may only mean such things as a woman required, or thought she required, after her marriage, and 'impar' means that the man's property was unequal to provide his wife with such things. The word is repeated in vi. 146: "Collige sarcinulas dicet libertus et exi," 'pack up your baggage and be gone,' where a man is turning his wife out of doors. There is something of contempt in it. Here the speaker means that a poor man who cannot afford to keep his wife in trinkets and finery is passed by. The Scholiast and others suppose 'impar' to be a word of comparison, that his means are not equal to the woman's, which is perhaps not the meaning.

162. *Quando in consilio est Aedilibus?*] That is, assessors to the Aediles, who were at this time and had been for many years the lowest of the magistrates. Even in Cicero's time the office was little above the condition of a private citizen, as he says (in Verrem, Act. i. c. 13, init.), when he himself was Aedile, "ego autem aedilis, hoc est, paulo amplius quam privatus." (See note above on v. 31.) They were police-officers now, and nothing more. 'In consilio' is equivalent to 'assessor,' and that means a legal adviser to a magistrate, such as our own magistrates have. The assessor to an Aedile need be but a humble person, but even to this a poor man was not eligible, according to this speaker.

163. *Debuerant olim*] The commentators refer this to the 'secessio plebis,' B.C. 494, when the plebs retired to the Mons Sacer in a body, but were induced to return by the representations of Menenius Agrippa. But 'Debuerant olim migrasse' means 'it is long since they had owed it (to themselves) to emigrate.' The construction is like that in ii. 115, "tempus erat jam abrumpere." 'Olim' carries the mind back to a past time, and the past perfect means that at that time the duty had long lain upon them. This is decisive against the above allusion, which, as the time is specific, would have required the perfect 'debuerunt' either with 'migrare' or 'migrasse.' (See Key's L. G. 1257, 1258.) All that is really meant is, that the poor ought not to have waited at Rome to be brought to this contemptible condition, but long ago to have migrated in a body, as he and his family were doing, and as the Irish have been doing for some time. 'Agmine facto' is a common phrase borrowed from Virgil, who uses it repeatedly, of bees, of the winds, and of soldiers. Juvenal uses it again for swarms of diseases (x. 218).

164. *Haud facile emergunt*] "Slow rises worth by poverty depress'd," is Johnson's version, and he wrote from experience. Lucretius (ii. 12) says it is pleasant for those whom philosophy has raised above the vulgar sort to look on and see men

"Noctes atque dies niti praestante labore
Ad summas emergere opes rerumque potiri."

'Emergere' means to emerge from obscurity.

166. *magno hospitium miserabile,*] 'Hospitium' is here put for a lodging, 'coenaculum,' an upper story room in

Servorum ventres et frugi coenula magno.
Fictilibus coenare pudet, quod turpe negavit
Translatus subito ad Marsos mensamque Sabellam
Contentusque illic veneto duroque cucullo.
Pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua
Nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus. Ipsa dierum

which most poor men lived. See Hor. Epp. i. 1. 91, n. Even for such a miserable lodging the speaker says they had to pay a high rent, and they could not do without a certain number of slaves, whose bellies must be filled, and their frugal family meal cost a good deal. Horace, who lived as plainly as any man could do, and was a bachelor, could not sit down to his dinner of leeks and fritters without three slaves, which he considered the height of independence (S. i. 6. 116). Umbricius was married, and had children, and the customary number of slaves in every household had grown enormously since the days of Horace. The domestic slaves had their supper from the remains of their master's. Sometimes they dined with the family, but on 'subsellia,' seats below the master's table, where also the children sat. But this in later times, when the number was so greatly increased, could only be confined to a few of the upper slaves and favourites, particularly 'vernae,' those born in the house. Horace describes the luxury of those familiar meals very warmly:

"O noctes coenaeque Deum! quibus ipse meique
Ante Larem proprium vescor vernasque procaces
Pasco libatis dapibus."
(S. ii. 6. 65, sqq., note.)

He only tasted his dishes and passed them on to his slaves. (See Becker's Gallus, Exc. Slave Family.) Slaves had commonly at this time an allowance of grain equal to three pints a day. See Horace, S. i. 5. 68: "cui satis una Farris libra foret gracili sic tamque pusillo;" and Epp. i. 14. 40: "Cum servis urbana diaria rodere mavis."

168. *Fictilibus coenare pudet,*] Men are ashamed to dine off earthenware, though they are not so when they leave Rome and suddenly find themselves in the country, with plain fare before them. This seems to be the meaning, and 'negavit,' the reading of all the MSS., will bear it, if understood in an aoristic sense. Grangaeus conjectured 'negabit,' and Valesius 'negabis,' which Jahn adopts [and Ribbeck]. The Scholiast gives it some support. "In Urbe in fictilibus vasis manducare turpe videbitur; quodsi apud Marsos aut Sabinos vixeris negabis esse turpe." Heinrich observes, that in the Florentine MS. of the Pandect, one of our oldest MSS., *b* and *v* are often interchanged. I think it not unlikely 'negabit' is the true reading. The commentators generally suppose Dentatus to be referred to. I think they are wrong. The Marsi were of Sabine origin, and all who were so were included under the name Sabelli. (See Note on Hor. S. ii. 1. 34.)

170. *veneto duroque cucullo.*] 'Venetus' is 'sea-green.' Sailors wore their jackets of this colour. (See Forcellini.) 'Cucullus' was a hood attached to the 'lacernae.' Ruperti approves of 'culullus,' a sort of cup, (Hor. A. P. 434) as a substitute for 'cucullus,' because Umbricius is talking about dining. He has spoken of the man's plain table, and here speaks of his dress.

171. *si verum admittimus,*] This is a sort of phrase like 'ne nobis blandiar' (v. 126). He says that no one wears the toga in a large part of Italy till he is dead, when the body of a free person was always clad in a toga such as accorded with his rank. So Martial speaks of "pallens toga mortui tribulis" (ix. 58). Pliny urging his friend Praesens to come back to Rome after a long absence in the country, asks him how much longer his toga is to have a holiday: "Quousque calcei nusquam? toga feriata?" (Epp. vii. 3.) And Martial writes to Linus:

"Egisti vitam semper, Line, municipalem,
Qua nihil omnino vilius esse potest.
Idibus et raris togula est excussa Kalendis,
Duxit et aestates synthesis una decem."
(iv. 66.)

He only puts on his toga, and that a shabby one, twice a month, on the Ides and Kalends, which were holidays.

172. *Ipsa dierum Festorum*] If the high festivals ('majestas festorum') were ever celebrated with the performance of plays in a theatre, in which the people sat round on the grass, and a temporary stage was erected, and some old familiar farce was acted, with

Festorum herboso colitur si quando theatro
Majestas tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
Exodium, quum personae pallentis hiatum
In gremio matris formidat rusticus infans,
Aequales habitus illic similemque videbis
Orchestram et populum : clari velamen honoris,
Sufficiunt tunicae summis Aedilibus albae.
Hic ultra vires habitus nitor ; hic aliquid plus
Quam satis est interdum aliena sumitur arca.

rude masks, then all classes of spectators were dressed alike, and the magistrates appeared, like the rest, in a plain white tunic. Such a theatre Ovid describes as belonging to the primitive times, long before theatres were known in any but the Greek towns:

"Tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela theatro
Nec fuerant liquido pulpita rubra croco.
Illic quas tulerant nemorum Palatia frondes
Simpliciter positae; scena sine arte fuit.
In gradibus sedit populus de cespite factis,
Qualibet hirsutas fronde tegente comas." (A. A. i. 103, sqq.)

174. *tandemque redit ad pulpita*] 'Tandem' means after a long interval. It happened rarely; that is, when the annual feast came round the same old well-known play came with it. 'Pulpitum' (λογεῖον) was the front part of the stage, where the actors spoke. 'Exodia' were merry interludes, introduced between the 'Atellanae.' See below, vi. 71: "Urbicus exodio risum movet Atellanae." And Suetonius (Tib. 45) speaks of 'Atellanicum exodium.' Livy (vii. 2) speaks of 'exodia inserta fabellis,' referring to the 'Atellanae;' meaning, as is probable, that after the performance of one of these plays (as to which see vi. 71, n.) an 'exodium' was performed before the next came on (see Dict. Ant.). The name is derived from ἐξ ὁδοῦ, 'out of the way,' because they took different ground from the plays. It is doubtful whether, as acted in these rustic theatres, the 'exodium' was strictly of the nature here described. It may have been acted without the 'Atellanae.'

175. *personae pallentis hiatum*] The masks used in these 'exodia' were of a grotesque kind, such as those used by the Greeks in the satyric drama, of which a specimen is preserved in the British Museum. These masks had the mouth wide open, representing broad laughter or grinning. Specimens will be found in every collection of ancient gems. The masks were painted to suit the character. Forcellini refers this passage to the 'manducus,' a terrible-looking puppet with a man's head and movable jaws with great teeth, which it gnashed at the people. But the mask was terrible enough for this place.

177. *similemque videbis*] The MSS. and editions are divided between the singular and plural. I prefer the singular.

178. *Orchestram et populum:*] The form of a Roman theatre was much like the Greek. The seats for the spectators formed a semicircle, and rose by steps from the floor; the semicircular portion of which between the seats and the stage was called the orchestra. Here the chorus performed their part in the Greek theatres; in the Roman theatre that space was occupied with seats for the magistrates and foreign ambassadors. 'Clari velamen honoris,' the dress of a noble magistrate, is meant in a jocular way; for if the aediles at Rome were reduced so low (see v. 162, n.), those of the country towns were small enough. But they were great in their own little sphere. He says that a white tunic is dress enough for the great aediles; and just before he had said the orchestra and the people were dressed alike. Yet Gifford quarrels with Dryden for saying that the magistrate and "the country bumpkin" both wore a white tunic, which he says is directly contrary not only to the intent but to the words of his author. Dryden is not always accurate in details, but he seldom mistakes the general meaning.

180. *Hic ultra vires habitus nitor;*] Horace advises his young friend Lollius that among other characters detested by the rich is one "gloria quem supra vires et vestit et ungit," who dresses above his station and means (Epp. i. 18. 22). 'Habitus' belongs to the later Latinity, as Heinrich observes. It corresponds to the French 'habit.'

181. *aliena sumitur arca.*] This means men buy dresses they cannot afford by means

Commune id vitium est: hic vivimus ambitiosa
Paupertate omnes. Quid te moror? Omnia Romae
Cum pretio. Quid das ut Cossum aliquando salutes?
Ut te respiciat clauso Veiento labello?
Ille metit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati;
Plena domus libis venalibus! Accipe et istud
Fermentum tibi habe: praestare tributa clientes
Cogimur et cultis augere peculia servis.

of borrowed money, or hire them, Ruperti supposes, as in vi. 352, "Ut spectet ludos conducit Ogulnia vestem." I do not think that is the meaning; nor does 'sumitur' mean 'consumitur,' as Heinrich says.

182. *ambitiosa Paupertate*] Ruperti (on vii. 138) quotes Seneca (Epp. 50): "Non ego ambitiosus sum sed nemo aliter potest vivere; non ego sumptuosus sum sed urbs ipsa magnas impensas exigit."

184. *Quid das*] 'What sums do you give the servants that you may have the privilege of attending sometimes the "salutatio" of Cossus?' which was the cognomen of a branch of the Cornelia gens. So the man Horace meets on the Sacra Via, who wants to get introduced to Maecenas, says:

"Haud mihi deero:
Muneribus servos corrumpam; non hodie si
Exclusus fuero desistam." (S. i. 9. 56.)

185. *Ut te respiciat*] A Fabricius Veiento is mentioned by name in S. iv. 113; vi. 113. He was sent into banishment in the reign of Nero, but returned in Domitian's, and distinguished himself as an informer and a flatterer of the emperor. He also had the favour of Nerva, as we learn from Pliny (Epp. iv. 22): "Coenabat Nerva cum paucis. Veiento proximus atque etiam in sinu recumbebat. Dixi omnia quum hominem nominavi." It will now be understood why men were willing to pay even for a condescending look of this man, 'clauso labello,' without a word to back it.

186. *Ille metit barbam,*] "One barbes his man, another trims his slave" (Holyday). This is correct. When a youth first shaved it was a holiday, and the young down was sometimes offered to some god, with the long hair, worn in boyhood, but cut off when the 'toga virilis' was put on. This ceremony was observed by certain masters with their favourite slaves. Umbricius supposes such a case, and says the house was immediately full of cakes offered to the slave, as if he were a son of the family. 'Libis venalibus' means, as Britannicus says, cakes which the slave would sell to make money by, which money would go to increase his 'peculium.'

"Di doni la sua casa ecco trabocca
Che quei rivende." (Accio.)

"Pay tributary cracknells, which he sells;
And with our offerings help to raise his vails." (Dryden.)

Pithoeus, Grangaeus, and Henninius have 'genialibus' for 'venalibus,' and Heinrich follows them, though in his note he prefers 'venalibus.' [Ribbeck has 'vernalibus.'] There is no MS. authority for 'genialibus,' which would mean that the cakes were offerings to the genius of the boy. As to 'liba,' see notes on Hor. S. ii. 7. 103; Epp. i. 10. 10. As to the matter of the hair, Martial has an epigram for a like occasion (i. 32) beginning—

"Hos tibi, Phoebe, vovet totos a vertice crines
Encolpus domini centurionis amor:"

and two others. ix. 17, 18, on the hair of Earinus, a favourite slave, offered to Aesculapius.

187. *Accipe et istud Fermentum*] 'Take this home to stir your bile.' This is the way Forcellini and most of the commentators explain 'fermentum.' Persius uses it in another sense (i. 24). It may be used for anything which taken inwardly ferments. The words are addressed by Umbricius to his friend; 'istud' being the fact that follows, of which what goes before is an illustration. Others take the words as those of the man presenting his cake to the slave, as if 'fermentum' were equivalent to 'panem.' 'That for yourself, sir,' is Stapylton's translation. The other is right. The 'peculium' of a slave was the property he was able to acquire for himself by such means as his master might allow, and which would arise in various ways, direct and indirect. It was virtually his own, but strictly no slave could hold property. Slaves often accumulated large sums, purchased their freedom, and

Quis timet aut timuit gelidā Praeneste ruinam,
Aut positis nemorosa inter juga Volsiniis, aut
Simplicibus Gabiis, aut proni Tiburis arce?
Nos urbem colimus tenui tibicine fultam
Magna parte sui; nam sic labentibus obstat
Villicus et veteris rimae contexit hiatum,

made themselves comfortable for life. (See Dict. Ant. art. 'Servus.') Holyday's version, which Mr. Mayor adopts, is uncouth and quite wrong. 'Cultis' means pampered, or something of that sort, not 'amatis,' as Ruperti says.

190. *gelida Praeneste ruinam,*] Praeneste (Palestrina) was twenty-three miles east of Rome, on the edge of the Apennines. Virgil calls it 'altum Praeneste:'

"Quique altum Praeneste viri, quique arva Gabinae
Junonis gelidumque Anienem et roscida rivis
Hernica saxa colunt." (Aen. vii. 682.)

Horace calls it 'frigidum Praeneste,' C. iii. 4. 22, and it was a place he sometimes resorted to. See note on Epp. i. 2. 2, for further particulars. It was a resort also of Augustus (Sueton. Vit. Aug. 72. 82). Juvenal refers to it again (xiv. 88) as a favourite place of resort. Virgil and Horace (above), and all other writers, use Praeneste in the neuter gender; but in Aen. viii. 361 Virgil has "Praeneste sub ipsa," where, as here, it is feminine. Servius draws attention to this. Forcellini says that in using the feminine adjective Virgil "ad urbem respexit." The termination is no doubt neuter.

Gabii is repeatedly mentioned by Horace: as a deserted town (Epp. i. 11. 7): "Scis Lebedus quid sit, Gabiis desertior atque Fidenis;" as a place for cold bathing (Epp. i. 15. 8, sq.):

"Qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent
Clusinis, Gabiosque petunt et frigida rura."

He also refers to its early history in connexion with the Tarquinii (Epp. ii. 1. 24): "foedera regum Vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis." (See note on Epp. i. 11. 7.) It was a 'municipium,' and though a place of no importance now when Juvenal wrote, it had been in early times, and was restored by the emperors Antoninus and Commodus. It lay on the Via Praenestina, midway between Rome and Praeneste, and was therefore probably the place where Augustus passed the night on his journey to Praeneste, which Suetonius (l. c.) says took him two days. Juvenal mentions it as a place for bathing, vii. 4; and as the type of small country towns, x. 100. He here calls it 'simplices,' 'unsophisticated;' but this was compared with Rome. He implies that it was as bad as other towns in some respects in S. vi. 55.

Volsinii, which retains its name under the form of Bolsena, was an important city of Etruria, situated at the foot of the hills above the lake that was called after it, and is still called after the modern town, Lago di Bolsena. It stood on the Via Cassia, seventy-two miles from Rome and thirty south of Clusium, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus. The ancient town was situated on the top of one of the hills, which appear to have been covered with wood, but that was destroyed by the Romans, A.U.C. 474. It seems from this passage to have become a resort of the Romans, like many other towns of Etruria; and it was the birth-place of Sejanus, as we learn from Tacitus (Ann. iv. 1).

Tibur (Tivoli), which was sixteen miles from Rome, on the banks of the Anio, is here called 'pronum,' and by Horace 'supinum' (C. iii. 4. 23), because it was situated on the slope of a hill. 'Arx' was commonly used for a town so built, though the citadel was gone or had never existed, or for a hill on which no town was built at all. See Hor. C. ii. 6. 22: "Ille te mecum locus et beatae Postulant arces." It contains the same root as ἕρκος, and is properly therefore a fortified place. 'Tiburis arce' is repeated in xiv. 87.

193. *tenui tibicine fultam*] 'Tibicen' is a buttress. Festus says it is so called because it supports houses as the flute-player sustains the singer, which Forcellini quotes, or it would not be worth noticing.

194. *sic labentibus obstat Villicus*] 'Sic' may mean 'as you see,' δεικτικῶς, whether it be taken with 'labentibus' or 'obstat,' or 'in this way,' that is, with buttresses, if it is connected with 'obstat.' 'Villicus,' which properly signified the steward of a farm, was applied to the superintendent of any other works. Forcellini shows how it

Securos pendente jubet dormire ruina.
Vivendum est illic ubi nulla incendia, nulli
Nocte metus. Jam poscit aquam, jam frivola transfert
Ucalegon; tabulata tibi jam tertia fumant;
Tu nescis: nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis,
Ultimus ardebit quem tegula sola tuetur
A pluvia, molles ubi reddunt ova columbae.
Lectus erat Codro Proculā minor, urceoli sex,
Ornamentum abaci; nec non et parvulus infra

was applied to the keeper of the aerarium, a head-gardener (see below, v. 228), a butler, and a superintendent of the city pipes or aqueducts (villicus a plumbo). Here it means the agent of the owner. In iv. 77 it is put for the 'praefectus urbis.' 'Labentibus' means 'the falling walls.' The construction of the received text is unusual. If it is right, then it must be taken as one of those conditional sentences in which 'si' is not expressed, and the sense must be, 'for if the "villicus" only props up the houses, and patches the rents, he bids the inhabitants sleep secure.' Heinrich takes only one clause, 'veteris—hiatum,' so; but it is better to take both if either. I know no instance in which such a clause is introduced in the middle of a sentence. Ruperti, Jahn [and Ribbeck] adopt what seems to me no more than a substitution of the copyists for 'contexit,' 'cum texit,' which appears in P. and a few other MSS. The Aldine Editions, Pullmann's, and one or two others of that day, have 'si' for 'sic;' and if that had now any authority from MSS. I should have adopted it. I believe it to be the right word. 'Sic' reads awkwardly.

198. *jam frivola transfert*] 'Frivola' Forcellini explains as 'pauper supellex,' 'his small wares or furniture.' Juvenal calls the man Ucalegon, having in mind Aeneas' description of the burning of Troy:

"——jam Deïphobi dedit ampla ruinam
Vulcano superante domus; jam proximus ardet
Ucalegon." (Aen. ii. 310.)

'Jam' is only introduced to make the scene more present. He says, 'Here is Ucalegon crying for water, carrying off his furniture; the flames are mounting; your third story is smoking and you are asleep; for though so much bustle is going on below he gets warning last who lives at the top of the house:' so that (he means) even here too the poor man is worst off. 'Tabulatum' is that which is laid down with boards, 'tabulae,' and so is used for a story of a house. Three stories were only found in lodging-houses; and the 'tertia tabulata' were the 'coenacula' referred to above (v. 166, n.). 'Trepidare,' which means running to and fro, contains the root 'trep-' which appears in τρέπω. See Hor. C. ii. 11. 4, n.

202. *ubi reddunt ova*] It is hardly credible that Ruperti should have supposed that Juvenal is here playing upon the word ὑπερῷον, 'an upper chamber,' as if it were derived from ᾠόν, an egg. He might as well say that πατρῷον, μητρῷον, were compounded of eggs.

203. *Lectus erat Codro*] He puts the case as if it was true. It does not follow that it was so, or that Codrus is the man mentioned as the author of the Theseid (i. 2). The name is given as Codrus here and in v. 208, in one MS. (Vatican), and by correction in P. (see i. 2, n.) One of the Scholiasts says Procula was a dwarf, and so most of the translators take it.

"Codrus had but one bed; so short to boot
That his short wife's short legs hung dangling out." (Dryden.)

"Shorter then's dwarf-wife Codrus had a bed,
Item, six little jugs on's cupboard's head." (Stapylton.)

From Dryden's translation, it might be inferred that 'lectus' was a sleeping bed. But for that, it would hardly be necessary to tell the reader that Juvenal means a 'lectus tricliniaris.' Holyday, Dryden, and Gifford translate 'abacus' 'his cupboard's head' too. But 'abacus' was a side-table (see Hor. S. ii. 2. 4, n.) on which rich people made a show of their plate. This man was poor, and had only half-a-dozen little earthenware or glass jugs (Hor A. P. 21 n.) to adorn his side-

Cantharus et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron;
Jamque vetus Graecos servabat cista libellos,
Et divina opici rodebant carmina mures.
Nil habuit Codrus: quis enim negat? et tamen illud
Perdidit infelix totum nihil: ultimus autem
Aerumnae cumulus, quod nudum et frusta rogantem
Nemo cibo, nemo hospitio tectoque juvabit.
Si magna Asturici cecidit domus, horrida mater,
Pullati proceres, differt vadimonia praetor;

board. 'Cantharus' was a common mug or jug of earthenware (Hor. C. i. 20. 2, n.), not a 'can,' as Gifford says, following Holyday. Stapylton calls it better 'a two-eared pot.' Horace gives a similar description of his own dining-room (S. i. 6. 116):

> "—— lapis albus
> Pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; adstat echinus
> Vilis, cum patera guttus, Campana supellex."

The 'lapis albus' corresponds to the 'abacus,' which we see (v. 205) was of marble, and this was the case in very humble houses. The figure of Chiron the Centaur, Achilles' preceptor, may have been a support of the 'abacus.' The translators have mistaken the meaning of this verse: "near it lay A Chiron of the same cheap marble-clay." (Gifford.)

> "And to support this noble plate there lay
> A bending Chiron cast from honest clay."
> (Dryden.)

Gifford's is almost a verbal copy from Owen: "beneath his tankard lay, And Chiron, both of the same marble-clay." Herein they were misled by a foolish note of Lubinus.

206. *Jamque vetus Graecos*] 'Jamque' means 'moreover.' He had some old Greek volumes in an old chest, which the mice were gnawing; the 'poemata' being obviously the same as the 'libelli,' though some, from the other Codrus (i. 2), suppose the man's own poems are meant. The Opici, as the Greeks called them, or Osci, as the Romans, were among the earliest inhabitants of Italy, from whom appear to have been descended the Latini and other nations on the west coast of Italy to the southern extremity of Campania, the Sabellian races of central Italy, and the Apulians and others on the eastern coast. Their name here is taken as synonymous with 'barbari,' which would be natural, as the only trace of that people to be found in Juvenal's time was in their language, as it appeared in the Atellane plays, which were unintelligible to the multitude. He uses the same word again in the same sense below (vi. 455): "Nec curanda viris opicae castigat amicae Verba." The word is quoted from M. Cato by Pliny (H. N. xxix. 1), and it appears to have been revived by the later writers. Gellius uses it repeatedly. It appears to have been used sometimes in an obscene sense, to judge by Cato's words.

208. *Nil habuit Codrus:*] He goes on, 'Codrus, in short, had nothing; for who is there will deny this? and yet he lost all that nothing, poor man!'—a way of speaking which explains itself. But Gifford is wrong again: "'Codrus, in short, had nothing.' This is said by his friend, who may be supposed to interrupt him in his impatience at hearing such an elaborate catalogue of nothing."

210. *frusta rogantem*] Most of the MSS. have 'frustra;' and Ruperti and Heinrich have that word apparently by mistake, for they approve of 'frusta,' and there is no authority for shortening the final syllable of 'frustra.' Valla and Mancinelli quote from Avidienus: "Ima vehunt caeli, luxit dum frustra frequenter;" but his authority is worth nothing. The Scholiast has this note, "aut sine causa, aut panem petentem;" he therefore was aware of the reading 'frusta.' Probus, according to Valla, says, "barbarismus in metro est: non ut quidam legunt 'frusta,' sed 'frustra;'" in his time therefore both readings were current. Pithoeus, against his own MS., reads 'frusta.' Henninius and Grangaeus have the same, and the latter quotes Martial (xi. 27): "vel duo frusta rogat cybii." There can be no reasonable doubt which is the true reading. It appears that in a large number of MSS. 'frustum' in xi. 142 is written 'frustrum;' and no doubt the same mistake has led to confusion here.

212. *Si magna Asturici*] This name ap-

Tunc gemimus casus Urbis, tunc odimus ignem.
Ardet adhuc et jam accurrit qui marmora donet,
Conferat impensas. Hic nuda et candida signa,
Hic aliquid praeclarum Euphranoris et Polycleti,
Haec Asianorum vetera ornamenta deorum,
Hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Minervam,
Hic modium argenti: meliora et plura reponit
Persicus orborum lautissimus, et merito jam
Suspectus tanquam ipse suas incenderit aedes.
Si potes avelli Circensibus, optima Sorae

pears in a great variety of shapes in the MSS., one of them being 'Arthuri.' None of them are known names. He says that if some rich man's great house is burnt to the ground (cecidit) the town goes into mourning as if for some great public misfortune; matrons go with their hair loose, and men of the highest rank put on black: the praetor declares a 'justitium' or suspension of business, and puts off the 'vadimonia,' which was the word for the engagement entered into by a defendant to appear on a given day. (See Hor. S. i. 9. 36, n.)

214. *Tunc gemimus casus Urbis,*] Many MSS. have 'geminus,' which Heinrich has admitted, I suspect by mistake. One MS., M., has 'geminus Urbis casus.' No others have this reading, but three of the earliest editions have it.

215. *Ardet adhuc*] 'Ardet,' as Heinrich observes, is used impersonally. 'Accurrit qui donet' is 'one runs up to give.' His friends are in such a hurry that before the fire is out they run up to offer him money and marble, and all sorts of things to furnish a new house. There were two sculptors named Polycletus, of whom the more famous is conjectured to have been a native of Sicyon, and afterwards a citizen of Argos. He lived during the Peloponnesian war, and Euphranor at Athens about a century later.

218. *Haec Asianorum*] The MSS. vary here, and Heinrich pronounces the verse corrupt. The Scholiast had the reading of the text, and two of the best MSS., including P. Most of the MSS. have 'Phaecasianorum,' which Turnebus (Adv. l. x. c. 7 and 27) explains by 'Phecasia,' and this, Hesychius says, means 'a rustic shoe.' Britannicus also quotes Appian (Bell. Civ. v. 11), who speaking of M. Antonius spending the winter with Cleopatra says, *καὶ ὑπόδημα ἦν αὐτῷ λευκὸν Ἀττικὸν, ὃ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἔχουσιν ἱερεῖς καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων, καὶ καλοῦσι φαικάσιον.* Forcellini gives this explanation. With no authority Jahn has 'hic' for 'haec.' That 'haec' is found in every MS. seems certain, whether as part of Phaecasianorum, or alone. Whether it should be taken for the neuter plural or feminine singular is doubted. Ruperti thinks it is feminine, and that the women join in with their offerings. If the text is right, and 'haec' be plural, it is supplemental to the line before, the statues of Euphranor and Polycletus being taken from temples in Asia. But 'hic' seems to be wanted.

219. *forulos mediamque Minervam,*] 'Book-cases and a bust of Minerva.' Suetonius says Augustus "condidit (libros Sibyllinos) duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi." A 'modius' was equal very nearly to two gallons.

220. *meliora et plura reponit Persicus*] He replaces his losses with much better things than the fire has destroyed. The name is changed from Asturicus to Persicus: whether the same person is meant is immaterial. We must not take him for a Persian as Gifford does. As to 'orbi,' see above, v. 149. This gives us the reason for all the attention the man is paid. Martial has described a case like that in the text:

"Empta domus fuerat tibi, Tongiliane, ducenis;
Abstulit hanc nimium casus in urbe frequens.
Collatum est decies. Rogo, non potes ipse videri
Incendisse tuam, Tongiliane, domum?"
(iii. 52.)

223. *Si potes avelli Circensibus,*] The Ludi Circenses, or Magni, took place annually, and were of the highest antiquity, having been first celebrated by Romulus, as the tradition went, on the occasion of

Aut Fabrateriae domus aut Frusinone paratur,
Quanti nunc tenebras unum conducis in annum.
Hortulus hic puteusque brevis nec reste movendus
In tenues plantas facili diffunditur haustu.
Vive bidentis amans et culti villicus horti,
Unde epulum possis centum dare Pythagoreis.
Est aliquid, quocunque loco, quocunque recessu,
Unius sese dominum fecisse lacertae.

the rape of the Sabine women, under the name of Consualia. They consisted of horse, chariot, and foot races, sham fights, both land and water, wrestling, boxing, and fighting with beasts, as well as feats of horsemanship such as are witnessed in modern circuses. These were performed in the Circus Maximus, the vast building erected, according to tradition, by Tarquinius Priscus between the Aventine and Palatine hills. Similar games and shows were given from time to time in the Circus by the emperors and wealthy persons, and at the festivals of Ceres, Flora, Cybele, &c. There were four smaller Circi at this time, two built by Caligula beyond the Tiber, the Circus Flaminius on that part of the Campus Martius which was called Prata Flaminia, and the Circus Palatinus, in which the Ludi Palatini were held. The passion of the Romans for these exhibitions was very strong. Juvenal has many allusions to this: as in vi. 87 he speaks of a woman eloping and tearing herself away even from the circus and the theatre; in viii. 118, of the town passing all its time in those amusements; in x. 80, caring for nothing but bread to eat and the games of the circus; in xi. 53, that men who run away from their creditors care only for one thing, that they lose the games of the circus; and, again: "totam hodie Romam circus capit" (xi. 197). Pliny the Younger, about the same time, writes to Calvisius (Epp. ix. 6) at the time of the Circenses Ludi, with great contempt of the persons who frequented them, even grave men: "quos ego quum recordor (says he) in re inani, frigida, assidua, tam insatiabiliter desidere, capio aliquam voluptatem quod hac voluptate non capiar." Cicero had a dislike to the Ludi. The 'venationes' also took place in the amphitheatres (see i. 22, n.) where the gladiatorial shows were held. These were not less attractive than the games of the circus.

optima Sorae Aut Fabrateriae] 'Paratur' is opposed to 'conducis;' one is 'to buy,' the other 'to hire.' The three towns here mentioned were in Latium; Sora was on the Liris, and still retains its name; part of the walls also are still in existence. It originally belonged to the Volsci, and was taken from them and colonized A.U.C. 452. After revolting more than once, it received a new colony in the time of Augustus, and appears by this time to have settled into a quiet place where a man might retire and live in peace, and cheaply. Fabrateria was a town also on the banks of the Liris, but about twelve miles lower down, by the junction of that river and the Trerus. It was on the Via Latina, and is now said to be represented by S. Giovanni in Carico. A colony was sent there by C. Gracchus, and it was called Fabrateria Nova to distinguish it from an older colony in the same territory. Frusino (Frosinone) was situated half-way between Fabrateria and Ferentinum, also on the Via Latina, and on the right bank of the Cosa, a tributary of the Trerus. Cicero had a farm there.

225. *Quanti nunc tenebras*] Martial uses 'tenebras' in the same way for a dark hovel (ii. 14.): "nec Grylli tenebras Aeoliamque Lupi."

227. *facili diffunditur haustu.*] The irrigation of gardens by means of channels all communicating with one another and the well which supplied them, is nowhere so well described as in the Iliad (xxi. 257 sqq.).

228. *culti villicus horti,*] As to 'villicus,' see above, v. 195. Here the man is his own gardener. As to Pythagoras and his vegetable diet, see note on Hor. S. ii. 6. 63, "O quando faba Pythagorae cognata," &c., and below, S. xv. 171, sqq. 'Bidens' is a sort of hoe (δίκελλα).

231. *dominum fecisse lacertae.*] The Scholiast draws attention to the circumstance that Virgil uses 'lacerti.' Forcellini supposes 'lacerta' to be used for a smaller sort of lizard, and 'lacertus' for a larger, of either sex. The Scholiast adds this

Plurimus hic aeger moritur vigilando: sed illum
Languorem peperit cibus imperfectus et haerens
Ardenti stomacho. Nam quae meritoria somnum
Admittunt? Magnis opibus dormitur in Urbe.
Inde caput morbi. Rhedarum transitus arto
Vicorum inflexu et stantis convicia mandrae
Eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis.

explanation: "aut ad animal retulit quia sunt in agro quam plurimi aut lacertam pro horto posuit per quem discurrere et latitare consuevit." The latter seems to be nearest the meaning. Grangaeus says, "to get a place where a single lizard can sleep." Johnson explained it to Boswell by "as much ground as one may have a chance of finding a lizard upon." It probably means as much ground as a lizard would run over, which, as they seldom go far, would not be much. Ruperti proposes to substitute 'tabernae,' which is feeble enough. Martial describes the gift of a farm made him by Lupus in an amusing strain of exaggeration (xi. 18):

"Rus hoc dicere, rus potes vocare?
In quo ruta facit nemus Dianae;
Argutae tegit ala quod cicadae,
Quod formica die comedit uno.
In quo nec cucumis jacere rectus,
Nec serpens habitare tota possit."

232. *sed illum*] This is a sort of parenthesis, and meant for another stroke at town living, where people eat all manner of food and go to bed with it undigested. 'Sed' is commonly so used. 'Nam' takes up the sentence from 'vigilando,' and explains the reason of that general assertion. 'Imperfectus' is undigested and indigestible. 'Ardenti stomacho' is a feverish stomach. I do not agree with Mr. Mayor, who makes 'nam' explain 'imperfectus' as if it were want of sleep that interfered with their digestion. Indigestion brings on the illness, and want of sleep kills the patient. 'Plurimus' does not strictly agree with 'aeger,' which is an adjective. It is used absolutely; 'many a man, being sick.' Horace (C. i. 7. 8) has

"—— Plurimus in Junonis honorem
Aptum dicet equis Argos ditesque Mycenas."

I beg therefore to correct the note on that place where 'plurimus aeger' is quoted. [Ribbeck has 'sed ipsum.']

234. *Nam quae meritoria*] 'Meritoria' are lodgings, and here are equivalent to the 'coenacula' mentioned above (v. 166), though it appears that there was a distinction. See the passage from Ulpian quoted in part by Forcellini (Dig. 7. 1. 13. § 8). "Si domus usufructus legatus sit, meritoria illic facere fructuarius non debet, nec per coenacula dividere domum. Atquin locare potest, sed oportebit quasi domum locare." Which means he may let the whole house to a permanent tenant, but not let it out in 'meritoria' or 'coenacula,' the former perhaps signifying accommodation for travellers, and the latter seldom or never being occupied for more than a year. (Hor. Epp. i. 1. 91, n.)

236. *Rhedarum transitus*] As to 'rheda,' see above v. 10. 'Stantis convicia mandrae' is the abuse heaped upon the horses and mules kept standing for want of room at the corners ('inflexu,' 'turning') of the crowded and narrow streets. 'Mandra' (μάνδρα) is properly a stable or other place where animals are herded; here it is applied to the beasts themselves, because they are huddled together.

238. *Druso vitulisque marinis.*] By Drusus some of the commentators suppose is meant the emperor Claudius, whose cognomen was Drusus, and who is said by Suetonius usually to have gone to sleep after dinner, and to have been naturally lethargic. It is not impossible his name may have passed into a proverb; if not, it is useless to ask who this Drusus was. Sea-calves are not lively animals in a menagerie, where Juvenal had probably seen many; for every sort of animal was brought to Rome. The commentators need not have stumbled at these words, and Graevius' alteration into 'vetulisque maritis' is merely absurd. It appears the Editio Princeps has (by a corrector's hand) 'somnos urso,' which Britannicus adopted and Ruperti approves. Some MSS. have 'eripiunt.' The best appear to have the future, as Horace has:

"—— Non Siculae dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
Non avium citharaeque cantus
Somnum reducent."

Si vocat officium, turba cedente vehetur
Dives et ingenti curret super ora Liburno,
Atque obiter leget aut scribet vel dormiet intus,
Namque facit somnum clausâ lecticâ fenestrâ.
Ante tamen veniet: nobis properantibus obstat
Unda prior, magno populus premit agmine lumbos
Qui sequitur; ferit hic cubito, ferit assere duro
Alter, at hic tignum capiti incutit, ille metretam.
Pinguia crura luto, planta mox undique magna
Calcor, et in digito clavus mihi militis haeret.
Nonne vides quanto celebretur sportula fumo?
Centum convivae; sequitur sua quemque culina.

239. *Si vocat officium,*] 'Officium' is here used for the man's attendance on the great or rich. It appears from this place and iv. 75, vi. 477, that the 'lecticarii' were commonly from Liburnia, on the east coast of the Hadriatic, and that they were a tall athletic set. Jahn, from a misconception of the Scholiast's note, which Cramer's observations might have corrected, quotes him in support of 'liburna,' as if they were a sort of 'lectica' named from the Liburni, for which there is no authority. One MS. it appears has 'liburna,' but it is a mistake. Cramer quotes from Papius' Lexicon "*Liburni:* populi accolae Hadriatici maris, prompti ad movendum," which he corrects, no doubt properly, into 'ad currendum.' 'Liburno' is the dative case, and the construction is not 'vehetur (a) Liburno,' as Mr. Mayor supposes, but 'super ora Liburno.' It was usual for slaves called 'anteambulones' to run before the 'lectica' to clear the road; they called continually "Date locum domino meo," and elbowed the crowd. Martial sends his freedman to his friend Candidus, and says he will do to carry his 'lectica' or to run before it: "In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repellet" (iii. 46. 5). The rich, during the empire, had horsemen (Numidae) and runners ('cursores') to go before their carriages (see Becker's Gallus, Exc. on the Slave Family). The scene here described may be seen in any part of the East every day. As to the 'lectica,' see note on i. 64. The 'fenestra' was no more than the opening of the curtains.

242. *Namque facit somnum*] 'Somnum facere' occurs again below (282): "Somnum rixa facit."

243. *Ante tamen veniet:*] Yet, though he takes the thing so easily, he will get there before poor people who are bent on the same errand. The wave before and the crowd behind are only the throngs of people in the streets, who are jostled by the rich man and jostle the poor in their turn. Ruperti calls them the crowd in attendance on the great man's 'lectica' but he is mistaken. 'Assere,' therefore, is not the pole of the litter, as he says, but any pole that is being carried along the street. 'Metreta,' which was the name of an Attic vessel containing about nine gallons, was a jar for oil or wine, a little larger than an 'amphora.' Horace's description of the streets of Rome in his day will occur to those who are familiar with it (Epp. ii. 2. 72):

"Festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor,
Torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum,
Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris,
Hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus."

See the note there and on Epp. i. 6. 51, "Cogat trans pondera dextram Porrigere."

248. *clavus mihi militis haeret.*] The common soldiers and inferior officers wore heavy shoes, 'caligae,' studded with hobnails, which explains the expression in xvi. 24: "offendere tot caligas, tot Millia clavorum." See below, v. 321.

249. *quanto celebretur sportula fumo?*] 'How the crowded sportula smokes.' 'Celebrare' is 'to crowd.' It contains the same root (creb-) as 'creber.' (See Long on Cic. in Verrem, ii. 2. 66.) In respect to the 'sportula,' see note on i. 95. From this scene it appears that the viands were carried away in the afternoon, as stated in i. 127. They are called 'convivae' ironically; they ought to be the great man's

Corbulo vix ferret tot vasa ingentia, tot res
Impositas capiti, quot recto vertice portat
Servulus infelix et cursu ventilat ignem.
Scinduntur tunicae sartae modo; longa coruscat
Sarraco veniente abies, atque altera pinum
Plaustra vehunt; nutant alte populoque minantur:
Nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat
Axis et eversum fudit super agmina montem,
Quid superest de corporibus? quis membra, quis ossa
Invenit? Obtritum vulgi perit omne cadaver
More animae. Domus interea secura patellas
Jam lavat et bucca foculum excitat et sonat unctis
Striglibus et pleno componit lintea gutto.
Haec inter pueros varie properantur: at ille
Jam sedet in ripa tetrumque novicius horret
Porthmea, nec sperat coenosi gurgitis alnum
Infelix, nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.

guests, and he puts them off with a mess of meat. 'Culina' was a portable kitchen in which the provisions were carried to keep them warm. Seneca (Epp. 78, sub fin.) speaks of this sort of thing as lately invented: "O infelicem aegrum!" he exclaims, "Quare? quia non circa coenationem ejus tumultus coquorum est ipsos cum obsoniis focos transferentium; hoc enim jam luxuria commenta est: ne quis intepescat cibus, ne quid palato jam calloso parum ferveat, coenam culina prosequitur."

251. *Corbulo vix ferret*] This may be any strong man. The Scholiast says he was an athlete, or else it was a sort of ship, which is mere guess-work. The Roman general Corbulo (ii. 164 note) is described by Tacitus as of large stature (Ann. xiii. 8), and his name may have passed into a proverb in this matter; but it is impossible to say.

254. *Longa coruscat Sarraco*] 'Sarracum' was a waggon, and is applied below to the constellation of the Great Bear, which we call Charles' Wain (v. 23).

257. *qui saxa Ligustica portat*] Stone from the quarries of Liguria, that is, from the Maritime Alps, which bounded that country on the west, or the Apennines, which ran through it on the south. The Carrara marble was formerly called Lunense, from Luna, which was a town near the present quarries. These are on the borders of the ancient Liguria, in the north of Etruria; and a large part of the public buildings were made of this stone in the time of Augustus. 'Procubuit' and 'fudit' are used like the Greek aorist.

261. *More animae.*] 'Like a breath.' He goes on to suppose one of these men hurrying home to his dinner, with his slave carrying a 'sportula' behind him, when a great stone falls on him and a number of others, and crushes them all to death. All this time his servants at home, expecting his return, are washing the dishes, blowing up the fire, getting ready the 'strigiles,' towels, and oil, for his bath; while he is shivering on the banks of the Styx, without a farthing to pay Charon to carry him across. 'Domus' is the 'familia domestica.' 'Foculus' was a small movable brazier, as 'focus' or 'caminus' was a fixture of stone or brick. 'Strigil' was a scraper used after bathing: they were oiled to prevent their hurting the skin. 'Sonat' means clatters or rings, for these things were commonly of metal. 'Guttus' was a bottle with a long thin neck, commonly used for oil. (See Hor. S. i. 6. 118, n.) 'Pueros' are the same as 'domus.'

265. *tetrumque novicius horret*] 'Novicius,' 'novice,' was usually applied to new slaves not accustomed to their work. Here only it means a new comer. 'Alnum' is used by the poets for a boat; the hollowed trunk of the alder having been the earliest sort of canoe according to Virgil (Georg. i. 136): "Tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cavatas." The 'triens,' of

Respice nunc alia ac diversa pericula noctis:
Quod spatium tectis sublimibus, unde cerebrum
Testa ferit, quoties rimosa et curta fenestris
Vasa cadunt; quanto percussum pondere signent
Et laedant silicem. Possis ignavus haberi
Et subiti casus improvidus, ad coenam si
Intestatus eas. Adeo tot fata quot illa
Nocte patent vigiles te praetereunte fenestrae.
Ergo optes votumque feras miserabile tecum,
Ut sint contentae patulas defundere pelves.
Ebrius ac petulans qui nullum forte cecidit
Dat poenas, noctem patitur lugentis amicum
Pelidae, cubat in faciem, mox deinde supinus.

which specimens still exist, was a copper coin, one-third of an 'as.' The fancy about Charon's fee was not known to the early poets of Greece, and is here only brought in to be ridiculed. (See Becker, Charikles.)

268. *pericula noctis:*] He passes from the dangers of the day and the afternoon to those of the night; tiles falling from the roofs of tall houses, and old broken crockery thrown out of the windows. The number of 'coenacula' at this time was very great. 'Quod spatium tectis' means 'what a distance there is from the tops of the houses to the street.' These lodging-houses were built usually three stories high, but the law was that they must not exceed seventy feet. Glass windows have been found in several of the houses at Pompeii. These houses at Rome would have usually either no window-frame and only apertures for the light and air with shutters, or 'specularia,' which were windows made of mica ('lapis specularis'), used by the Romans before glass was invented. It was not usual for Roman houses to have windows facing the street on any but the upper stories. According to law if any damage was done by throwing any thing out of a window, the tenant of the house was obliged to pay twice the amount of the damage. See the title in the Digest (9. 3): "*De his qui effuderunt vel dejecerunt:* Praetor ait de his qui dejecerint vel effuderint: Unde in eum locum quo vulgo iter fiet, vel in quo consistetur, dejectum vel effusum quid erit, quantum ex ea re damnum datum factumve erit in eum qui ibi habitavit ego duplum judicium dabo."

271. *cadunt;*] [Ribbeck has 'cadant' with a semicolon after 'ferit.']

272. *Possis ignavus haberi*]

"Prepare for death if here at night you roam,
And sign your will before you sup from home." (Johnson.)

274. *Adeo tot fata*] 'So surely do as many deaths await you, as there are waking windows open on that night while you are passing.' 'Adeo' belongs to 'tot fata' and to what follows: it means 'to this or that degree,' 'so' (Key's L. G. 799), but it cannot always be translated in that way: it gives strength to the sentence it belongs to, which is often grammatically complete without it. Here it introduces the reason why a man might be counted improvident if he went out without making his will. The windows are called 'vigiles,' just as the eating-houses are called 'pervigiles' (viii. 158), and a couch the same (xv. 43); and the lights are called 'vigiles' by Horace (C. iii. 8. 14). The people behind the windows were awake.

277. *Ut sint contentae*] That they may be satisfied to discharge the contents of their foot-pans, rather than the vessels themselves on your head.

279. *Dat poenas,*] He suffers torture if he has not had the luck to kill somebody: he cannot sleep, but tosses on his bed like Achilles when he mourned for Patroclus, which Juvenal describes like Homer (Il. xxiv. 10, sq.):

ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ πλευρὰς κατακείμενος, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
ὕπτιος, ἄλλοτε δὲ πρηνής, τότε δ' ὀρθὸς ἀναστάς.

Gifford quotes from the Proverbs of Solomon (iv. 14): "Enter not into the path of

Ergo non aliter poterit dormire? Quibusdam
Somnum rixa facit: sed quamvis improbus annis
Atque mero fervens cavet hunc quem coccina laena
Vitari jubet et comitum longissimus ordo,
Multum praeterea flammarum et aënea lampas:
Me quem Luna solet deducere vel breve lumen
Candelae, cujus dispenso et tempero filum,
Contemnit. Miserae cognosce prooemia rixae,
Si rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.
Stat contra starique jubet; parere necesse est;
Nam quid agas, quum te furiosus cogat et idem
Fortior? "Unde venis?" exclamat: "cujus aceto,
Cujus conche tumes? quis tecum sectile porrum
Sutor et elixi vervecis labra comedit?
Nil mihi respondes? Aut dic aut accipe calcem.

the wicked, and go not in the way of evil men. For they sleep not, except they have done mischief; and their rest is taken away, unless they cause some to fall." The picture of Achilles seems to have been a favourite illustration. Seneca introduces it (de Tranq. An. ii.): "qualis ille Homericus Achilles est modo pronus modo supinus in varios habitus se ipse componens."

281. *Ergo non aliter*] Heinecke and Ruperti propose to banish this line [and Ribbeck also]. I see no objection to it. There is no need to talk of Juvenal interrupting Umbricius; the man goes on speaking himself, 'Can't they then sleep, you may well say, without all this? Nay, some sleep all the better for a quarrel.' 'Somnum facit' occurs above, v. 242. As to 'improbus,' which means here 'hotheaded,' and has a great variety of meanings elsewhere, the reader may consult Forcellini and Note on Hor. C. iii. 24. 62.

283. *quem coccina laena*] The scarlet 'laena,' worn by the rich, dyed with the 'coccum,' cochineal, was one of the varieties of 'lacernae,' a thick woollen cloak thrown over the toga. The youth may be the worse for wine, but he can distinguish between a rich man and a poor, who only goes abroad by the light of the moon or of a tallow-candle, the wick of which he has to humour and regulate with his fingers to keep it from flaring away, as he had no lantern to put it in. Johnson has paraphrased this part of the satire shortly, but very well:

"Some fiery fop with new commission vain,
Who sleeps on brambles till he kills his man;
Some frolick drunkard, reeling from a feast,
Provokes a broil and stabs you for a jest.
Yet e'en these heroes, mischievously gay,
Lords of the street and terrors of the way,
Flushed as they are with folly, youth, and wine,
Their prudent insults to the poor confine.
Afar they mark the flambeau's bright approach,
And shun the shining train and golden coach."

289. *Si rixa est*]

"Poor me he fights if that be fighting where
He only cudgels and I only bear."
(Dryden.)

The Scholiast quotes Terence (Adelph. ii. 2. 5): "Ego vapulando ille verberando usque ambo defessi sumus."

292. *Unde venis?*] This was the common salutation of civility, as here of rudeness. See Hor. S. i. 9. 62: "Unde venis et quo tendis?" S. ii. 4. 1: "Unde et quo Catius?"

cujus aceto, Cujus conche tumes?] 'With whose vinegar and beans have you been filling your belly? with what cobbler have you been eating leeks and greasy sheep's head?' This is his way of asking where the poor man has been dining. As to 'sectile porrum' see Forcellini, who explains that the leek was either 'sectivum' or 'capitatum;' the first when it was cut down directly it came above the ground,

Ede ubi consistas: in qua te quaero proseucha?"
Dicere si temptes aliquid tacitusve recedas,
Tantundem est; feriunt pariter; vadimonia deinde
Irati faciunt. Libertas pauperis haec est:
Pulsatus rogat et pugnis concisus adorat,
Ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.
  Nec tamen haec tantum metuas: nam qui spoliet te
Non deerit, clausis domibus postquam omnis ubique
Fixa catenatae siluit compago tabernae.
Interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem,
Armato quoties tutae custode tenentur
Et Pomptina palus et Gallinaria pinus:

the other when it was allowed to grow to a head.

296. *Ede ubi consistas:*] He treats him as a Jew beggar, and asks him where he posts himself to beg, in what 'proseucha' he must look for him if he wants to find him. Schleusner (sub verb.) describes a 'proseucha' as an oratory, a building erected for the use of those towns where there was no synagogue, outside the walls by a stream or the sea-side, for the benefit of ablution. It was used like the synagogue for reading the law and prayer three times a day. In the Acts of the Apostles (xvi. 13) the writer says *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων ἐξήλθομεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως* (Philippi) *παρὰ ποταμὸν, οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι*, and there *προσευχὴ* is generally understood to be a building of this sort. In the Gospel by St. Luke (vi. 12) our Saviour is said to have passed the night *ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, where also Whitby and other commentators take *προσευχὴ* for a house of prayer. Josephus in his own life, c. 54, says, *συνάγονται πάντες εἰς τὴν προσευχὴν, μέγιστον οἴκημα πολὺν ὄχλον ἐπιδέξασθαι δυνάμενον* As to the present tense 'quaero' see iv. 130.

298. *vadimonia deinde*] After frightening the poor man out of his senses, they affect to be the injured parties, and declare they will have the law of him. As to 'vadimonia,' see above, v. 213. The whole of this scene is very amusing, and the last verse most entertaining of all. He only prays as a particular favour to be allowed to go home with a few of his teeth. The state of the streets at night, even during the time of Augustus, was very disgraceful. Tacitus (Ann. xiii. 25) describes it in the time of Nero, who himself set the example of night-brawling, which was followed by many under the shelter of his name. The same tricks were practised by Otho and other emperors.

305. *subitus grassator agit rem,*] 'Grassator' means 'a highway-robber;' and it appears from this place that the Pomptine Marshes and the forest of Gallinaria were infested by banditti. Suetonius says of Augustus: "Grassatores dispositis per opportuna loca stationibus inhibuit" (c. 32). He took great pains to put them down, and so did Tiberius, as Suetonius tells us (c. 37); and it would seem from Juvenal's words that their plan of having military posts in the different places the robbers frequented was still pursued. Driven out from the above haunts, they took up their abode in the city, where they carried on their trade (which is the meaning of 'agit rem'), breaking into houses and murdering the inhabitants. 'Subitus' seems to mean that you start up from sleep, and find one of these men by your bed ready to cut your throat.

"In vain, these dangers past, your doors you close,
And hope the balmy blessings of repose;
Cruel with guilt, and daring with despair,
The midnight murderer bursts the faithless bar,
Invades the sacred hour of silent rest,
And leaves unseen a dagger in your breast." (Johnson.)

That this gives Juvenal's meaning I have no doubt. But some take it to be that at night, when the houses and shops are shut, you are liable to be attacked by robbers in the streets.

307. *Et Pomptina palus et Gallinaria pinus:*] The Pomptinus Ager was a plain in Latium about twenty-two miles in length, extending from Appii Forum to Terracina, and from eight to ten miles in depth on the west, separated from the sea by a low

Sic inde huc omnes tanquam ad vivaria currunt.
Qua fornace graves, qua non incude, catenae?
Maximus in vinclis ferri modus, ut timeas ne
Vomer deficiat, ne marrae et sarcula desint.
Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
Saecula, quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
Viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.
His alias poteram et plures subnectere causas:

range of hills ending in the promontory of Circeii, and by a lower ridge from that place to Terracina. This plain forms a basin, of which a part is below the level of the sea. Several small streams flow into it, and the subterranean drainage of neighbouring basins of greater elevation pours a great deal of water into the Pomptine plain. In the early period of Roman history it was fertile and populous; and when Appius made his road across it, about B.C. 310, the soil must have been firm. The character of the country must have changed at no great distance of time after Appius, for in B.C. 160 the first attempt to drain the Pomptinus Ager was made by the consul of that year, Cornelius Cethegus. Augustus is said to have taken up the same work, which was again tried soon after this Satire was written successively by Nerva and Trajan. The neglect of the middle ages made the marshes worse than they ever were in the Roman period. Various popes did something towards correcting the evil, the last of whom was Pius VI., whose works, begun in 1778 and continued over a space of sixteen years, are those to which the present drainage is due. The plain is almost entirely uninhabited, but has good pasturage, and supports a large number of horned cattle. The reader is referred to the article on the Pomptine Marshes in the Penny Cyclopaedia for further information.

The Gallinaria Silva lay on the coast of Campania between the mouth of the Vulturnus and Liternum. It is still called Pineta di Castel Volturno, though the pine trees that formerly grew in it and gave it that name are no longer there.

308. *Sic inde huc*] 'Sic' means 'as we see.' 'Vivaria' are preserves of game. The robbers went to Rome as a gentleman goes to his preserves to shoot. Horace uses the word in the same sort of way about will-hunters: "Excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant." (Epp. i. 1. 79.)

311. *marrae et sarcula*] 'Mattocks and hoes.' He says so much iron is wanted for chains for these robbers that there is danger lest enough be not left for tools. 'Marra' seems to have been an instrument like the 'sarculum,' but larger, and used for heavier work.

312. *Felices proavorum atavos,*] 'Proavus' was an ancestor in the third degree, a great-grandfather, and 'atavus' in the fifth, so that 'proavorum atavi' would be eight generations back. (See note on Hor. C. i. 1. 1: "Maecenas atavis edite regibus.") The expression here is general. Ruperti approves a blunder of some MSS. which he has not seen, 'pravorum atavos,' which he explains by "hominum nunc male viventium majores."

314. *uno contentam carcere*] This was the Carcer Mamertinus, which was said to have been built by Ancus Martius, and enlarged by Servius Tullius, under the Capitoline Hill. (Hor. Epod. vii. 8, n.) Appius Claudius the decemvir built a second just outside the city walls at the entrance of the ninth region. In this prison happened that case of filial piety recorded by Pliny (H.N. vii. 36; Pers. i. 49. n.), a daughter keeping her mother alive by food from her own breast; in memory of which a temple was erected to Pietas near the prison. As Appius Claudius was put to death in his own prison B.C. 449, Juvenal's golden age lay a long way back. But he is speaking loosely. There were other prisons, but there is nothing particular recorded of them, the Carcer Mamertinus being always the principal one. It was sometimes called Lautumiae, from the prison at Syracuse, which, being formed in a stone quarry, bore that name. 'Sub regibus atque tribunis' means 'under the kings and the republic.' 'Tribuni plebis' existed under the empire, but their power, like that of all other magistrates of the republican period, was of no importance.

315. *His alias poteram*] There is some difference between 'poteram' and 'possem subnectere.' The latter would mean 'I could have added if I had had time' (Key's L. G. 1257): 'poteram' means 'I had many other reasons to add (or I had it in

Sed jumenta vocant et sol inclinat; eundum est.
Nam mihi commota jam dudum mulio virga
Innuit. Ergo vale nostri memor, et quoties te
Roma tuo refici properantem reddet Aquino,
Me quoque ad Helvinam Cererem vestramque Dianam 320
Converte a Cumis. Satirarum ego, ni pudet illas,
Adjutor gelidos veniam caligatus in agros.

my power to add many other reasons), but I have not time.'

319. *Roma tuo refici*] 'Reddet refici' is not a prose construction, which would be 'reddet reficiendum' or 'ut reficiaris.' Aquinum, which from this verse is generally called Juvenal's birth-place, still keeps its name (Aquino). It was situated on the Via Latina in Latium, not far from the borders of Campania. Part of the walls still remains, and ruins of various buildings: among them are three temples, which may or may not be those of Ceres and Diana here mentioned. From coins of Aquinum still existing, which bear the head of Minerva, it would seem that the town was under her protection. Why Ceres is called here Helvina or Elvina, which name she bears nowhere else, is quite uncertain. The Scholiast's notion that the name is derived from the Helvii, a people of Gaul, is not worth any thing. The various derivations that have been surmised will be found in Forcellini. One of Henninius' MSS. had 'ad Eleusinam,' which Ruperti approves, but as it will not scan, he proposes putting 'ad' before 'Cererem.' The *s* would be a tempting addition to 'Eluinam,' and but for 'ad' no doubt more copyists would have put it in, and the *e* would soon follow.

321. *ni pudet illas,*] 'If they are not ashamed of me;' that is, if your satires will condescend to accept my help, I will put on my boots and come to you. The 'caligae' were thick hob-nailed shoes worn by soldiers. Here it appears the name was given to very thick shoes, such as a man would wear in the country. The notion of the commentators about his going to Juvenal dressed like a soldier, to help him to attack the follies of the age, is wonderful. According to Gifford, he says he will

"Come well equipped to wage in angry rhymes
Fierce war with you on follies and on crimes."

"Here by a beautiful allusion a satirist is considered as a combatant against vice." (Owen.) "Multis symbolis instructus et quasi armatus," says Ruperti. "I will come to do service in the ranks in your great contest." (Mayor.) And nearly all ring the changes on the same idea from Britannicus downwards. Though Aquinum was on a plain below the Apennines, Umbricius speaks of its fields as cool. There was plenty of water in the neighbourhood, and the breezes from the mountains would make it cooler than some places. [Ribbeck quotes a Neapolitan inscription from Mommsen, in which one Junius Juvenalis dedicated something (sacrum vovit dedicavit) to a divinity, of whose name only the last two letters (RI) are preserved in the inscription. He concludes that the complete name is 'Cereri,' and that this Ceres is the Helvina Ceres of the Satirist. It appears that the inscription is after the time of Vespasian, for the dedicator describes himself as 'Flamen Divi Vespasiani.' This mutilated inscription also designates the dedicator as in some way connected with COH . . . DELMATARVM, in the capacity of tribune or praefect as Ribbeck assumes. The inference is that he who made the dedication had served in the army, which must be admitted; and the further inference is made that he was the Satirist Juvenal, which is by no means certain. No person, observes Ribbeck, is described as 'caligatus' except 'miles inferiorum equestri militia ordinum.' He also says, 'etiam *adjutorem* velut *tribuni* militare munus esse docent inscriptiones.' Accordingly, he concludes, 'satis festive tribuno vel praefecto cohortis quasi adjutor, equiti caligatus ad scribendas satiras officium profiteri fingitur Umbricius.' If this argument proves that Juvenal was a military officer, it proves also that Umbricius was a common soldier, a conclusion which does not appear consistent with the general tenour of the satire.]

SATIRA IV.

INTRODUCTION.

The man Crispinus mentioned in the first satire (v. 26) as a coxcomb who had been imported a slave, and had risen to consequence by the favour of Domitian, is here introduced again. A piece of extravagance of his is made the handle for introducing the story of a fish of immense size which was once caught in the Adriatic, and presented by the fisherman to Domitian at his country palace on the Alban lake. The tyrant, by way of showing his contempt for the senate, summoned them suddenly, as if on matters of state, to attend him from Rome, for the purpose of giving their opinions upon the fish and the manner of dressing it. The satire turns upon this point, the degradation of the senators, some of them honourable men, whom, as well as others who were not so, he mentions by name. The poem was written after the death of Domitian, which is referred to in the last two lines. It is difficult to say how soon after, but Crispinus still retained the wealth he had acquired under Domitian, and we may believe it did not stay with him long under the next reigns. The sketches of the different senators are very good. They are evidently drawn from life; and no better scene was wanted or could be invented to represent the abject condition of the principal men of Rome under this insolent tyrant.

ARGUMENT.

Crispinus here again—and he must often play his part—monster, without a virtue to redeem him. What use is all his wealth to him? The bad are never happy, much less the adulterer and the incestuous. But now of smaller matters; though in another this were bad enough. But what is to be done where men are worse than all that can be said of them?

V. 15. He bought a mullet of six pounds for as many sestertia: not as a present for some rich old man or for his mistress; no, he bought it for himself. He, the Egyptian slave! a fish cost more than the man that caught it, nay, more than an estate in the provinces. What shall we think that emperors eat when such a side-dish gorges the parasite of the court, now first of equites, who used to cry stale fish in his native place?

V. 34. Let's sit, Calliope; tell a true tale, ye Muses chaste and young: and since I call you so give me your favour.

V. 37. When our last Flavius was torturing the world, it happened a huge fish was taken at Ancona, not less than they which after winter's ice float from Maeotis to the Euxine. The monster straight is marked for the high-priest, for who would dare to sell it with the coast full of informers, ready to swear the fish was reared in the imperial ponds, and must go back to its lord? They tell us all that's good in the sea belongs to the privy purse, so it's sent as a present in fear of confiscation.

V. 56. The winter had set in; the man in haste, as if 'twas summer and the fish would spoil, makes for the palace. And when he gets to the lakes where Vesta dwells, a crowd admiring stops him; when it parts the doors fly open; the senate waits without. He's brought to the great man. "Accept (says he) an offering too big for private tables: make merry, eat, this fish was kept for Caesar's days. Itself was anxious to be caught." The flattery is too gross, and yet his feathers rise; greatness will swallow any thing. But now there is no dish to hold the monster. So he calls a council of the men he hates, and on whose faces sit the terrors of a great man's friendship.

V. 75. The word is given; Pegasus first snatches up his cloak, the new-made bailiff of the city, for what else then were praefects? an excellent judge, but much too merciful for the times he lived in. Pleasant old Crispus next, whose heart was like his speech, a man of gentle temper: an excellent companion for the world's master if he might speak his honest mind. But who dare speak to such a tyrant, when on every trivial sentence hung one's life? Crispus was not the man to swim against the stream, and risk his life for truth. And so he lived in safety eighty years. Then came Acilius with his poor son, unworthy of that savage death. But greatness and great age have long been strangers. Let me be humble brother of the giants. In vain he pierced the bear in the Alban circus. Who does not see through such patrician tricks? Brutus might cheat your king with a long beard. Rubrius comes next, not less dejected though less noble; convicted of an old and foul offence, but shameless as the filthy satirist. Montanus next with his big belly comes. Crispinus with his morning scents: Pompeius too, whose softest whisper was a dagger: Fuscus, who dreamt of wars in his marble villa, and kept his bowels for the Dacian vultures. Crafty Veiento then, and blind Catullus who lusted for a maid he could not see; a special monster even for our times, fit but to beg by the road side. He matches all in admiration, looking to the left while the brute lay on his right; just as he did in the theatre, praising the fighters and machinery. Veiento like a madman prophesies. "Here is an omen of huge triumph; some king shall be your prisoner; don't you see the brute's a foreigner?" Fabricius could all but tell the animal's country and its age.

V. 130. "Well now, what think ye, is it to be cut?" "Nay," says Montanus, "far be such disgrace. Let's get a noble dish to put it in; Prometheus too to make it; haste, clay and wheel; henceforth, O Caesar, potters must wait upon your court!" His motion was adopted, worthy of a man who knew the ways of Nero's court, no one has beat him in my time for knowledge of the table. He'd tell you at a taste where an oyster came from, and told at sight the echinus' native coast.

V. 144. The council rise and are discharged; summoned in haste, as if some terrible news had come from far. Would that in trifles such as these had passed the savage days in which he robbed the city of her noblest spirits, without a hand to avenge them. But his time came when the mean began to fear him. 'Twas this that ruined him, though his hand reeked with noble blood.

Ecce iterum Crispinus, et est mihi saepe vocandus
Ad partes, monstrum nulla virtute redemptum
A vitiis, aeger solaque libidine fortis:
Delicias viduae tantum aspernatur adulter.

1. *Ecce iterum Crispinus,*] See i. 26, n. He says he must often call in this monster to play his part (ad partes sustinendas). Ovid has (Epp. ex Ponto, iii. 1. 41):

"Utque juvent alii tu debes vincere amicos,
Uxor, et ad partes prima venire tuas."

As the Scholiast says, the metaphor is taken from the stage. 'Redemptum' is 'redeemed from infamy,' as it were from slavery. So M. Seneca, speaking of the orator Haterius, after mentioning his faults of style, says, "Redimebat tamen vitia virtutibus et plus habebat quod laudares quam quod ignosceres." (Excerpt. Contr. lib. iv. praef. fin.) 'Aeger' means that he was feeble, 'fortis,' resolute. (See Hor. C. S. 23, n.) "Fortis ut quem nullus potest a consuetis vitiis deterrere." Schol. He is said to have had no taste for intriguing with single women, and was only satisfied with corrupting those who were married. The Scholiast says he was "in minore debilis scelere." 'Vidua' applies to women without husbands, whether they ever had one or not. Livy (i. 46) opposes it to 'coelebs.' In v. 3, P. has "aegrae solaque libidine fortes Deliciae, viduas." And the Scholiast, according to the common reading of his text, has the following note: "*Aeg. solaque lib. for.*

Quid refert igitur quantis jumenta fatiget
Porticibus, quanta nemorum vectetur in umbra,
Jugera quot vicina foro, quas emerit aedes?
Nemo malus felix, minime corruptor et idem
Incestus, cum quo nuper vittata jacebat
Sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos.
Sed nunc de factis levioribus: et tamen alter
Si fecisset idem caderet sub judice morum.
Nam quod turpe bonis Titio Seioque decebat
Crispinum. Quid agas quum dira et foedior omni

Figura. Quid est Crispinus? *Aegrae solaque libidine fortes Deliciae.—fortes*, ut quem nullus potest etiam a consuetis vitiis deterrere." There is plainly some confusion in this note, which Heinrich has mended; and the reading of the above MS. (which has been corrected by a later hand) has no other authority. Yet Jahn has adopted it [and Ribbeck], and Mr. Mayor says it is the reading of the best MSS. 'Spernatur' has the same authority, with the addition of some of the Parisian MSS., and is adopted by Jahn. It is not a word found in any other author, and the common reading is 'aspernatur.' [Ribbeck places all this introduction, vv. 1—36, 'Ecce iterum Crispinus' to 'dixisse puellas' at the bottom of his page, as spurious.]

5. *quantis jumenta fatiget Porticibus,*] He asks what does it matter ('refert' is 'rem fert,' see Key's L. G. 910; Hor. S. i. 1. 49, n.) how rich he is, how big are his colonnades, up and down which he drives for his amusement, what woods or shrubberies he has in which he is carried about in his lectica or sella, that he had whole acres of ground near the Forum, and owned many houses. The gardens of some private persons, such for instance as Maecenas and Sallust, were very large. The immediate neighbourhood of the Forum was covered with houses and public buildings, but between Mons Capitolinus and the Campus Martius there was space for large gardens such as Agrippa had there. They must be very costly in such a neighbourhood, which is what Juvenal means. There were private as well as public covered walks and drives (porticus) about the city. 'Fatigat' is a poetical word in this connexion. Virgil uses it (Aen. i. 316), "vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat Harpalyce."

9. *Incestus,*] 'Incestum' was what we understand it, intercourse whether with or without the pretence of marriage (which was no marriage) between those who were too near of kin to have 'connubium:' but it went beyond this, and being an act against religion, it embraced likewise intercourse with a vestal virgin. In such cases the woman was buried and left to starve in a cell in the Campus Sceleratus in the Sixth Region of the city. The man was put to death by scourging. Domitian, as stated before (S. ii. 29, n.), revived the law about vestals, but Juvenal says his favourite, Crispinus, could break it with impunity, and had lately done so, though the woman underwent the usual punishment. 'Nuper,' however, does not limit the act to a very short time before, though it was probably not long. One of the first acts after a vestal was convicted was to strip her of her vitta, which all the virgins wore when on duty. For 'vittata' Jahn reads 'vitiata,' with no authority.

12. *caderet sub judice morum.*] This the Scholiast explains rightly, 'damnaretur a censore.' So Claudian (iv. Cons. Hon. 88) says, "non hostes victore cadunt sed judice sontes." 'Cadere' has the same meaning as in x. 69: "sed quo cecidit sub crimine?" The 'judex morum' was the censor, and here means Domitian, who took that office for his life, as mentioned in S. ii. 29. The proceeding that Juvenal is going to relate should have brought the man under the censor as the corrector of extravagance, a part of his duty being to enforce such sumptuary laws as were in existence from time to time. After Augustus they fell into disuse.

13. *Titio Seioque*] These names were commonly used in legal proceedings, and mean no persons in particular here. He calls them 'bonis,' the Scholiast says, derisively, and by comparison. To 'decebat' Heinrich prefers 'decebit,' that is, 'facile decet;' and the passage is so quoted by John of Salisbury (Nugae, &c., i. 4).

Crimine persona est? Mullum sex millibus emit,
Aequantem sane paribus sestertia libris,
Ut perhibent qui de magnis majora loquuntur.
Consilium laudo artificis, si munere tanto
Praecipuam in tabulis ceram senis abstulit orbi.
Est ratio ulterior magnae si misit amicae,
Quae vehitur clauso latis specularibus antro.
Nil tale exspectes: emit sibi. Multa videmus
Quae miser et frugi non fecit Apicius. Hoc tu
Succinctus patria quondam, Crispine, papyro.
Hoc pretium squamae! Potuit fortasse minoris

15. *persona*] The Scholiast says, 'non homo sed persona,' 'not a man but a mask.' That is, he was a hypocrite, an actor. But this is not the meaning of 'persona' here. "In the law writers 'personae' signifies persons, that is, human beings as invested with a certain character by which they become objects of law, as opposed to things which are not persons, but either material things, as objects of property, or legal facts, as contracts and the like." (Long on Cic. de Am. c. 1.) This explains 'persona' here. He was 'foedior omni Crimine,' no charge could express his wickedness.

Mullum sex millibus emit,] A mullet or barbel of six pounds was unusually large. Two pounds was the smallest size Martial thought should be served on a handsome dish, and it was not often larger than that. (Hor. S. ii. 2. 34, n.) The price paid for this was equivalent to 46*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* of our money, taking the sestertium (thousand sesterces) at 7*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*, which was its value at this time. Juvenal admits this was probably a fabulous price; but Pliny tells of one that cost 8000 sesterces (H. N. ix. 17). The purchaser was one Asinius Celer, in the reign of Caligula. Macrobius mentions the same purchase, but gives 7000 sesterces as the price. Pliny adds that the contemplation of this transaction leads one to think of those "qui in conquestione luxus coquos emi singulos pluris quam equos quiritabant." And he goes on, "At nunc coqui triumphorum pretiis parantur et coquorum pisces;" which Juvenal perhaps remembered when he wrote "potuit fortasse minoris Piscator quam piscis emi."

19. *Praecipuam in tabulis ceram*] This is equivalent to being declared the old man's heres. A will was usually contained in three tablets (prima, secunda, and ima cera or tabula), in the two first of which were entered the names of the heredes, and in the third those of the 'substituti,' who took in the event of any heres being disqualified, &c. (Hor. S. ii. 5. 53, n.) As to 'orbi,' see above, iii. 129, n.

20. *Est ratio ulterior*] There is another way of accounting for it, or another excuse, supposing he sent it to some great lady who was fond of him, and who went about in her 'sella' with closed doors, but large windows that she could look out of and be seen through. She might affect propriety by shutting up her chair, but she would have her windows such that she could see what was going on and be recognized by her gallants. As to 'specularia,' see iii. 268, n.

23. *Quae miser et frugi non fecit Apicius.*] M. Fabius Apicius (as he is called by Dion Cass. 57. 19), whose name has been proverbial for good living from the time of Tiberius, when he lived, is here called 'miser et frugi' by way of comparison with Crispinus. After spending an enormous fortune on eating, drinking, and his lusts, he hanged himself. As to 'frugi,' see Hor. S. ii. 7. 57, n.

24. *papyro.*] This corresponds with what he called him before, "pars Niliacae plebis —verna Canopi" (i. 26). Of the coarser kind of papyrus (called 'emporetica'), which was not used for writing, various articles were made according to Pliny (H. N. xiii. 11): "texunt e libro vela, tegetesque, nec non et vestem, etiam stragulam, ac funes." In such coarse garments, tucked up as the manner of slaves was (Hor. S. ii. 8. 10, n.), he says Crispinus used to appear in former days.

25. *Hoc pretium squamae!*] This is the reading of nearly all the MSS. P. and the Scholiast have 'hoc pretio squamae,' which Ruperti adopts after Henninius and the Aldine and the Stephens' editions. Jahn has 'hoc pretio squamam,' without authority; [and Ribbeck also.]

Potuit fortasse minoris] See note on v.

Piscator quam piscis emi. Provincia tanti
Vendit agros: sed majores Apulia vendit.
Quales tunc epulas ipsum glutisse putamus
Induperatorem, quum tot sestertia, partem
Exiguam et modicae sumptam de margine coenae,
Purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati,
Jam princeps Equitum, magna qui voce solebat
Vendere municipes fracta de merce siluros.
Incipe, Calliope, licet et considere: non est

15, fin. The price of slaves varied of course very much. Horace speaks of one who was sold for 500 drachmae, about 17*l.* 15*s.* (S. ii. 7. 43), and another offered at eight sestertia, which was two more than the fish cost. An inferior sort of slave, for such purposes as this, might commonly be bought for less than the fish. He adds, that in the provinces men can get a large estate for such a sum, and a larger in Apulia, which seems to imply that land in Apulia was cheaper than in the provinces; but then it must have been bad land, for some of the corn-land of Apulia would be valuable. [There is indeed no clear meaning in these words. Ribbeck has 'nec majoris se Apulia vendit.'] The quantity of the first syllable in Apulia is common. Horace makes it long and short in two consecutive lines:

"Me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo
Altricis extra limen Apuliae."
(C. iii. 4. 9, 10.)

28. *putamus*] Most MSS. have 'putamus,' which is good Latin, as in Cicero (de Am. c. 7): "Stantes plaudebant in re ficta; quid arbitramur in vera facturos fuisse?" Jahn has 'putamus;' Ruperti and Heinrich [and Ribbeck] 'putemus.' The old editions are divided.

29. *Induperatorem,*] The preposition 'in' in 'impero' (the first meaning of which is 'to put upon,' 'to impose,' the thing imposed being expressed or understood, see Key's L. G. 1291, n.) is represented in the earlier poets by the forms 'endo' and 'indu,' corresponding to the Greek *ἔνδον*. The MSS. here and in x. 138, are, with only one exception, in favour of 'induperator.' In other places they vary between that and 'endoperator' (see Forcell.). Other words that are found in Lucretius and others with the same form of the preposition are 'endopedire,' 'endogredi,' 'endoplorare,' 'endotueri,' and a few more.

30. *de margine coenae,*] The principal dish, 'caput coenae,' which at large dinners was commonly a boar, was put in the middle of the table: 'de margine' corresponds to a 'side-dish.'

31. *scurra Palati,*] The palace which the successive emperors occupied was on the Palatine Hill. The ruins still remain. It was built by Augustus, and much enlarged by his successors. Domitian spent a great deal of money in decorating and enlarging it, but most of the ornaments with which he adorned it were removed by Trajan to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The supposition of Henninius that 'palati' may mean the man's palate is approved by Ruperti and no one else.

32. *Jam princeps Equitum,*] This is a way of speaking: there was no officer who bore that title.

33. *fracta de merce siluros.*] Pliny (N. H. ix. 15) mentions the 'silurus' as a fish of the Nile. It is mentioned again by Juvenal in S. xiv. 132. The Scholiast calls the fish 'sardas,' and the translators 'shads,' which is a dry sort of fish two or three feet long found on our own coasts. 'Municipes' means that they were countrymen of Crispinus. The MSS. of Ruperti and Jahn all have 'fracta de merce' except one, which has 'facta,' a clerical error, or copied from the lemma of the Scholiast, where he has 'facta,' but explains 'fracta.' There have been many attempts made to improve the text, which Ruperti calls "ineptus," and adopts 'fricta,' a conjecture of Manso. 'Fracta de merce' may mean that the fish were part of a damaged lot. Heinrich says the true reading is 'farta,' and that he is referring to fish packed in casks. It may be so. [Ribbeck has 'farcta.'] The Scholiast says it means that the cask was broken that contained the fish. It might mean that the cask was broken open to sell the fish.

34. *Incipe, Calliope,*] He invokes the

Cantandum, res vera agitur: narrate, puellae
Pierides: prosit mihi vos dixisse puellas.
  Quum jam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
Ultimus et calvo serviret Roma Neroni,
Incidit Hadriaci spatium admirabile rhombi
Ante domum Veneris quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,
Implevitque sinus: neque enim minor haeserat illis

Muses (as Horace does when he is going to tell the squabble between the parasites, S. i. 5. 53), but he says this is not matter for a song, that is, for fiction and ornament, but a grave matter of fact on which they should sit and deliberate.

"Begin, Calliope, let's sit, but sing
We may not; this is truth, no fained thing." (Stapylton.)

Why the Muses were called Pierides the reader will learn by referring to Müller's Hist. of Greek Lit. p. 27, or to Hor. A. P. 405, n. Juvenal claims credit for calling them 'puellae,' which word was only used for chaste young women, single or married.

37. *Quum jam semianimum*] The full name of Domitian was T. Flavius Domitianus Caesar Augustus. He was the third Flavius. His brother and his father were both T. Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus. His mother was Flavia Domitilla. The Flavia gens were plebeian, and of Sabine origin, in which country the emperor Vespasian was born. Though Domitian was the last emperor who had borne the gentilician name of Flavius when this satire was written, all the Constantines were Flavii.

38. *calvo serviret Roma Neroni,*] Juvenal calls Domitian a bald Nero, meaning that he was as bad as that tyrant. Suetonius (c. 18) relates that he was bald, round-bellied, and thin in the legs, though in his youth he was a good-looking man, except that he had clubbed feet ('digitos restrictiores habebat'): he was tall, with a modest countenance, high colour, and large but rather dull eyes. Suetonius says he was very sensitive about his baldness, but nevertheless he wrote a treatise on the preservation of the hair, addressed to a friend who was bald like himself. He quoted for his friend's consolation and his own (says Suetonius) a verse of Homer:

οὐχ ὁράᾳς οἷος κἀγὼ καλός τε μέγας τε;
(Il. xxi. 108,)

and adds, "Eadem me tamen manent capillorum fata, et forti animo fero comam in juventa senescentem. Scias nec gratius quidquam decore nec brevius." Ausonius near three centuries later (De XII Caesaribus per Suetonium Tranquillum scriptis) copies Juvenal's expression, and thus mentions the three Flavii:

"His decimus fatoque accitus Vespasianus:
Et Titus imperii felix brevitate; secutus
Frater, quem calvum dixit sua Roma
Neronem."

If the name became common as he implies, it was probably through this Satire.

39. *spatium admirabile rhombi,*] This is like the way of speaking below, 'Crispi jucunda senectus' (v. 81); and 'sententia dia Catonis,' Hor. S. i. 2. 32, and other like phrases in that writer. (See note on C. i. 3. 36.) The 'rhombus' is usually supposed to have been a turbot; but it is uncertain. It was a flat fish. The finest were caught near Ravenna, on the Adriatic.

40. *quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,*] Ancona was a flourishing town of Picenum on the coast of the Adriatic, and near the Cumerian promontory, the northern extremity of the curve which the coast makes here. It was founded by some refugees from Syracuse in the time of the elder Dionysius, about B.C. 380, for which reason Juvenal calls it Dorian. Catullus mentions Ancon as one of the resorts of Venus (xxxvi. 13). There are no traces of the temple, but a late writer thinks that "in all probability it occupied the same site as the modern cathedral, on the summit of the lofty hill that surrounds the whole city and constitutes the remarkable headland from which it derives its name" (Dict. Geog.). 'Sustinet,' 'holds up,' may mean that the temple was on a hill. The principal remains now extant are the mole constructed by Trajan not long after this Satire was written, and a triumphal marble arch erected upon it in honour of that emperor. The coins of the city, of which many exist, bear the Greek name ΑΓΚΩΝ upon them. The later poets used that form as well as Ancona, which is the modern name also.

41. *Implevitque sinus:*] 'Sinus' are the

Quos operit glacies Maeotica ruptaque tandem
Solibus effundit torpentis ad ostia Ponti,
Desidia tardos et longo frigore pingues.
Destinat hoc monstrum cymbae linique magister
Pontifici summo. Quis enim proponere talem
Aut emere auderet, quum plena et litora multo
Delatore forent? Dispersi protinus algae
Inquisitores agerent cum remige nudo,
Non dubitaturi fugitivum dicere piscem
Depastumque diu vivaria Caesaris; inde
Elapsum veterem ad dominum debere reverti.
Si quid Palfurio, si credimus Armillato,
Quidquid conspicuum pulcrumque est aequore toto
Res fisci est ubicunque natat. Donabitur ergo
Ne pereat. Jam letifero cedente pruinis

folds of the net. Forcellini gives examples and explains it as "pars retis laxa quae cum quid incidit inflectitur." Juvenal goes on to say the fish that was thus caught ('haeserat,' i. e. sinubus) was not smaller than those which, after being frozen up in the Palus Maeotis (Sea of Azov) all the winter, were sent down when the ice began to thaw, fat and lazy, through the Cimmerian Bosporus (Straits of Kaffa) into the Euxine. Strabo (vii. p. 320) speaks of the pelamys or young tunny fish bred in the Palus Maeotis passing from thence into the Euxine, and being caught in large quantities, first at Sinope and then at Byzantium. Tacitus (Ann. xii. 63) puts this down as one of the chief sources of that city's wealth; and Pliny (N. H. ix. 15) refers to the same at some length. The Greeks traded to the Crimea for salt-fish, τάριχος.

43. *torpentis ad ostia Ponti,*] The Scholiast's copy had 'torrentis,' on which authority Jahn adopts that word. [Ribbeck also has 'torrentis.'] The Scholiast adds this note: "Perfluentis, currentis; illic nam rheuma quoddam trahit mare." One MS. (Hamburg) has 'Nili' instead of 'Ponti.'

46. *Pontifici summo.*] The Pontifex Maximus was president of the college of pontiffs, and chief director and expounder of every thing connected with religion. The office was always borne by the emperors from Augustus downwards for about four centuries. Gifford thinks "Juvenal's taste is not to be admired," in calling Domitian by this title; "he should rather have fixed upon one by virtue of which the fish might have been claimed;" but he does not say what title he would have preferred. Grangaeus sees a propriety in 'pontifici summo,' because of the pontifical dinners, which were proverbial.

48. *Delatore*] There were informers all along the coast, who poked into the very weeds ('mud-rakers,' Gifford calls them) for something to tell about, and they would soon call the starved fisherman to account ('agerent cum remige nudo'), and would be ready to swear they knew the fish by sight, and that it had got away from the emperor's preserves (vivaria), and must be sent back to its old master.

53. *Si quid Palfurio,*] This person, whose cognomen was 'Sura,' is mentioned by Suetonius (Domit. c. 13) as one who had been removed from the senate; and the Scholiast says that it was Vespasian who did it, and that he became a Stoic in consequence: also that he got into favour with Domitian, and pursued the trade of an informer very actively. Armillatus the Scholiast mentions as another informer, which the context shows.

55. *Res fisci est*] 'Is the property of the fiscus.' 'Fiscus' signifies a basket, and came to mean such a basket as they carried money in, and then the emperor's treasury, as opposed to 'aerarium,' the treasury of the populus. See Long on Cic. Verr. Act. Prima, c. 8.

56. *Ne pereat.*] That is, for fear it should be seized and confiscated, as Heinrich says. Other explanations have been given, but this is right.

Autumno, jam quartanam sperantibus aegris,
Stridebat deformis hiems praedamque recentem
Servabat: tamen hic properat velut urgeat Auster:
Utque lacus suberant, ubi quanquam diruta servat
Ignem Trojanum et Vestam colit Alba minorem,
Obstitit intranti miratrix turba parumper.
Ut cessit, facili patuerunt cardine valvae;
Exclusi spectant admissa obsonia Patres.
Itur ad Atriden. Tum Picens, "Accipe," dixit,
"Privatis majora focis: genialis agatur

57. *Autumno,*] Horace calls it "Auctumnusque gravis Libitinae quaestus acerbae" (S. ii. 6. 19, where various other places are quoted). 'Sperantibus' means wishing for the quartan, as that stage in a fever when it begins to amend. Ruperti takes it for 'expecting,' that is, apprehending the approach of this disease. According to Galen the quartan "dries up the phlegm and melancholic humour," as Manutius observes on the following passage of Cicero's letter to Tiro (xvi. 11): "Doleo te non valere; sed quoniam in quartanam conversa vis est morbi (sic enim scribit Curius) spero te diligentia adhibita etiam firmiorem fore."

58. *deformis hiems*] Horace has 'informes hiemes' (C. ii. 10. 15). He says though the cold weather kept his fish fresh, he made as much haste as if the south wind were blowing, as it did in autumn ('plumbeus Auster,' Hor. S. ii. 6. 18), which would soon turn it, for which purpose Horace invokes it, S. ii. 2. 40, "At vos, Praesentes Austri, coquite horum obsonia!"

60. *Utque lacus suberant,*] The Lacus Albanus, which still retains its name (Lago di Albano) under Mons Albanus (Monte Cavo) in Latium, is about fourteen miles south-east of Rome. See Hor. C. iv. 1. 19: "Albanos prope te lacus Ponet marmoreum sub trabe citrea." A palace built by Cn. Pompeius became the property of the emperors, and was greatly enlarged by Domitian, who lived there a great deal. Some remains of the buildings and gardens are still to be seen. It is frequently referred to by Martial and others. The site of Alba Longa was on the eastern shore of the lake, which was named after it. The town was destroyed by Tullus Hostilius, according to Livy, 400 years after its foundation by Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, who according to tradition transferred to Alba the government established by his father at Lavinium, and with it the fire of Vesta, imported from Troy. Livy says that Tullus destroyed all the public and private buildings, and reduced the town to ruins, but spared the temples (i. 29). The reading 'suberant,' which was that of the Scholiast and is in most MSS., is suspicious. 'Superant' appears in some. Heinrich thinks with Markland the true reading is 'superat,' quoting Virg. Ecl. viii. 6, "superas jam saxa Timavi." 'Suberant' means the lakes were near.

61. *Vestam colit Alba minorem,*] The Scholiast on this place says that when Tullus Hostilius destroyed Alba, the Romans would have removed the sacred things from the temples to Rome, but were deterred by a great hailstorm, and accordingly they continued to observe the worship of the gods at Alba; which statement Lipsius (de Vesta, c. 2) confirms by a reference to Symmachus (Epp. ix. 120, 121), who, writing towards the end of the fourth century, speaks of the incest of one Primogenia, a vestal priestess at Alba. The Scholiast adds that Juvenal speaks of Vestam minorem 'ad compositionem,' that is, by comparison with her worship at Rome, which was instituted by Romulus or Numa (Plutarch, Vit. Rom.).

63. *Ut cessit,*] [Ribbeck has 'At cessit: facili &c.']

64. *Patres.*] Domitian used to convene the Senate at his Alban house. Juvenal says the senators are kept outside waiting while the man with the fish finds ready admittance. The emperor he calls Atrides, Agamemnon, and the fisherman a Picenian, the fish having been caught at Ancon in Picenum.

66. *genialis agatur Iste dies:*] 'Let this day be devoted to your genius;' like Horace, 'cras genium mero Curabis' (C. iii. 17. 14), and 'genio indulgere' (Pers. v. 151). As to 'genius,' see note on Horace, Epp. i. 7. 94.

Iste dies: propera stomachum laxare saginis,
Et tua servatum consume in secula rhombum.
Ipse capi voluit." Quid apertius? et tamen illi
Surgebant cristae. Nihil est quod credere de se
Non possit quum laudatur dis aequa potestas.
Sed deerat pisci patinae mensura. Vocantur
Ergo in consilium proceres, quos oderat ille,
In quorum facie miserae magnaeque sedebat
Pallor amicitiae. Primus clamante Liburno
"Currite, jam sedit!" rapta properabat abolla
Pegasus, attonitae positus modo villicus Urbi.
Anne aliud tunc praefecti? quorum optimus atque
Interpres legum sanctissimus; omnia quanquam

67. *laxare saginis,*] The MSS. are not all agreed as to the reading, and the Scholiast has a note of which the reading and sense are doubtful. Most MSS. have 'saginis;' Jahn reads 'saginae,' with no authority. He understands therefore the meaning to be, 'hasten to relieve your stomach, to make way for the fish,' which was not an uncommon practice. Other editors take it the same way. I agree with Heinrich, who reads 'saginis' with nearly all the MSS., and explains 'laxare' to mean that he was to distend his belly with good things. 'Sagina' is used for any good dish. [Ribbeck has 'sagenis.']

69. *Ipse capi voluit.*] The man declares the fish wanted to be caught, to have the honour of being eaten by the emperor. What could be more glaring? But the great man swallows it, and his feathers rise at the flattery. Ruperti says this interpretation will not do. The fisherman says "Quid apertius?" "What is clearer than that the fish wanted to be caught?" But, says Juvenal, the fish puts up his back with indignation, by way of refuting the compliment. It appears Ruperti has found somebody to approve of this.

71. *dis aequa potestas.*] Suetonius says that Domitian caused all letters to his procuratores to begin with "Dominus et Deus noster sic fieri jubet;" and that after he had established this practice he was always addressed so. Martial has (v. 8) "Edictum Domini Deique nostri." Aurelius Victor (de Caes. c. 39) says of him, "More Caligulae Dominum sese Deumque dici coegit." 'Diis aequa' however is only (as the commentators say) an adaptation of the Greek ἰσόθεος.

75. *Liburno*] The praeco who summoned the senate was a Liburnian slave (iii. 240). He cries out that the emperor has taken his seat, and Pegasus snatches up his 'abolla' and runs to attend the meeting. Pegasus was a jurist of eminence in this and the preceding reigns. The Scholiast says he was the son of a trierarch (which would imply that he was a Greek), and got his name from the figure-head of his father's ship; and that he had such a remarkable memory he was called 'liber,' a book: that he discharged several offices, and was finally appointed 'praefectus Urbi,' as we see here. There are difficulties in the Scholia, but they are not important in this place. Cramer and Schopen (Heinrich's edition, p. 366) have discussed them sufficiently. From 'abolla' the commentators derive an allusion to the man's being a Stoic. But see note in iii. 115.

77. *attonitae positus modo villicus Urbi.*] The office of 'praefectus Urbi' under the emperors was different from that in the earlier days of the republic. It was instituted by Augustus for the purpose of maintaining order in the city, and grew to be the first magistracy in power and importance. It might be held for many years. 'Positus' is used for 'appointed,' as 'praepositus' usually is. 'Attonitae' means 'stupefied,' which Heinrich says expresses the state of the whole Roman world. 'Villicus' is explained on iii. 195. Juvenal says that the 'praefecti Urbi' in those days when Pegasus was appointed (in Vespasian's reign) were only stewards of the emperor. Ruperti adopts Manso's explanation of 'attonitae,' which he says expresses the astonishment of the city at getting a 'villicus' when they expected a praefectus, because 'villici' were slaves. This is hardly worth

Temporibus diris tractanda putabat inermi
Justitia. Venit et Crispi jucunda senectus,
Cujus erant mores qualis facundia, mite
Ingenium. Maria ac terras populosque regenti
Quis comes utilior, si clade et peste sub illa
Saevitiam damnare et honestum afferre liceret
Consilium? Sed quid violentius aure tyranni,
Cum quo de pluviis aut aestibus aut nimboso
Vere locuturi fatum pendebat amici?
Ille igitur nunquam direxit brachia contra
Torrentem, nec civis erat qui libera posset
Verba animi proferre et vitam impendere vero.
Sic multas hiemes atque octogesima vidit
Solstitia, his armis illa quoque tutus in aula.
Proximus ejusdem properabat Acilius aevi
Cum juvene indigno quem mors tam saeva maneret
Et Domini gladiis tam festinata: sed olim
Prodigio par est cum nobilitate senectus:
Unde fit, ut malim fraterculus esse Gigantis.
Profuit ergo nihil misero quod cominus ursos

repeating. Heinrich thinks ver. 78 is not genuine; [and Ribbeck omits it. If this verse is omitted, the full stop after 'Urbi' must be changed to a comma; and the whole passage will thus be made clearer.]

80. *inermi Justitia.*] He says though Pegasus was the best of his class, and a good jurist, he was lax in the punishment of offenders, which in such bad times was a great fault. The 'præfectus urbi' had 'jurisdictio,' and there was no appeal from him except to the emperor. 'Justitia' bears a sword in all representations of her, and sometimes a spear or a pair of scales.

81. *Crispi jucunda senectus,*] 'Cheerful old Crispus.' Vibius Crispus was an orator often mentioned by Quintilian, who speaks of him in terms like Juvenal, as "vir ingenii jucundi et elegantis" (v. 13. 48). The Scholiast has a long note here which refers to a different Crispus. Juvenal gives him a pleasing character, but says he was not stout enough to speak his mind and swim against the stream, and lay down his life as the price of truth.

94. *Acilius*] This is the father of M'. Acilius Glabrio, who was consul with Trajan A.D. 91, and who was put to death by Domitian, Dion says, from jealousy of his prowess in killing a lion in his amphitheatre on the Mons Albanus. See notes on v. 60 and 99. The consul is the 'juvenis' mentioned in the next verse. As to 'Domini' see above, v. 71, n.

96. *sed olim*] 'Olim' means here 'for some time past.' Forcellini gives other examples from the later writers. See S. vi. 346.

98. *fraterculus esse Gigantis.*] [This line is omitted by Ribbeck.] The Gigantes were sons of Earth, γηγενεῖς. Persius has "progenies terrae," "terrae est jam filius" (vi. 57, 59). When a man's parents were unknown he was referred to the common mother; and as Casaubon says, those who rose from obscurity to high place were called 'lumbrici,' 'worms,' and by the Greeks ἔντερα γῆς, 'entrails of the earth.' (See below, viii. 45.) Cicero uses the phrase 'terrae filio nescio cui' (ad Att. i. 13), and the same in a letter to Trebatius (ad Fam. vii. 9), "summo genere natus terrae filius," as Quintilian says, speaking of cities, "multum auctoritatis affert vetustas, ut iis qui terra dicuntur orti." (iii. 7, fin.) Ruperti thinks Juvenal wrote 'nolim,' and not 'malim,' meaning that he would rather not be the humble friend of the great man (Caesar). It was hard to go wrong, but Ruperti is unfortunate.

99. *ursos Figebat Numidas*] African

Figebat Numidas Albana nudus arena
Venator. Quis enim jam non intelligat artes
Patricias? Quis priscum illud miratur acumen,
Brute, tuum? Facile est barbato imponere regi.
Nec melior vultu quamvis ignobilis ibat
Rubrius, offensae veteris reus atque tacendae,
Et tamen improbior satiram scribente cinaedo.
Montani quoque venter adest, abdomine tardus,
Et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo
Quantum vix redolent duo funera; saevior illo

bears are mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 67; iv. 191), Strabo (xvii. p. 828), Virgil (Aen. v. 37), Martial (i. 105); and Pliny (H. N. viii. 36) says, "Annalibus notatum est M. Pisone M. Messalla Coss. ad xiv. Kal. Octobres Domitium Aenobarbum Aedilem curulem ursos Numidicos centum et totidem venatores Aethiopas in Circo dedisse." On which Pliny adds, that he does not understand why Numidian bears should be spoken of, as Africa does not produce bears. Lipsius (Electorum, ii. 4) has a chapter in defence of Pliny, who he says must have known where the bears came from that were imported in great numbers into Rome. Lipsius supposes all manner of beasts were called 'ursi,' and that Juvenal means lions, which Servius supposes may be Virgil's meaning. As to 'Albana arena,' see note on v. 94.

101. *artes Patricias?*] The various arts the Patricians had recourse to to save themselves. Glabrio's was that of degrading himself into a 'venator,' which Juvenal compares with the craftiness of L. Junius Brutus, who, Livy says, allowed himself to be supposed a fool, that he might the better watch for his opportunity of delivering his country (i. 56). This trick, Juvenal says, might pass with Tarquinius Superbus, a king of the old days when they wore beards, but was not likely to impose upon modern tyrants. 'Barbato regi' is like Horace's 'intonsi Catonis.' (C. ii. 15. 11, and note.)

105. *Rubrius,*] Some take this person for Rubrius Gallus, who was sent by Nero against Galba and deserted him (Dion Cass. 63. 27), and suppose that this was his 'ancient offence,' and that Nero is the satire-writer mentioned in the next line, because he wrote a poem on one Clodius Pollio ("Clodium Pollionem praetorium virum in quem est poema Neronis quod inscribitur Luscio," Suetonius, vit. Domit. i.), and another on Afranius Quintianus (Tac. Ann. xv. 49). Heinrich is of this opinion. The Scholiast says (according to a probable emendation of his text) that Rubrius seduced Titus' daughter, and he was afraid her uncle would punish him for his crime. Gesner takes 'improbior satiram,' &c. for a proverb; if so it was probably taken from Nero. By 'nec melior vultu quamvis ignobilis' he means that Rubrius did not look happier than Acilius, though he was not 'nobilis,' and so far less exposed to the tyrant's malice. 'Improbior,' Heinrich says, means 'more abusive.' It implies also that he had no shame. Juvenal means that though he was under the stigma of a crime that could not be spoken of, he was as forward in abusing others as the man who living filthily himself wrote satires on his neighbours. 'Improbus' has a great variety of meanings. See Hor. C. iii. 24. 62, n.

107. *Montani quoque venter*] This is like 'Crispi senectus,' above, v. 81. Curtius Montanus, a senator, is repeatedly mentioned by Tacitus. He was exiled by Nero on a charge of libelling him. He may be the man here spoken of and below, v. 131 and xi. 34. As to Crispinus, see v. 1 of this Satire. He perfumed himself in the morning, a vulgar thing to do, and smelt as strong as two funerals. A corpse was commonly smeared with ointment, as Persius describes one carried out "alto Compositus lecto crassisque lutatus amomis" (S. iii. 104). Burning censers also were carried in the procession, and perfumes of all sorts and flowers were thrown upon the funeral pile. Statius, describing a funeral, says:—

"—— omne illic stipatum examine longo
Ver Arabum Cilicumque fluit, floresque Sabaei
Indorumque arsura seges, praereptaque templis
Thura, Palaestinique simul Phariique liquores, &c. (Silv. v. 1. 210.)

Pompeius tenui jugulos aperire susurro;
Et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
Fuscus, marmorea meditatus proelia villa;
Et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo,
Qui nunquam visae flagrabat amore puellae,
Grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
Caecus adulator, dirusque a ponte satelles,
Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes,
Blandaque devexae jactaret basia rhedae.
Nemo magis rhombum stupuit: nam plurima dixit
In laevum conversus, at illi dextra jacebat

The amomum, from which 'mummy' is sometimes erroneously said to be derived, was an Eastern shrub, and therefore by the Latin poets usually called 'Assyrium.' It is described by Pliny (H. N. xii. 13), who says it grows in India, Armenia, Media, and Pontus. To what plant the name was given is now unknown. (See Forcellini.)

110. *Pompeius*] This person is not known. Juvenal says he had the art of cutting people's throats with a whisper. A hint was enough. He was a 'delator.'

112. *Fuscus*,] Cornelius Fuscus was employed by Vespasian in high commands, and by Domitian as 'praefectus' of the praetorian troops. He was sent by him on an expedition against the Daci, and was killed, together with the greater part of his army, by that people. Tacitus describes him (in A.D. 69) as 'vigens aetate, claris natalibus,' and as one who loved danger for its own sake. Juvenal says he thought of battles in his marble villa: retirement and the degrading life of a Roman senator of this day did not suit him, and he was glad, no doubt, to be employed on the rough service in which he lost his life. Ruperti says it is "σαρκαστικῶς dictum de homine ignaro militiae ac luxuria diffluente qui non in campo vel castris sed in secessu otioque artem belli gerendi discit," which is not true; and as Juvenal must have known it was not true, it is unlikely that this is his meaning. He had a respect for some of these people, and thought them too good for their master.

113. *Veiento Catullo*,] Fabricius Veiento, whom he calls 'crafty,' is mentioned above, iii. 185. In the epistle referred to in that note, Pliny says that a conversation at the emperor Nerva's table, on one occasion when Veiento was present, turned chiefly on Catullus Messallinus, whom Pliny describes as blind and of a savage disposition; he had neither reverence, modesty, nor pity, and so Domitian used him, as a man uses arrows, to shoot at all the best of men. He was dead at the time of this conversation. Juvenal says he lusted after a woman he had no eyes to see.

116. *dirusque a ponte satelles*,] He means he was brought from begging at the bridges, where beggars commonly stood, to be Domitian's savage servant. He says the man was one who should have been found begging on the Appia Via of the passengers in their carriages going down to Aricia, which was about sixteen miles from Rome, and full of country houses. (Hor. S. i. 5. 1, n.) As the Appia Via approached Aricia it went down into the Vallis Aricina, and the descent was called Clivus Aricinus. It appears that beggars were in the habit of posting themselves at the top of this hill. Martial says (ii. 19) to a man who had given him a poor dinner:

"Debet Aricino conviva recumbere clivo,
Quem tua felicem, Zoile, coena facit."

And describing the flitting of Vacerra from his lodgings with his shabby furniture, he says, "Migrare clivum crederes Aricinum." (xii. 32. 10.) See also note on Persius, vi. 56: "Clivumque ad Virbi: praesto est mihi Manius heres." This explains 'devexae.' 'Jactaret basia' is explained above, on iii. 106. As to 'pons,' compare S. v. 8; xiv. 134.

119. *rhombum stupuit*:] Juvenal uses this construction with 'stupere:' 'stupet haec' (xiii. 16); "Caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina" (ib. 164). Virgil likewise has "Pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae" (Aen. ii. 31). With the later poets it is common. Horace has other constructions, as 'stupet aere' (S. i. 4. 28) and 'stupet in titulis' (S. i. 6. 17).

Bellua. Sic pugnas Cilicis laudabat et ictus
Et pegma et pueros inde ad velaria raptos.
Non cedit Veiento, sed ut fanaticus oestro
Percussus, Bellona, tuo, divinat et "Ingens
Omen habes," inquit, "magni clarique triumphi:
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus: peregrina est bellua; cernis
Erectas in terga sudes?" Hoc defuit unum
Fabricio patriam ut rhombi memoraret et annos.
"Quidnam igitur censes? conciditur?" "Absit ab illo
Dedecus hoc," Montanus ait: "testa alta paretur,
Quae tenui muro spatiosum colligat orbem.
Debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus.
Argillam atque rotam citius properate: sed ex hoc
Tempore jam, Caesar, figuli tua castra sequantur."
Vicit digna viro sententia: noverat ille
Luxuriam imperii veterem noctesque Neronis
Jam medias aliamque famem, quum pulmo Falerno
Arderet. Nulli major fuit usus edendi

121. *Sic pugnas Cilicis laudabat*] It appears that Cilician gladiators were common. Martial (Spec. 3) has "Et Cilices nimbis hic maduere suis," alluding to the crocus water that was sprinkled over the theatre, Cilicia being famous for that plant. 'Pegma,' which has its name from the Greek πηγ-νύναι, was used for different things made of wood, but in connexion with the theatre. 'Pegmata' were great wooden structures which formed stages; and had two or more stories, which let up and down by machinery. Upon these gladiators fought and other exhibitions took place. The 'velaria' were an awning drawn over the seats of the amphitheatre to keep out the sun and rain. (See Lipsius de Amphitheatro, c. 16, sqq.) By some ingenious contrivance it appears a boy was suddenly carried up to the awning from the 'pegma' for the amusement of the spectators; and this blind flatterer pretended to admire a thing he could not see, just as now he admires the fish, looking to the left where it was not.

123. *ut fanaticus oestro*] See Horace, A. P. 454, n.; and below, vi. 511, sqq.

127. *Excidet Arviragus:*] There is no British prince of this name on record contemporary with Domitian. The man is talking nonsense, and knows it.

129. *Fabricio*] This was Veiento's name. The Fabricia gens was plebeian, but an old family.

130. *Quidnam igitur censes?*] The question is put in the usual formula to the senate. "The present in Latin sometimes denotes not even the beginning of an act, but only the purpose, when the mind alone is employed upon it, or the matter at best is only in preparation, as 'uxorem ducit,' 'he is going to be married'" (Key's L. G. 457). On the same principle the present is used here, and in other interrogative sentences, where the future or some other construction might be expected, as in iii. 296, "in qua te quaero proseucha?"—So 'conciditur?' means 'is it for cutting up?'

133. *Prometheus.*] He means a potter. As to the 'rota figularis,' see Dict. Ant. Art. 'Fictile.' 'Castra,' like 'praetorium,' means the palace.

136. *Vicit*] This is the usual word. His proposal was carried.

137. *noctesque Neronis*] Suetonius says of Nero (c. 27), "Epulas a medio die ad mediam noctem protrahebat; refotus saepius calidis piscinis, ac tempore aestivo nivatis." Like others he was wont it seems to relieve his stomach by emetics, after a large meal, and then begin again,

Tempestate mea. Circeis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
Ostrea callebat primo deprendere morsu,
Et semel aspecti littus dicebat echini.
Surgitur, et misso proceres exire jubentur
Consilio, quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem
Traxerat attonitos et festinare coactos,
Tanquam de Cattis aliquid torvisque Sigambris
Dicturus, tanquam diversis partibus orbis
Anxia praecipiti venisset epistola penna.
Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
Tempora saevitiae, claras quibus abstulit Urbi
Illustresque animas impune et vindice nullo.
Sed periit postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
Coeperat: hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti.

which is the meaning of 'alias fames,' a second and a third appetite. Ruperti thinks Henninius is right in explaining it as "famem Veneris." I think he is wrong.

141. *Rutupinove edita fundo*] Rutupiae is now Richborough near Sandwich, on the Kentish coast. At Richborough there is a strong Roman wall, which encloses three sides of a space of several acres. The foundation walls of an amphitheatre have also been discovered here. There is a note upon oysters on Hor. S. ii. 4. 32, and another on Epod. ii. 49.

147. *Tanquam de Cattis aliquid*] In A.D. 84 Domitian led an army against the Catti and other German nations without much success. But when he came back to Rome he celebrated a triumph, and had himself called Germanicus. The territories of the Catti or Chatti lay north of the Main, west of the modern kingdom of Saxony, including the principalities of Saxe Coburg, Meiningen, and Gotha. The Sigambri, who were a people on the east side of the Rhine, north of the Ubii, were threatened by Caesar, and left their country for a time with all their goods. (See Caes. B. G. iv. 18, Long.) They afterwards with other Germans defeated, in B.C. 16, M. Lollius in Gallia, but they were subsequently completely subdued by Tiberius, the stepson of Augustus.

148. *tanquam diversis*] Many MSS. have 'et' after 'tanquam,' which with others Achaintre and Heinrich do well to omit. It is wanting in many of the old editions, and among them the Editio Princeps. [Ribbeck has 'ec diversis.']

149. *venisset epistola penna.*] The Scholiast has the following note: "Antea si quid nuntiabant consules in Urbem per epistolas nuntiabant. Si victoriae nuntiabantur laurus in epistola figebatur; si autem aliquid adversi pinna figebatur." And Servius (on Virgil, Aen. ix. 473, "Interea pavidam volitans pennata per urbem Nuntia fama ruit") says, that messengers who bore tidings of war were said 'epistolas pennatas afferre.' Heinrich and some others suppose that there is an allusion here to 'litterae pennatae.' Casaubon (on Suetonius, vit. Aug. c. 27) denies this, quoting from Aristides the rhetorician a like expression with Juvenal's: *μικρὸν φθάνουσι (αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ) γραφεῖσαι καὶ πάρεισιν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πτηνῶν φερόμεναι.* There were soldiers who had to do the work of informers in the camp, named from their duty 'speculatores,' and called by the Greek writers *πτεροφόροι*, but these it appears were different from the 'tabellarii' or letter-carriers. I think Casaubon is right, and that the Scholiast's note and that of Servius are not worth much. [Ribbeck has 'pinna.']

153. *cerdonibus esse timendus*] "When the noble citizens were all destroyed, and there were none left but the lowest sort for him to practise upon," is the Scholiast's explanation. What Juvenal means is, that he had murdered the noblest citizens with impunity; but when he began to practise upon the vulgar, they got rid of him. He

was murdered A.D. 96 by certain conspirators whom he had resolved to put to death. He took away and married the wife of one Aelius Lamia, and then murdered the man himself (Sueton. Vit. Domit. c. 1 and 10). The Lamiae were an old plebeian family of the Aelia gens. Horace had a friend Aelius Lamia, to whom he addressed two odes, i. 26 and iii. 17.

SATIRA V.

INTRODUCTION.

This satire professes to be addressed to one Trebius, the representative of a class of men, who being poor and exquisitely servile, were willing to part with their independence and put up with all sorts of contemptuous treatment for the sake of a dinner at the tables of the rich. A specimen of such a dinner is given, at which Virro the host reserves for himself and his rich friends the best of every thing, meat and fruit and wine, and the parasites are sulkily served with the worst, by slaves too fine to make up to the guests for the master's neglect. Juvenal's conclusion is, that they who will put up with such treatment deserve it; and the rich man is not much to blame if he despises those who are only drawn to his table by the nose, that is, by the savour of his kitchen.

The satire has its moral for modern society, in which, if the relation of host and guest is prevented by good breeding from taking the form here represented, eating and servility are scarcely less prominent features than they were at Rome in its worst days. If the rich look down upon the poor, it is usually because of the homage rank and riches meet with; and that this homage comes of selfishness none know better than those who receive it. The coveting of what is called good society is the vice of a rotten system; and the man who seeks company which does not want him has no reason to complain it his pride is galled and his expectations are disappointed. If there were no Trebiuses in the world there would be no Virros: so Juvenal thought; and he does well to lay the chief weight of his satire upon the parasite.

The parasite, or diner-out, of later times had no resemblance to the client of the republic. He was no more than one of many in the train of a rich man, or of as many rich men as he could get attached to in that mean capacity. The old relation of 'patronus' and 'cliens,' so far as we can understand it, was simple and natural. The other was the mere refuge of poverty, preferring the bread of idleness and a false tongue to a life of honest labour and the rewards of an independent mind. The student will only be misled if, following some of the commentators, he looks upon the latter condition as only another phase of the former. The old institution died out with the republic it belonged to; the modern practice was the fruit of human corruption, and has its analogies in all ages of society, such as is called civilized.

ARGUMENT.

If you are not yet ashamed of the life you have chosen, living at other men's charges, and submitting to any thing for a dinner, I would not believe you on your oath. The stomach wants but little; but suppose you have not that little, why can't you beg? That were more honest.

V. 12—75. In the first place, when you have had your dinner you have got your full reward; for though it comes but seldom, the great man puts it down to your account you may be sure. Once in two months he has a vacant place at his table, and bethinks him of his client. "Come and dine," says he—the height of your ambition! the

reward for which you are ready to break your rest, to anticipate your brother parasites at uncouth hours of the morning. The wine is such that wool refuses it. It turns the guests to Corybantes, squabbling first, and then throwing cups to break each other's heads; the host meanwhile is drinking the oldest wines, of which he'd grudge a cyathus to a friend who'd got the heartburn. He has fine cups of amber set with stones; if the like is given to you, a watch is set to see your nails are not too busy. There's some excuse for him; for Virro, like his neighbours, sticks his finest jewels on his cups. But long-nosed earthenware and cracked is good enough for you. The master gets his water iced, not you. A black slave hands your cup, such as you'd fear to meet among the tombs: the flower of Asia waits on him, bought at a price beyond the wealth of kings. He's much too great to mix a poor man's wine. His beauty and his age become his pride. He's angry at your sitting while he stands. Every great house is full of these proud menials. One hands you sulkily a crust of hard and musty bread to try your teeth; the fine white loaf is kept for the master's eating. There's one stands by to see you keep to your own bread-basket.

V. 76—106. And this, you cry, was what I left my home for and braved the rain and winds of the Esquiline! See that great lobster on a noble dish, that looks down scornfully upon the guests—that goes to the master. You get a scanty crab with half an egg—a sort of funeral dinner. He oils his fish with fine Venafran; while your poor cabbage stinks of the lantern and such stuff as Libya sends, and such that Romans will not bathe with blacks, and snakes turn from them. The master gets his mullet from the provinces (for craving bellies sweep them from our seas) and lampreys caught by venturous fishermen in the Sicilian strait: while you must put up with an eel like a long snake, or river fish all spotted with the frost and fattened in the sewers.

V. 107—113. But now a word with the rich man himself. Nobody asks of you the bounties good rich men of old would send to their poor friends. In those days to be counted bountiful was more esteemed than fasces and inscriptions. We only beg you'll dine as a citizen should; then spend your money as you please.

V. 113—124. See before the host is a fat goose's liver and a fowl as big as a goose, a boar that Meleager might have killed, and truffles if 'tis spring. ('Keep your corn, Libya,' the glutton cries, 'but send us truffles.') To make one angry as can be, you see the carver flourishing his knife and dancing till he goes through all his lesson. 'Tis of the first importance with what gestures hares and fowls are carved.

V. 125—131. You'll be dragged by the heels and put out of the door if you venture to open your mouth, as if you were a freeman born. Do you suppose the great man will ever drink to you? Is any of you so bold as to pass him the cup and say 'Drink?' There are many things a man dare not say with holes in his coat.

V. 132—145. But if the gods or some good man gave you a fortune, what a friend you would soon become of Virro's! "Here, help Trebius, put it before Trebius: allow me, my dear brother, to help you from the loin." It's the money that is dear brother. But if you want to be the master's master, you must not have a little son or daughter. A barren wife makes pleasant friends. But if your wife presents you with three fine boys at a birth, there's no offence. The Virros will adore your little brood.

V. 146—155. Suspicious mushrooms are for the poor friends, boletus for the master. Phaeacian apples, stolen you'd think from the Hesperides, are for the host and favoured guests: you feed but on their smell, and eat such rotten fruit as the monkey gnaws on the goat's back learning his drill.

V. 156—173. Perhaps you think 'tis stinginess in Virro. He does it all to vex you. What fun so great as a disappointed belly? He wants to see you cry with rage and gnash your teeth. You think yourself a freeman and the rich one's guest: he thinks the smell of the kitchen draws you, and he's right. What freeman is so poor that he would bear such treatment twice? You're cheated with false hopes of a good dinner.

You sit in silent expectation, ready for the scraps that do not come. He serves you right. If you can bear all kinds of treatment, you ought to bear it. Some day you'll come upon the stage to be flogged, you so worthy of such feasts and such a friend.

SI te propositi nondum pudet atque eadem est mens,
Ut bona summa putes aliena vivere quadra;
Si potes illa pati, quae nec Sarmentus iniquas
Caesaris ad mensas, nec vilis Galba tulisset,
Quamvis jurato metuam tibi credere testi.
Ventre nihil novi frugalius. Hoc tamen ipsum
Defecisse puta quod inani sufficit alvo:
Nulla crepido vacat? nusquam pons et tegetis pars

1. *propositi*] He speaks as if this was the one purpose of his life.

2. *aliena vivere quadra;*] Forcellini says 'quadra' means here a table, quoting Varro (de Ling. Lat. iv. 25): "Mensam escariam cibillam appellabant: ea erat quadrata ut etiam nunc in castris est." In Virgil (Aen. vii. 114) there is

"Et violare manu malisque audacibus orbem
Fatalis crusti patulis nec parcere quadris."

On which Servius says, "aut mensis; et est antonomasia, nam supra *orbem* dixit: aut quadris *fragmentis* accipimus, ut Juvenalis Ut bona summa putes," &c. Heinrich calls it πίναξ, a dish. The Romans had loaves of bread marked off into quarters like our hot cross buns, each part of which was called 'quadra.' Scaliger takes 'quadra' here for bread; and Grangaeus follows him, explaining the words by 'impensis alienis.' The expression seems to be proverbial. Erasmus has among his proverbs, "vivere quadra propria." Horace says, "Et mihi dividuo findetur munere quadra" (Epp. i. 17. 49), where a fourth part is not meant, but a bit of the man's property. Martial has "sectae quadra placentae" (iii. 77; vi. 75). This may be the origin of the expression; and 'aliena vivere quadra,' may be to live on the crumbs from another man's table. Servius so understood it.

3. *quae nec Sarmentus iniquas*] 'Iniquas mensas,' 'unequal tables,' are those to which little men are invited by their betters, taking their chance of the fare they will get. The parasite Sarmentus mentioned by Horace in the account of his journey to Brundisium (S. i. 5) has been confounded by the Scholiast and others with this man; who, Plutarch says in his life of M. Antonius (c. 59), was a young favourite of Augustus at the time of the battle of Actium. This does not agree with the account given of Horace's man in a note on the above place. Galba is called Aulus by Quintilian who mentions several of his good sayings (Inst. vi. 3). Plutarch (Erot. c. 16) tells of him an anecdote which is referred to on Hor. S. i. 2. 46, how he entertained Maecenas, and pretended to be asleep while he took liberties with his wife. The same sort of story has been told of others, and the proverb, "non omnibus dormio," arose out of some such case (Cic. ad Fam. vii. 24). Galba appears to have been proverbial for his humour as well as his servility, and Martial refers to him twice (i. 42. x. 101). The Scholiast says "Apicius Galba sub Tiberio Scurra nobilis fuit." Gabba is the reading of three good MSS., but it is only a Greek corrupted form, as Heinrich shows. Jahn has it in his text [and Ribbeck]. Heinrich and Schopen take 'Apicius' to be a mistake of the copyist, for Aulus, the name Quintilian gives him.

5. *Quamvis jurato*] This is a proverbial way of speaking common and obvious. The commentators quote Cicero ad Att. xiii. 28, "jurato mihi crede;" and Plautus (Amphitr. i. 1. 281), "Nam injurato scio plus credet mihi quam jurato tibi." Juratus in these cases 'on oath,' 'sworn' is used, as in Horace (Epp. i. 17. 60), "per sanctum juratus dicat Osirim."

6. *Ventre nihil novi frugalius.*] He says the belly is very frugal, it can do with very little; but even if enough be not forthcoming to fill an empty belly, he had better beg than get his meals in that dirty way. 'Crepido' is a wall or a raised footpath by the road side, or, as Heinrich supposes, the steps of a house or public building, where poor people lay and often passed the night, as they do now in Rome and Naples.

Dimidia brevior? tantine injuria coenae?
Tam jejuna fames, possis cum honestius illic
Et tremere et sordes farris mordere canini?
Primo fige loco, quod tu discumbere jussus
Mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum.
Fructus amicitiae magnae cibus: imputat hunc rex,
Et quamvis rarum tamen imputat. Ergo duos post
Si libuit menses neglectum adhibere clientem,
Tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto,
"Una simus," ait. Votorum summa: quid ultra

As to 'pons' see S. iv. 116. 'Teges' is a mat or rug (see below vi. 117; vii. 221). 'Dimidia brevior,' too short by half.

9. *tantine injuria coenae?*] 'Is the insolence of a dinner worth so much?' Is it worth while to accept a dinner only to be insulted? "Injuriosa coena. Sic Virgilius, 'injuria caedis,' pro injuriosa caedes." This is Grangaeus' note. Heinrich says from 'tantine' to 'fames' is a gloss. He does not say why he thinks so.

10. *possis cum honestius*] The common reading is 'cum possis;' but the last syllable in 'possis' is long. A few MSS., among which Ruperti quotes a very old one of Voss, have 'cum possit,' and my own judgment hesitates between that reading and the one in the text. 'Fames' might be the subject to 'possit;' and that way of speaking is not unnatural, nor too poetical as Ruperti says. If 'possit' be the true reading, 'possis' must have been introduced by copyists who did not see that 'possit' depended on 'fames,' and who preferred bad prosody to bad syntax. If 'possis cum honestius' be right, the words may have been transposed to avoid an unusual rhythm. But Horace has "cocto num adest honor idem?" and Terence and Lucretius have the same combination frequently (see note on Hor. S. ii. 2. 28). Ruperti gives this last reading to the suggestion of Heinecke. Heinrich discusses and approves but does not adopt it. Such compounds of 'circum' as 'circumago,' 'circumeo,' contain the same anomaly, if such it is. Ruperti has introduced 'quum pol sit' on his own authority [and Ribbeck has it]. Jahn has 'cum possit.' Henninius and other old editions have 'quin poscis?' without authority. They mean 'why don't you beg?'

illic] On the 'crepido' or 'pons.' 'Tremere' is to shiver with cold, or to pretend to do so. 'Farris canini' is bread such as is thrown to the dogs. As to 'far,' see Hor. S. i. 5. 68, n. Martial has, upon a certain scurrilous verse-writer (x. 5):

"Erret per urbem pontis exul et clivi;
Interque raucos ultimus rogatores
Oret caninas panis improbi buccas."

12. *Primo fige loco,*] 'Fige' is stronger than 'pone.' 'Set this down and don't forget it.' Heinrich says it is 'fige animo:' ἐμβάλλεο θυμῷ. But Juvenal says 'put this in the foremost place.' M. and some other MSS. and some early editions have 'finge.' 'Discumbere' is a common word for reclining at meals (see Forcell.). 'Solidus' is that which has no hollow or vacant space (Hor. C. i. 1. 20, n., 'solido demere de die'). 'Merces solida' is a payment in full. 'Magnae amicitiae' is a common expression with Juvenal. See S. i. 33; iv. 20, 74.

15. *Et quamvis rarum tamen*] The Latin writers used 'tamen' much as the Greeks used ὅμως, as they might say, καὶ σπάνιον ὅμως (see note on Hor. C. i. 7. 22: 'cum fugeret tamen,' &c., and Long's note on Cic. Verr. ii. 2. 73). As to 'imputat,' see S. ii. 17, n., and on 'rex,' S. i. 136.

16. *adhibere clientem,*] 'Adhibere,' 'to have in,' as we say, is the common word for invitations. Two MSS., M. and a Leipzig MS., have 'accire,' which is the reading of five of the old editions. The other is the more usual word, and has the best authority.

18. *Una simus,*] "Apud me sis volo" is a like phrase for an invitation to dinner in Terence (Heaut. i. 1. 110). The great man pays off his obligations to the little man by inviting him to dinner when he has a spare place, to fill up the gap; and he gives him the lowest place on his own couch, 'imus lectus,' on which the master of the house usually lay, with members of his family, or, in their absence, with his

Quaeris? Habet Trebius propter quod rumpere somnum
Debeat et ligulas dimittere sollicitus ne
Tota salutatrix jam turba peregerit orbem
Sideribus dubiis, aut illo tempore quo se
Frigida circumagunt pigri sarraca Bootae.
Qualis coena tamen? Vinum quod sucida nolit
Lana pati: de conviva Corybanta videbis.
Jurgia proludunt: sed mox et pocula torques
Saucius et rubrā deterges vulnera mappa,
Inter vos quoties libertorumque cohortem
Pugnă Saguntina fervet commissă lagena.

parasites. See note on Hor. S. ii. 8. 20. 'Culcita' was the cushion on which the guest rested his elbow.

19. *Trebius*] That is, the parasite. A dinner now and then, perhaps once in a couple of months, is all the return he gets for his early attendance at his patron's 'salutatio' (S. i. 95. 127, n.), to which he hurried in all haste, "ne prior officio quisquam respondeat" (Hor. S. ii. 6. 24). 'Ligula' the Scholiast derives from 'ligo, which would fix the meaning of the word. But Martial uses the form 'lingula:' "Non hesterna [or extrema] sedet lunata lingula planta" (ii. 29), and ridicules the pedantry of the Grammarians for retaining that form while the ordinary pronunciation was 'ligula' (xiv. 120). The word is probably a form of 'lingua,' and means a buckle or ornament worn on the calceus. The man in his hurry leaves his buckles behind. Heinrich says 'dimittere' is to let the 'ligulae' hang loose, taking them for straps or thongs. 'Peregerit orbem' the Scholiast says is 'compleverit numerum cathedrarum,' lest they should have taken all the seats and filled the room, completed the circle of visitors, and left no space for a late comer. The meaning is no doubt, 'lest they should have gone their round.'

22. *Sideribus dubiis, aut illo tempore*] The first expresses the early dawn, when the stars grow faint; the other is earlier, when the Bear is seen slowly wheeling his waggon, which is here only called 'sarraca,' 'plaustra' being the word generally used. 'Sarracum' seems to have been a kind of cart copied from the Gauls (see Smith's Dict. Ant.). [Ribbeck has 'serraca.'] 'Frigida' is explained by the position of the constellation; and 'pigri' Heinrich explains by Homer's ὀψὲ δύων. That and 'tarda' are common epithets for Ursa; and more probably are taken from its apparent motion round the pole. Boötes, the 'herdsman,' or 'team-driver,' otherwise called Arctophylax, 'the guard of the bear,' is the constellation near Ursa Major, the Great Bear, often called Charles' Wain, or the Waggon. One very good MS. puts vv. 22 and 23 after v. 20, an equally good and perhaps better arrangement.

24. *Vinum quod sucida nolit*] 'Sucida' (or 'succida,' but the other is the form in the best MSS.) 'lana' is wool lately cut but not yet cleaned (see Forcell., who quotes Varro, R. R. ii. 11. 6: "Tonsurae tempus inter aequinoctium vernum et solstitium, quum sudare inceperunt oves; a quo sudore recens lana tonsa sucida appellata est").

It appears from Pliny (H. N. xxix. 2), that wool in this state was used, drenched with oil or wine or vinegar, as the case might be, for healing applications. Juvenal says the very wool would reject such wine. He says also, the wine is so bad, it soon gets into the people's heads, and sets them quarrelling. As to the Corybantes, the mad priests of Cybele, see Smith's Dict. Ant.

26. *Jurgia proludunt:*] 'Prolusio' or 'praelusio' was the word for the sham fight with which the gladiators began. See note on Hor. Epp. i. 1. 2. The parasite and the freedman, invited like himself to their patron's table, are supposed to fall out and throw the cups at one another. Earthenware was imported from Saguntum in Spain. Martial speaks of it as poor crockery: "Hispanae luteum rotae toreuma" (iv. 46). About napkins see Hor. S. ii. 4. 81, n. [Ribbeck has omitted vv. 26–29, 'Jurgia proludunt' to 'commissa lagena,' and has transferred them to another part of this Satire. The omission improves this passage, but the words 'de conviva Corybanta videbis' are equally incongruous here.]

Ipse capillato diffusum Consule potat
Calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uvam,
Cardiaco nunquam cyathum missurus amico.
Cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de
Setinis, cujus patriam titulumque senectus
Delevit multa veteris fuligine testae;
Quale coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant
Brutorum et Cassi natalibus. Ipse capaces
Heliadum crustas et inaequales beryllo
Virro tenet phialas: tibi non committitur aurum;
Vel, si quando datur, custos affixus ibidem

30. *Ipse capillato diffusum*] The great man himself drinks wine made centuries before, when men wore beards. As the Romans are said to have left off beards 300 years before Christ (see Hor. C. ii. 15. 11, n.), there is exaggeration here. 'Diffusum' is the word for transferring from the 'dolium,' the large vessel in which the wine fermented, to the 'amphora,' in which it was kept (Hor. S. ii. 2. 58, n., and Epp. i. 5. 2: "Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa"). The practice of marking on the amphora the name of the consuls in whose year it was filled is referred to on Horace, C. iii. 8. 12. Horace speaks of the wine of the Social War period, B.C. 91 – 89: "Et cadum Marsi memorem duelli" (C. iii. 14. 18).

32. *Cardiaco nunquam cyathum*] The 'cardiacus morbus' was an affection of the stomach attended with profuse perspiration, for which, according to Pliny (H. N. xxiii. 1), wine was considered essential; some administering it in the early stage of the disease, and others when the patient was recovering. Seneca says, "bibere et sudare vita cardiaci est" (Epp. 15). This man would not send his friend a 'cyathus' (which was the twelfth part of a 'sextarius,' and a 'sextarius' was equal to a pint) of his old wine to save his life. As to the Alban, Setine, and other Italian wines, see Hor. C. i. 9. 7, n.; iv. 11. 2, n.; S. ii. 8. 16, n.

36. *Thrasea Helvidiusque*] P. Thrasea Paetus was father-in-law to Helvidius Priscus, and both were celebrated for their independence in the senate during the reign of Nero, by whom Thrasea was put to death. Helvidius was killed by order of Vespasian five years after his father-in-law. They appear from this passage to have been in the habit of keeping the birthdays of the two Bruti (M. and D.) and Cassius, to show their hatred of tyrants; and the anecdotes told of them by Tacitus and other writers are all to the same effect. They are here represented as drinking to their heroes' memory in the choicest wine, with crowns of flowers on their heads, which was from the earliest times the common practice at dinner, especially on important occasions.

38. *Heliadum crustas*] Ovid (Met. ii. 325, sqq.) relates how the three daughters of the Sun, Phaethusa, Lampetie, and Phoebe, wept for their brother Phaeton on the banks of the Eridanus, and were turned into poplars from which tears came forth, and were hardened by the sun into amber, 'succinum' or 'electrum.' Pliny discusses this fable, and gives his opinion upon the nature of amber (H. N. xxxvii. 2, 3). The meaning of 'crustae' has been variously stated. The distinction given in Smith's Dict. Ant. (Art. Chrysendeta, p. 227) between 'crustae' and 'emblemata,' that "the former were probably embossed figures or chasings fixed on to the silver, and the latter inlaid or wrought into it," is not correct, for Cicero says that Verres took off the 'crustae' or 'emblemata' from the vessels he stole at Catina: "iis crustae aut emblemata detrahebantur." They must both therefore have been moveable. (In Verr. ii. 4. 23, Long's note.) If they had not the same meaning, and from these words of Cicero it would seem they had not, 'crustae' were probably plates of thin metal, as the name implies (see Forcell.), and 'emblemata' figures laid on to the vessel.

inaequales beryllo] Of the beryl, which is a species of emerald, Pliny says, "poliuntur omnes sexangula figura artificum ingeniis—aliter enim politi non habent fulgorem eundem" (xxxvii. 5); which explains why Juvenal calls the cups inlaid with these stones 'inaequales.' 'Phiala' was the Greek name corresponding to the Latin 'patera,' a broad flat cup for drink-

Qui numeret gemmas, ungues observet acutos.
"Da veniam: praeclara illic laudatur iaspis."
Nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert
A digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat
Ponere zelotypo juvenis praelatus Iarbae.
Tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem
Siccabis calicem nasorum quatuor, ac jam
Quassatum et rupto poscentem sulfura vitro.
Si stomachus domini fervet vinoque ciboque,
Frigidior Geticis petitur decocta pruinis:
Non eadem vobis poni modo vina querebar?
Vos aliam potatis aquam. Tibi pocula cursor
Gaetulus dabit aut nigri manus ossea Mauri,
Et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem
Clivosae veheris dum per monumenta Latinae.

ing or libation. Virro is the great man. Martial, sending some earthenware to a friend, says,

"Quae non sollicitus teneat servetque minister
Sume Saguntino pocula ficta luto"
(xiv. 108),

where the 'minister' is Juvenal's 'custos.'

42. *iaspis.*] Pliny gives a long chapter (xxxvii. 9) to the different sorts of jasper, which is a species of quartz varying through all colours, and opaque. '*Da veniam*,' "you may excuse the master for watching his cups, for they have rare gems on them." 'Illic' is the reading of most MSS. Jahn has from others 'illi' [and Ribbeck also]. The words 'da veniam—iaspis' may be those of the servant to the guest, "Excuse me, but that cup has a fine stone on it," giving him a hint, as a saucy fellow might.

45. *juvenis praelatus Iarbae.*] That is Aeneas, whom Dido preferred to the African prince Iarbas and her other neighbours, according to Virgil (Aen. iv. 36):

"—— despectus Iarbas,
Ductoresque alii quos Africa terra triumphis
Dives alit."

Aeneas is called 'juvenis,' as Augustus is by Horace (C. i. 2. 41, where see note). 'Zelotypus' is the Greek word for 'jealous' (S. vi. 278; viii. 197). It appears only in the later Latin writers. The stones, he says, are the identical jewels Aeneas had on: "illi stellatus iaspide fulva Ensis erat" (Aen. iv. 261).

46. *Beneventani sutoris*] A shoemaker of Beneventum, by name Vatinius, rose by low means to high favour with Nero; and it appears that his name for some reason was given to a particular kind of cup (nasiterna), perhaps from its having one or more nozzles equal in length to his nose, which Martial says was a long one (xiv. 96):

"Vilia sutoris calicem monumenta Vatini
Accipe, sed nasus longior ille fuit."

Tacitus says he was "inter foedissima ejus aulae ostenta, sutrinae tabernae alumnus, corpore distorto, facetiis scurrilibus: primo in contumelias assumptus, deinde optimi cujusque criminatione eo usque valuit ut gratia, pecunia, vi nocendi etiam malos praemineret" (Ann. xv. 34).

48. *poscentem sulfura vitro.*] All the authorities about glass, as used by the ancients, will be found in Smith's Dict. Ant.

50. *decocta*] Boiled water cooled down with snow.

51. *Non eadem vobis*] Heinrich says this verse is indescribably feeble and wholly superfluous. It appears in all the MSS., and the Scholiast has a note upon it. It may be an early interpolation. The sense is not helped by this verse. Nothing is gained by transferring it to the place of the forty-ninth, as Manso proposes. Some MSS. read 'nobis' for 'vobis.' I have put a note of interrogation at 'querebar,' which does not however add much to the point.

"Did I complain you were
Not served with the same wine? Why see you have
Not the same water!" (Holyday.)

52. *cursor Gaetulus*] He complains that the guest is served by a black outrunner,

Flos Asiae ante ipsum, pretio majore paratus
Quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci
Et, ne te teneam, Romanorum omnia regum
Frivola. Quod quum ita sit, tu Gaetulum Ganymedem
Respice quum sities. Nescit tot millibus emptus
Pauperibus miscere puer: sed forma, sed aetas
Digna supercilio. Quando ad te pervenit ille?
Quando vocatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister?
Quippe indignatur veteri parere clienti,
Quodque aliquid poscas et quod se stante recumbas.
Maxima quaeque domus servis est plena superbis.
Ecce alius quanto porrexit murmure panem
Vix fractum, solidae jam mucida frusta farinae,
Quae genuinum agitent non admittentia morsum:
Sed tener et niveus mollique siligine factus
Servatur domino. Dextram cohibere memento:
Salva sit artoptae reverentia. Finge tamen te

brought in to wait at table, while the master has a handsome slave to attend upon him. The rich had, in the time of the empire, slaves to run before their carriage or 'lectica,' and these 'cursores' were commonly African as the coachmen were (Mart. xii. 24):

> "Non rector Libyci niger caballi,
> Succinctus neque cursor antecedit."

Juvenal says you would not like to meet such ugly fellows in the dark, jumping from behind the tombs on the Via Latina, which has been mentioned before (note on S. i. 191).

57. *Tulli census pugnacis et Anci*] Horace speaks of "dives Tullus et Ancus" (C. iv. 7. 15, n.). Nearly the whole reign of Tullus Hostilius was passed in wars with the Albans, Sabines, and other neighbours according to Livy (i. 22—32). As to 'frivola,' see S. iii. 198, n.

61. *miscere*] To mix the wine and water.

62. *Digna supercilio.*] They justify his pride, called 'supercilium,' from the motion of the eyebrow by which it is expressed.

64. *Quippe indignatur*] 'Quippe' is formed from 'quia,' as 'nempe' from 'nam,' and both mean 'certainly,' 'of course,' but with a causal sense included.

66. *Maxima quaeque domus*] In Horace's time two hundred slaves was an extravagant number for one house. Soon afterwards much larger numbers were kept (see Hor. S. i. 3. 11, n., and Becker's Gallus, Exc. 'Slave Family'). Heinrich counts this verse unworthy of Juvenal, and an interpolation. I cannot see why. The Scholiast had it. [Ribbeck omits it in his text.]

68. *solidae jam*] 'Quite hard from staleness.' 'Jam' means it has been left till it has got hard.

69. *Quae genuinum agitent*] 'To plague his grinders.' The subjunctive means the bread was given for that purpose, as 'qui ponere cogat' below (73), 'to compel you to put it down.' 'Genuini dentes' are 'the wisdom-teeth' (σωφρονιστῆρες) or 'the grinders.' See Forcell., who says the word is derived from 'gigno' or 'gena.' The latter probably contains the root. He also says 'genuini' are not properly speaking 'molares,' the 'grinders.'

70. *mollique siligine factus*] Pliny (N. H. xviii. 8) distinguishes 'siligo' from wheat (triticum) and barley (hordeum). It was a fine grain; and the bread made from it would be very different from the 'farina' which the black slave sulkily offers the guest, and which was musty and so hard he must break it with a hammer before he brings it to table.

72. *Salva sit artoptae reverentia.*] 'The respect for the bread-pan must be maintained.' The reading 'artoptae' is that of the Scholiast, who explains it as "pistoris, vel vasis in quo panis coquitur." The derivation would suit either meaning, but the word is used for a baking-pan by Plautus: "Ego hinc artoptam ex proxumo utendam peto A Congrione" (Aulul. ii. 9. 4). In

Improbulum, superest illic qui ponere cogat.
"Vis tu consuetis audax conviva canistris
Impleri panisque tui novisse colorem?"—
"Scilicet hoc fuerat propter quod saepe relicta
Conjuge per montem adversum gelidasque cucurri
Esquilias, fremeret saeva quum grandine vernus
Juppiter et multo stillaret paenula nimbo!"—
Aspice quam longo distendat pectore lancem
Quae fertur domino squilla, et quibus undique septa
Asparagis, qua despiciat convivia cauda
Quum venit excelsi manibus sublata ministri.
Sed tibi dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo
Ponitur, exigua feralis coena patella.
Ipse Venafrano piscem perfundit: at hic qui
Pallidus affertur misero tibi caulis olebit

this sense Forcellini understands it here; and Heinrich says the other is mere nonsense. All the MSS. have 'artocopi,' which means 'a baker.' If that is not the true reading, which it probably is not but a gloss, it only shows the sense in which 'artoptae' was taken by the copyists. Ruperti has 'artocopi.' Jahn and Heinrich 'artoptae.'

73. *Improbulum,*] This diminutive is only found here. The poor man is no better than a thief if he puts his hand into the wrong bread-basket. 'Superest illic,' 'there is one standing over you there' (as if the man were pointed out).

74. *Vis tu consuetis*] This is the reading of the best MSS. Others have 'vix,' which gives no sense. The words are supposed to be those of the slave standing by telling the rash guest to be satisfied with his own sort of bread. On this use of 'vis tu' Gronovius has a long note on Seneca de Ira, iii. c. 38, in which he shows by many examples, of which this is one, that the formula is one of bidding or exhortation, and equivalent to 'nonne vis.' 'Will you not fill your belly from your usual basket?' So the town mouse says to his friend, "Vis tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?" (Horace, S. ii. 6. 92, where Bentley gives the same meaning, and refers to Gronovius' note.)

77. *per montem adversum*] 'Up the hill,' that is, the Esquiline. It was an exposed part of the town, and therefore Propertius (iv. 8. 1) calls it 'aquosas,' as Juvenal calls it 'gelidas.' Mr. Paley (on the verse of Propertius) gives 'aquosas' a different meaning. But this is probably the true one.

79. *Juppiter*] See Horace, C. i. 1. 25, n. The 'paenula' was a thick sort of rug thrown over the 'toga' in bad weather.

81. *squilla,*] This is here a lobster. It is generally used for a prawn or shrimp. 'Asparagus' is commonly used in the plural.

84. *constrictus cammarus*] 'Cammarus' (*κάμμαρος*) was a crayfish or a crab of some sort. 'Constrictus' Grangaeus understands of the sauce served with the fish thickened with half the yolk of an egg. So Heinrich takes it. I think it only describes the pinched miserable appearance of the crab, and that half a hard egg was served with it. "Thou some shrunk crabfish and half egg dost get" (Holyday). 'Feralis coena,' 'a funeral supper,' refers to the 'silicernium,' a dinner usually given after a funeral, and attended by the friends of the dead person. The fare was not very tempting. See Lipsius on Tac. Ann. vi. 5: "*Novendialem coenam dixisse:* Coena dicta feralis et silicernium. Ei vero certi quidam cibi proprii, ova ad lustrationem adhibere solita, lens, sal, libum."

86. *Ipse Venafrano*] 'Ipse' is the master throughout. Venafrum (Venafro) was particularly celebrated for its olives in Horace's days: "Viridique certat bacca Venafro" (C. ii. 6. 15); "Pressa Venafranae quod bacca remisit olivae" (S. ii. 4. 69). The town was in Campania near the borders of Campania and Samnium.

Laternam: illud enim vestris datur alveolis quod
Canna Micipsarum prora subvexit acuta,
Propter quod Romae cum Bocchare nemo lavatur,
Quod tutos etiam facit a serpentibus Afros.
Mullus erit domini, quem misit Corsica vel quem
Tauromenitanae rupes, quando omne peractum est
Et jam defecit nostrum mare, dum gula saevit
Retibus assiduis penitus scrutante macello
Proxima, nec patitur Tyrrhenum crescere piscem.
Instruit ergo focum provincia; sumitur illinc
Quod captator emat Laenas, Aurelia vendat.

88. *Laternam:*] So Horace's Natta robbed the lamps to oil himself when he bathed or took exercise. "Ungor olivo, non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis" (S. i. 6. 123). 'Laterna' is derived from the same root as λαμπτήρ; it is in some MSS., according to Forcellini, written 'lanterna' [and Ribbeck writes 'lanternam' here]. 'Alveolus' Forcellini explains as "vas parvum ad formam parvi alvei et ad varios usus accommodatum."

89. *Canna Micipsarum*] 'Canna' is a canoe of cane. The plural of Micipsa is used, as is very common where only one person is meant. See note on Hor. S. i. 7. 8. The only Micipsa on record is the son of Masinissa, and father by adoption of Jugurtha. Numidian or African oil, Juvenal says, was so fetid that the natives had nothing to fear from snakes, who got out of their way to avoid the smell, and no Roman would bathe with them smeared with their own oil. This practice of oiling the limbs is often referred to by Horace (see last note). There were two kings of Mauritania, father and son, called Bocchus, the Latin form of the native Bocchor or Bocchar. The elder was father-in-law and betrayer of Jugurtha: the younger was the friend of C. Julius Caesar and Octavianus, and was the last Mauritanian king before that country became a Roman province. The name is here taken for any African.

91. *Quod tutos etiam*] This verse is omitted in the oldest MS. of Pithoeus and in his edition. It appears in all other MSS. and editions. Ruperti, Heinrich, Jahn [and Ribbeck] condemn it as spurious. Most MSS. have 'atris,' a reading also found in Hor. S. ii. 8. 95; "Canidia afflasset pejor serpentibus Afris." Ruperti and Jahn have 'atris,' Heinrich 'Afros.' There seems an uncertainty about the verse, which is not worth much.

93. *Tauromenitanae rupes,*] From this we may infer that the eastern coast of Sicily, on which Tauromenium (Taormina) was situated, abounded in fine barbels as well as the neighbourhood of Corsica and other parts of the Mare Etruscum. As to the costliness of these fish, see S. iv. 15, n. He says the man had to get his barbels from a distance, because the neighbouring coast had been exhausted to satisfy the ravenous appetite for them.

94. *nostrum mare,*] [This term, which originally had probably a limited sense, ultimately signified all the Mediterranean. In this passage the context shows that it has a very limited sense. See Caesar, B. G. v. 1, Sallust, Jug. c. 17.]

95. *macello*] The 'macellum' was the general market-place, situated on the north side of the Via Sacra. See note on Hor. S. ii. 3. 229.

97. *provincia;*] The western part of Sicily was occupied by the Romans at the close of the first Punic war, A.U.C. 513, and formed their first province. The whole island fell into the hands of the Romans in the second war, after the capture of Syracuse, A.U.C. 542. Sardinia was taken from the Carthaginians, and became a province soon after the first Punic War, and Corsica was afterwards added to it.

98. *Quod captator emat*] "Fish for the fortune-hunter to buy, and his old lady to sell." Horace (Epp. i. 1. 77) speaks of some whose lives are occupied in hunting for old ladies and gentlemen with cakes and fruit. Laenas took fish for his bait. These 'captatores,' or will-hunters, are the subject of Horace's fifth Satire, Lib. ii. Juvenal calls his 'captator' Laenas, which was a cognomen of the

Virroni muraena datur, quae maxima venit
Gurgite de Siculo; nam dum se continet Auster,
Dum sedet et siccat madidas in carcere pennas,
Contemnunt mediam temeraria lina Charybdim.
Vos anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae,
Aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus et ipse
Vernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca,
Et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburrae.
Ipsi pauca velim, facilem si praebeat aurem.
Nemo petit modicis quae mittebantur amicis
A Seneca, quae Piso bonus, quae Cotta solebat
Largiri: namque et titulis et fascibus olim
Major habebatur donandi gloria: solum
Poscimus ut coenes civiliter. Hoc face et esto,
Esto, ut nunc multi, dives tibi pauper amicis.
Anseris ante ipsum magni jecur, anseribus par
Altilis et flavi dignus ferro Meleagri

plebeian 'gens' Popilia. The rich lady he calls Aurelia, and represents her as selling as much of her presents as she did not want. This is the meaning probably. The Scholiast says Aurelia was the fishwoman. Ruperti takes it so. But there would be no point in this.

99. *Virroni muraena datur,*] The rich man gets a lamprey for his dinner, which was a great delicacy, found chiefly in the Sicilian waters. (See Hor. S. ii. 8. 42, n.)

102. *temeraria lina*] That is, 'linorum magistri,' as he calls the fisherman above, iv. 45.

104. *Tiberinus*] Perhaps a 'lupus' such as Horace speaks of—

"Unde datum sentis lupus hic Tiberinus an alto
Captus hiet, pontesne inter jactatus an amnis
Ostia sub Tusci?"
(S. ii. 2. 31, where see note.)

The poor guest was put off with a frost-bitten, mangy fish, the home-born slave (vernula) of the river banks, fat with the filth of the sewers. 'Crypta' was used for any vault or closed passage. Here it means a sewer. As to the Suburra, see iii. 5, n. By 'crypta Suburrae' Juvenal means a branch of the Cloaca Maxima (as to which see S. iii. 31, n.). To penetrate so far, the fish must swim nearly a mile through all the filth of the town. [Ribbeck has 'torpente cloaca;' no improvement.]

107. *Ipsi pauca velim,*] These verses to 113 are parenthetical, for he returns to the dinner in 114. [Ribbeck has not put them in his text.] "I should be glad to speak a word or two to the master himself, if he will listen to me." He goes on to say that no one expects from him the liberality of a Seneca, a Piso, or a Cotta, for in former times it was counted more noble to be generous than great; all that was wanted of him was to dine as a citizen, not as a king; and then he may give or not give, and do what he likes with his money. Both the Senecas, father and son, were rich; the younger, Nero's teacher, was unusually so. Martial mentions him with others famous for liberality: "Pisones Senecasque Memmiosque Et Crispos mihi redde" (xii. 36). C. Piso is he who formed a conspiracy against Nero, for which he and Seneca lost their lives. His wealth he inherited from his mother according to the Scholiast, who speaks of his magnificence and generosity, of which and his great popularity Tacitus speaks in his Annals (xv. 48). It is quite uncertain what Cotta Juvenal means. Tacitus mentions one Aurelius Cotta who had been rich and had squandered his money, and got a pension from Nero (Ann. xiii. 34). The commentators take this for Juvenal's man. (See vii. 95.)

110. *titulis*] See i. 130.

115. *flavi dignus—Meleagri*] How Meleager, the son of Oeneus, king of Calydon, in Aetolia, slew the great boar which Arte-

Fumat aper: post hunc tradentur tubera, si ver
Tunc erit et facient optata tonitrua coenas
Majores. "Tibi habe frumentum," Allidius inquit,
"O Libye; disjunge boves dum tubera mittas."
Structorem interea, ne qua indignatio desit,
Saltantem spectas et chironomunta volanti
Cultello, donec peragat dictata magistri
Omnia. Nec minimo sane discrimine refert,
Quo gestu lepores et quo gallina secetur.
Duceris planta velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus,

mis sent to lay waste his native place, is told by Homer (Il. ix.). Virro's boar was a worthy companion for this monster. A boar served up whole was commonly the chief dish ('caput coenae,' see i. 140). The fattening of fowls (altiles) and the livers of geese was carried to perfection by these Romans. See Hor. S. ii. 8. 88: "Pinguibus et ficis pastum jecur anseris albae." And Epp. i. 7. 35: "Nec somnum plebis laudo satur altilium."

116. *tradentur tubera,*] Most MSS. have 'raduntur' or 'radentur' (as in S. xiv. 7: "qui radere tubera terrae—didicit"), that is, are peeled or scraped. P. has 'tradentur,' which, or 'traduntur' (the reading of other good MSS.), is no doubt the proper word. 'Tubera' were great delicacies with the Romans. Whether they were what we know as the 'tuber cibarium,' or common truffle, has been doubted. They cannot have been very different. 'Optata tonitrua' is explained by a passage from Pliny: "De tuberibus haec traduntur peculiariter. Cum fuerint imbres autumnales ac tonitrua crebra tunc nasci et maxime e tonitrubus: tenerrima autem verno esse" (H. N. xix. 3). From this notion about the thunder it was called 'tuber ceraunium.' The 'tuberes' mentioned by Martial (xiii. 42, 43), and referred to by Ruperti, were a sort of apple, as Pliny shows (xv. 14): and, as Martial says they grew upon trees, Ruperti need not have been deceived. Pliny (xix. 2) says the best 'tubera' came from Africa. The epicure Allidius (which name is variously written Alledius, Aledius, Atidius) wishes all Libya, the greatest granary of Rome, would turn her corn-fields into truffle grounds. He is introduced in a parenthesis.

120. *Structorem*] This is the name of the man whose business it was to arrange (struere) the table (Hor. S. ii. 6. 107, n.). It is also used for the person who carved the meat, otherwise called 'scissor' or 'carptor.' The latter is here meant. It appears that great men in this department carved with various fantastic movements of the arms and legs, flourishing their knife about, as here described. Petronius speaks of one doing his work to the sound of music, but his account is a parody (see Ruperti on this place). These persons were trained under regular professors (see below, xi. 136, sqq.). 'Chironomunta' is the Greek participle of χειρονομέω, to throw the arms in time. The form '-munta' is that found in the Scholiast and P. It is right, corresponding to -μοῦντα. Most MSS. have '-monta.' 'Dictata' are the lessons, and 'dictare' is to teach; because it was usual for the master to read aloud to his scholars that which they had to learn and repeat: "Ut puerum saevo credas dictata magistro Reddere" (Hor. Epp. i. 18. 13).

"——carmina Livi
.... memini quae plagosum mihi parvo
Orbilium dictare." (Epp. ii. 1. 70.)

"Haec recinunt juvenes dictata senesque" (Epp. i. 1. 55).

121. *Saltantem spectas*] This is the reading of nearly all the MSS. Ruperti and Jahn have 'spectes' without authority. [Ribbeck also has 'spectes.']

123. *Nec minimo sane*] "And doubtless it is of importance, and makes no little difference with what gestures," &c.

[After v. 124, 'gallina secetur,' Ribbeck has placed vv. 166—169, from 'Spes bene' to 'pane tacetis.' After 'pane tacetis' he indicates that there is a 'lacuna,' and after this supposed lacuna he places vv. 146—155, from 'Boletus domino' to 'torquere capella.' After 'torquere capella' he indicates another lacuna, and then inserts vv. 26—29, from 'Jurgia proludunt' to 'commissa lagena.' See above, note 26.]

125. *ictus ab Hercule Cacus,*] The story of Cacus, the monstrous son of Vulcan, who stole Hercules' cows, and was beaten to death by him with stones and trunks of

Et ponere foris, si quid temptaveris unquam
Hiscere, tanquam habeas tria nomina. Quando propinat
Virro tibi sumitque tuis contacta labellis
Pocula? quis vestrum temerarius usque adeo, quis
Perditus, ut dicat regi, bibe? Plurima sunt quae
Non audent homines pertusa dicere laena.
Quadringenta tibi si quis deus aut similis dis
Et melior fatis donaret homuncio, quantus
Ex nihilo fieres, quantus Virronis amicus!
"Da Trebio! pone ad Trebium! Vis, frater, ab istis
Ilibus?" O nummi, vobis hunc praestat honorem,
Vos estis fratres. Dominus tamen et domini rex
Si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aula
Luserit Aeneas, nec filia dulcior illo:
Jucundum et carum sterilis facit uxor amicum.
Sed tua nunc Migale pariat licet et pueros tres
In gremium patris fundat simul, ipse loquaci

trees, and dragged out of his cave by the heels when dead, is told by Virgil (Aen. viii. 192–267); by Livy (i. 7); by Ovid (Fast. i. 543, sqq.); and Propertius (iv. 9).

127. *Hiscere, tanquam habeas*] 'If you ever attempt to open your mouth, as if you were a man of family and had three names.' Roman citizens had generally three names: 'praenomen,' which was given on the ninth day after their birth; 'gentilicium nomen,' which indicated the Gens they belonged to; and 'cognomen,' which was the family name belonging to their branch of the Gens. To these was sometimes added an honorary name, called 'agnomen,' derived from some great action, or other cause, as, 'Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus.' A slave had only one name, and a freedman took usually the 'praenomen' and 'nomen gentilicium' of his late master, but not his 'cognomen,' instead of which he sometimes retained his own name which he had as a slave.

— *Quando propinat*] The practice of drinking healths was as common with the Romans as with modern nations. 'Bene te,' or 'bene tibi,' was the formula, as in Plautus (Stichus v. 4. 27): "Bene vos! bene nos! bene te! bene me! bene nostrum etiam Stephanium!" and elsewhere (Persa v. 1. 21): "Bene mihi! bene vobis! bene meae amicae! bene omnibus nobis!" It was a complimentary way of doing this to drink and pass the cup on to the person so saluted, with the word 'bibe!' From this practice 'propinare,' προπίνειν, are derived. [Ribbeck has 'sumitve.'] As to 'regi,' see above (i. 136).

131. *pertusa dicere laena.*] As to 'laena,' see iii. 283, n. 'Pertusa' is one with holes in it.

132. *Quadringenta*] 'Millia sestertium' is understood. 400,000 sesterces was the fortune necessary for an 'eques,' by Otho's law (see iii. 155: "Cujus res legi non sufficit"). From here to 145 is a digression. The dinner is resumed in 146.

133. *donaret homuncio,*] Ruperti makes 'homuncio' the vocative case. It is the nominative, and is meant by way of amusing contrast to 'deus,' in the line before. Some good little man, like to the gods (θεοείκελος), and kinder than the fates.

135. *Da Trebio!*] The master bids the good things be given to his rich guest, and calls him brother, and asks him if he would not like a nice slice off the loin of the boar. The name Trebius is repeated from v. 19, above.

139. *Luserit Aeneas,*] These are Dido's words (Aen. iv. 328): "Si quis mihi parvulus aula Luderet Aeneas qui te tamen ore referret." He says, a rich man without children gets fine friends, who expect something in the will.

140. *Jucundum et carum*] Jahn says this is spurious, but does not say why he thinks so. [Ribbeck omits it from the text.]

141. *Migale*] The MSS. vary between

Gaudebit nido; viridem thoraca jubebit
Afferri minimasque nuces assemque rogatum,
Ad mensam quoties parasitus venerit infans.
Vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis,
Boletus domino; sed quales Claudius edit
Ante illum uxoris post quem nil amplius edit.
Virro sibi et reliquis Virronibus illa jubebit
Poma dari quorum solo pascaris odore:
Qualia perpetuus Phaeacum autumnus habebat,
Credere quae possis surrepta sororibus Afris:

this, Mycale, Micale, and Mygale. The Scholiast had Migale, for he derives the word "ex ipsa coitione." He says, a barren wife makes a man's friend pleasant and affectionate; but even if after being childless, he has now, all at once, three children, still the friend will not give him up, but will fondle his babies, and see what he can do that way. The man being rich is still worth looking after. This is the way Britannicus takes the words, and he is right. The translators take them so. Migale is a contemptuous word, but it is his wife. Ruperti and Heinrich take it for his 'concubina,' because children born in concubinage had not the rights of children born in wedlock, and so the fortune-hunter would not be afraid of them. (See Smith's Dict. Ant., 'Concubina.') But there was nothing to prevent the father from leaving them all he had by his will. Others take 'nunc' to be under present circumstances, that is, now that you are poor, you may have as many children as you please, and the Virros will make much of them. Manso says this is the obvious and simple meaning, and that all others are "mirae, ne dicam ineptae, interpretationes," and Mr. Mayor follows him, but they are certainly wrong.

143. *viridem thoraca*] A green doublet, a pretty little shirt to please the child and keep it warm. The Scholiast calls it 'armilausam prasinam, ut simiae,' a green overcoat like a monkey's. 'Armilausa' (a form of 'armiclausa,' closed at the shoulders) is the name of a sort of military cloak. Monkeys may have been dressed up in such: see below, v. 154.

145. *parasitus venerit infans.*] A parasite is a guest out of his place, and a child at the dinner table may well be so called.

146. *Vilibus ancipites*] 'Vilibus amicis,' poor friends, friends who are worth nothing. We say men are worth what they have. These Romans seem to have had the same standard of worth. [Ribbeck transposes 146, 147, and has them thus:

"Boletus domino, fungi porgentur amicis
Vilibus ancipites nec quales Claudius edit."

147. *Boletus domino;*] As to these mushrooms, see note on Hor. s. ii. 4. 20: "Pratensibus optima fungis Natura est, aliis male creditur." The 'boletus' with which the Emperor Claudius was poisoned by his wife Agrippina (A.D. 54) became a proverb. See below, vi. 620: "minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinae Boletus." Martial also says of a glutton devouring 'boleti:'

"Quid dignum tanto tibi ventre gulaque precabor?
Boletum qualem Claudius edit edas," (i. 21,)

which epigram "of his friend Martial" Heinrich supposes Juvenal to have had in mind. Pliny thus refers to this crime (xxii. 22): "Inter ea quae temere manduntur boletos merito posuerim; optimi quidem hos cibi sed immenso exemplo in crimen adductos, veneno Tiberio Claudio principi per hanc occasionem a conjuge Agrippina dato: quo facto illa terris venenum alterum sibique ante omnes Neronem suum dedit." Her object was to secure the succession to her own son Nero, instead of Britannicus, the son of Claudius.

151. *Phaeacum autumnus habebat,*] The Phaeacians, whose king, Alcinous, received Ulysses hospitably (Hom. Od. vii. 114, sqq.), were identified by the later Greeks and by the Romans with the people of Corcyra. Homer gives a rich description of Alcinous' garden.

152. *sororibus Afris:*] These are the Hesperides, the sisters who had charge of the golden apples, which were the marriage

Tu scabie frueris mali, quod in aggere rodit,
Qui tegitur parma et galea metuensque flagelli
Discit ab hirsuta jaculum torquere capella.
Forsitan impensae Virronem parcere credas.
Hoc agit ut doleas: nam quae comoedia, mimus
Quis melior plorante gula? Ergo omnia fiunt,
Si nescis, ut per lacrimas effundere bilem
Cogaris pressoque diu stridere molari.
Tu tibi liber homo et regis conviva videris:
Captum te nidore suae putat ille culinae,
Nec male conjectat. Quis enim tam nudus ut illum
Bis ferat, Etruscum puero si contigit aurum
Vel nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro?
Spes bene coenandi vos decipit. "Ecce dabit jam
Semesum leporem atque aliquid de clunibus apri:
Ad nos jam veniet minor altilis." Inde parato
Intactoque omnes et stricto pane tacetis.
Ille sapit qui te sic utitur. Omnia ferre

gift of Earth to Zeus and Hera, and which Hercules was sent to steal. Their garden was placed by the ancient poets in various parts of Africa.

153. *quod in aggere rodit,*] There are the following scholia on this passage. "*Qui tegitur parma:* tiro." "*Metuensque flagelli:* quale simia manducat." "*Discit ab hirsuta:* a sene magistro." "*Capella:* campi doctore." The second, which Heinrich says is unquestionably the oldest, supposes Juvenal to mean an ape dressed up and taught by some idle soldiers to throw darts from the back of a goat. The other scholia apply to recruits learning their drill from a drillmaster (campidoctor), called 'capella,' by way of ridicule. The first of these two is the sense of the passage, I believe, and so most of the commentators take it. There is no weight in Mr. Mayor's objection that 'ab' should be 'ex.' 'Aggere' is the rampart of Servius Tullius in the Esquiliae, the eastern quarter of the city. (Hor. S. i. 8. 15.) The Scholiast on S. x. 95, 'et castra domestica,' says that the Praetorian troops were quartered by this 'agger,' which circumstance explains xvi. 26: "molem aggeris ultra Ut veniat." The same 'agger' is referred to in S. viii. 43: "Non quae ventoso conducta sub aggere texit," where the Scholiast gives the same explanation: "pauper: in castris natus."

157. *Hoc agit ut doleas:*] 'He is bent upon giving you pain.' 'Hoc agit' has this meaning commonly. See S. vii. 20, n.

mimus] The nature of this sort of play is related in Hor. S. i. 10. 6. He says, the rich man treats his poor guest in this scurvy fashion, not to spare expense, but to enjoy the fun of seeing him grinding his teeth and weeping with vexation. And he has some right on his side, for he knows the man only comes to his table for what he can get.

164. *Etruscum puero si contigit aurum*] This is the 'bulla,' a small circular plate of gold which children born free (ingenui) and rich wore suspended from their necks (see Cic. in Verr. ii. 1. 58, Long's note; and Smith's Dict. Ant., 'Bulla'). This practice appears to have been of Etruscan origin. A leather strap with a knot at the end of it answered the same purpose with the poor. It was 'signum libertatis,' as the Scholiast says. [Ribbeck omits from the text vv. 161—165, from 'Tu tibi' to 'paupere loro?']

166. *Ecce dabit jam*] "See, he is going to give us presently ——" The guests are supposed to speak, expecting something, though not of the best, to come to them. And therefore (inde) they sit in silent suspense, with their bread prepared, uneaten and grasped in their hand, ready to eat it with the first windfall that comes. 'Stringere' is to grasp.

Si potes, et debes. Pulsandum vertice raso
Praebebis quandoque caput, nec dura timebis
Flagra pati his epulis et tali dignus amico.

171. *Pulsandum vertice raso*] Parasites and others equally low were sometimes introduced in mimes with their heads shaven, and were slapped and knocked about. This fellow Juvenal says will some day or other (quandoque) come to this. The last few verses of this Satire are a good specimen of contemptuous writing well deserved.

SATIRA VI.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS vigorous and wonderfully copious satire is written in the form of an epistle to a person named Postumus Ursidius, who is about to be married. The poet remonstrates with him upon so mad a proceeding, and takes occasion to represent the vices and follies of women in such colours and under such a variety of forms, as might well stagger a man who intended to take a wife from that generation, and appal one who, as he supposes may be the case with his friend, had already committed himself to that false step. But the friend is an imaginary person, and only furnishes the handle for such severe treatment as the sex has never suffered before or since. The general truth of the picture Juvenal draws is sufficiently attested by other writers, and may be inferred from the honest and genuine tone of the satire itself. Juvenal's was the heroic age of female corruption: there were giants of vice in those days, as there were of passion and exalted tenderness in the times of fable and tradition. Messallina was to wantonness what Medea was to outraged love, and Antigone to a woman's self-devotion; the difference being that these were the creations of an exquisite imagination and the embodying of a poet's ideal, while the other went beyond all that imagination could have conceived or poets would have ventured to feign in the realities of a woman's daily licentiousness.

The nature of the examples Juvenal chooses and the extravagant character of the times he lived in limit the application of the worst parts of this satire almost to one generation. Though all ages of refinement produce female vice and weakness in abundance, it may be hoped if Juvenal had lived to expose modern women to themselves and to the world, he would, even in the worst days of their debauchery and folly, have taken different ground, and painted his characters in less superhuman proportions; though Dryden, by apologizing to the ladies his contemporaries for translating the satire, leaves the impression that it is not without its application to them. The chief interest of the poem lies in the great powers of language and uncompromising force of indignation that it displays, and in the historical picture it contains of the manners of the times.

Adultery is the vice with which the poem opens. It is said to have existed before all others, and to have begun when the simplicity of savage life, with its rude freedom from temptation, gave place to the refinements of civilized society. The increase of wealth and the introduction of foreign manners through the conquests of Rome, and the idleness of peace, are the causes to which Juvenal attributes, in common with others, the deterioration of morals and the gradual growth of those stupendous vices that he describes. Eastern impostures and Greek debauchery very quickly took root in the soil of Rome, and brought forth the fruits of a rampant superstition and profligacy,

especially among women: and these two were so mingled, that the very shrines which cherished the one were the shameless scenes of the other. Extravagance without generosity, and driven on by mad lust, bred covetousness, and covetousness murder, so that poisonings were frequent and notorious. The conditions of domestic slavery gave terrible scope for the caprices and violence which self-indulgence generates; and the sufferings of the poor wretches from the ill-temper of their mistresses is described in language which has the air of extravagance, but may nevertheless be accepted as true, not only from the testimony of other writers, but from the nature of the case, the known character of the women, the legal and social position of the slave, and moreover the experience (perhaps in more exceptional cases) of modern times. The love of personal display, of finery, of gossip, of public amusements, and the affectation of learning, and the pride of birth, and the self-complacency of virtue, are strongly put, but not more so than the present generation might readily bear. Gluttony and drunkenness are not commonly reckoned among women's failings, but they appear to have been prevalent in the time of Domitian. The folly which is perhaps most inexplicable, and without parallel in our own days, was that of women of family engaging in the arena, and practising as gladiators, hunters, charioteers, and so forth, in the Circus and Amphitheatre. That such was the madness of the time there is no doubt; and it forms one of the many monstrous features of this satire, in which there are no traces of those crimes which are usually associated with the nobler passions in women, jealousy, disappointed love, ambition; but all is grovelling, filthy, depraved, and despicably mean.

The length of the poem and the closeness of the style render the following argument correspondingly long, and the nature of the language and scenes unavoidably introduced in the satire, but not fit to be reproduced, have made the argument defective. But it gives a pretty faithful idea of the contents of the poem and its divisions. The force of the original can only be known by reading it.

The date of the satire has been fixed by some in Trajan's reign, or about A.D. 106. The arguments are derived from the allusions to the Armenian king in v. 407, and to the way of dressing the hair described in v. 501. There is an allusion in v. 387 to the Capitoline games, said to have been instituted by Domitian, from which it is inferred that the poem could not have been written before his reign, which the nature of it would sufficiently show. The notes on the above passages may be consulted.

ARGUMENT.

I can believe that when Saturnus reigned Modesty may have lived awhile on earth, when caves were homes for men and cattle too, when skins and leaves were beds, and wives were rude as their rude husbands, with sturdy infants at the breast. They lived not then as now when the world was new, the sons of clay, or of the forest-trees.

V. 14. Some traces may have stayed even when Jove was king, but 'twas before he wore a beard; before the Greeks had learnt to swear and lie, when thieves were no man's dread. Insensibly Astraea left the world, and Modesty, her sister, went with her.

V. 21. Adultery is an old affair, my friend; the silver age begot it: every other vice the age succeeding bore. And yet at this late day you think of marrying, nay perhaps the barber's work is done, and the ring given! Surely you once were sane; what marry, Postumus? What madness does possess you? While there's a rope left will you bear a mistress, while there's a window or a bridge hard by?

V. 38. But you've a fancy for the Julian law, and you must have an heir and lose your presents. What may not happen if Ursidius weds, the most notorious profligate

among us? And then he wants a wife of the old stamp! Bleed him, ye doctors. A pretty fellow! Go give a calf to Juno if your wife is chaste: there are but few can touch the crowns of Ceres, few whom their fathers would not loathe to kiss. Well, go and wreathe the flowers about your door; your wife will with one husband be content,—nay sooner with one eye. We've heard, to be sure, of one who lived chaste at her father's country-place. But let her live so in the country-town: or I grant you at her father's seat; but who can tell what goes on there? Are Jupiter and Mars so old?

V. 60. In all the porticoes and theatres can you see one whom it were safe to wed? See how they melt at the lascivious dance, and catch each sigh and learn it! Others when theatres are closed get up their private plays. One likes the farce player, one the comic, one the tragic actor, another spoils the singer's voice. What, do you think any would love Quintilian? You marry that musicians may beget your children, or your babe may show the face of the mirmillo in his own. Hippia, the senator's wife, went off to Egypt with a player; and e'en Canopus cried shame on our morals. Forgetful of her home, the wretch, and country, her spouse, her sister, and her sons, yea even games and Paris she abandoned. Nurtured in luxury, she despised the sea; her character she had despised before—a trifling loss among these melting dames. Yes, she bore the dangers of so many seas; but when 'tis duty calls them, then they tremble. They're bold enough for sin, but if their husbands bid them go on board, 'tis hard; such nasty smells, they're sick, the skies go round,—their stomach's strong enough when 'tis their paramours they follow. One vomits on her husband, while the other dines with the sailors, wanders about the deck, and pulls the ropes. What was it charmed our Hippia so, that she could bear to be called a player's wife? Sergiolus was no boy, his face was ugly, his forehead scarred, a wen upon his nose, his eye for ever dropping. But he was a gladiator; this was his beauty, 'twas for this she gave up all. They love the steel: let Sergius take the rudis, and he's no better than her husband.

V. 114. Why care for private houses? Look at the rivals of our gods, and hear what Claudius had to bear. His strumpet wife stole from his bed, covered her head, and with one slave girl went and took her stand by the brothel door, exposed her person, told her price, and took whoever came, sad only when the time came round that she must go.

V. 133. Why should I speak of charms, philtres, and poisoned step-children? When their sex's madness drives them, lust is their smallest fault.

V. 136. But why's Caesennia virtuous, by her husband's showing? She brought him a round sum, that's what his testimony's worth: 'twas not the bow or torch of love that won him, her money is the torch, her dos the arrows. He buys what liberty he has; the greedy man's rich wife is as a maid; before his face she nods and writes to her lover. Why does Sertorius love Bibula? Because she's pretty. Three wrinkles, a black tooth, a drier skin, and then, "Pack up your baggage and begone," he cries; "I'm tired of you, besides you wipe your nose. Off with you! there's another coming with dry nose." Till then she's a hot tyrant; asks for the finest wools and wines—nay that's but little—whole prisons full of slaves. Whatever's to be had she buys; goes to the fair, takes up the finest crystals, porcelain, diamonds, such as Agrippa gave his sister.

V. 161. But of so many is there not one good? Let her have beauty, grace, wealth, fertile womb, ancestors, chastity; be she a bird as rare as a black swan, who could endure a wife with every virtue? I had rather, yea I'd rather have a country girl than the mother of the Gracchi, if with her great virtues she's to bring a pride as great, and count her triumphs in her portion: away with Hannibals and Syphaxes, and all your Carthage put together. "Spare my boys, Paean, spare, Diana; slay their mother, for

the fault is hers," Amphion cries; but Apollo bends his bow. So Niobe, with her mother's pride, destroyed her children and their father too. What are her dignity and beauty worth, if she must ever put them in the account? There is no pleasure in this excellence if pride corrupts the heart and makes it bitter. And who is such a slave as not to shrink from her he so extols?

V. 184. There are some faults, small in themselves, which husbands cannot bear. What can be more disgusting than to see them affecting Greek and ignorant of Latin? In Greek they tell their fears, their wrath, their joys and cares, and all the secrets of their soul.

V. 200. If you can't love the woman you're betrothed to, why should you marry? why waste a dinner and the bridal presents? If you're uxorious, give your neck to the yoke. You'll not find one who spares a loving husband. Though she love too, it's her delight to torture and to rob the man who loves her. So the best man has least enjoyment of a wife. You must give, sell, or buy just as she pleases. She sets you your affections; turns your old friend from your door: and while the vilest make their wills as they please, you must appoint more than one rival for your heirs. "Take that slave, and hang him." "What has he done? and where's the proof? Hear what he has to say. The life of man is sacred, and must not hastily be taken." "Fool! is a slave a man? say he's done nothing: it is my will, my order, that's enough."

V. 224. Well, she's her husband's tyrant; but she tires of this and goes to another, changing her home until her veil's worn out; then she comes back to the bed she once despised. The number grows—eight husbands in five years! She ought to have it on her tombstone.

V. 231. No hope of peace while your wife's mother lives; she teaches her to rob you, and how to answer her love letters, corrupts her guards, calls in the doctor when she's well, only to cover her amours. You think, forsooth, a mother can teach morals better than her own! Besides, she finds it to her profit to have a daughter like herself.

V. 242. Again, there's scarce a suit in the courts but women move it. Manilia must be prosecutor if she be not defendant. They write out their own charges, and are ready to teach Celsus law.

V. 246. Who likewise has not seen them in the rug and wrestler's ointment? or practising their skill upon a post, going through all their lesson? fit hornblowers at Flora's feast, except that this is real—that is acting. How can a woman in a helm be chaste? She delights in a man's strength, and yet she would not be a man. What a fine thing when your wife's goods are sold! These are the ladies who perspire in gauze, and whose soft skin is galled by a silken dress. See with what energy she deals her blows, with what a weighty helmet on her head, what greaves upon her legs, and smile when she puts off her arms. Say, O ye noble women, what gladiator's wife e'er wore this dress or smote the practising post?

V. 268. At night there is no peace, no sleeping on the marriage bed for broils. She's like a tiger; pretends to cry (though conscious of her guilt the while), complaining of your boys, or mistress whom she invents; with tears all ready at command; and you believe it love, are pleased, and kiss away her tears. Open your fair one's desk, and see what letters you would find! She sleeps with high or low, it's all the same. Now find me some excuse, Quintilian. "I cannot." Hear then herself. "We always understood that you should take your way and I take mine. Cry out then, if you will; I am but woman." They're boldest when they're caught; guilt gives them wrath and courage too.

V. 286. But whence these monstrous crimes? Once were our women chaste, when poverty and labour kept them so, and dangers which beset the city. Our ills are

from long peace: luxury broods over us, more pestilent than arms, to avenge the conquered world. Lust has been rampant ever since the poverty of Rome departed; 'twas this brought Greece amongst us. 'Twas money gave us foreign habits, and broke down the age with self-indulgence. For what care lust and drunkenness combined? See how the wantons sneer at modesty, and shame her very altars. We all know the good goddess' secret rites; how her mad votaries, drunk with wine and music, rave, whirl their locks, and call upon Priapus. No acting then, but wantonness at which the blood of age might warm again. They call for men—and would that sacred rites were free from wickedness like this—but every one has heard of him who in old days stole in where all that's male must hide its head: then who dared pour contempt on sacred things? Now we've a Clodius for every altar.

V. 346. "Then put a lock upon the women." Aye, but who shall watch the watchers? They are the first to fall. Highest and lowest, she who tramps the streets and she who rides in litters, all are frail.

V. 352. To see the games Ogulnia hires her clothes and every thing, for all her fortune's gone to smooth-cheeked athletes. They're poor, but have no care for that; and squander what a thrifty husband saves, and think that money grows like trees. They never think how much their pleasures cost.

V. 379. Suppose she's fond of music, there's no singer but she corrupts him; her favourite's harp is always in her hand: she kisses it, and thinks 'tis him she holds in her embrace. Some noble dame, they say, with meal and wine asked all the gods whether her Pollio's harp might hope to win the prize. What more could she if her husband or her children were a-dying? What, Janus, dost thou answer such inquiries? Ye have not much to do then in the skies.

V. 398. But let her be a singer rather than a masculine bold gossip, who talks among the officers, knows all the news, public and private, waits at the gates to pick up the first tidings from abroad, and then distributes lies concerning floods, and earthquakes, and so forth to every woman that she meets in the town.

V. 412. But she's more bearable than savage women who flog their poorer neighbours, and if a dog barks fly into a rage, and beat the beast and his owner. She goes at night to the bath, keeps her guests waiting for their dinner, then comes home heated and thirsty, drinks off two pints and vomits them again to get an appetite. The husband veils his eyes from the sickening sight.

V. 434. But she is worse who when she goes to dinner begins forthwith commending Virgil, comparing him with Homer. The learned hold their tongues, even the women theirs, while she clacks on like bells or basins when they're struck. No one need help the moon with trumpet or with cymbals; she can deliver her without your aid. Your learned woman ought to wear short tunics, sacrifice to Silvanus, go and bathe with the men. Marry no woman who can talk, and argue, and knows all knowledge. I hate your woman rhetorician who speaks by rule, and recollects old verses I never heard of, and corrects the barbarisms of her friends. Pray let a husband make mistakes sometimes.

V. 457. But most unbearable of all is she who decks herself abroad with jewels; at home her face is all besmeared with bread; she washes for her lover. What does she care for looking well at home? For paramours she buys her nard and all the perfumes of the East, softens her skin with asses' milk, and takes the covering off that hides her beauty. A thing made up with drugs and poultices, what call ye it, a face or sore?

V. 474. What do they do by day? If they get up cross, woe to the poor waiting-girl, the toilette-men are stripped, the Liburnian smarts, one with the horrible scourge, the other with the whip. Some keep the executioners in fee. And while the lash goes on she's dressing, talking with her friends, looking at her gown, or reading her

accounts, till at last she cries, Begone! when the men are tired and the trial ended! The tyranny in our houses is worse than palaces of Sicily. If one has made an assignation and would dress more handsomely than common, in haste to meet her lover in the gardens or at Isis' shrine, poor Psecas has to dress her hair, with her own torn, her tunic too in rags, her breast exposed. "This curl's too high!" the lash avenges straight the crime. But what has Psecas done? She cannot help your ugly nose. Another manages the other side: and then the old woman is called in who once was clever at the crisping pin, but now is sent to mind the spinning. They give their judgments each in turn, as if her fame or life were now at stake. Such care for looks! so many stories high she builds her head, Andromache before but short behind. What can a woman do whom nature made a pygmy?

V. 508. Her husband all the while she thinks no more of than a neighbour, and is no more, except as she hates his friends and slaves and spends his money. Look at that huge eunuch priest, how he comes into her room, with solemn talk frightens and bids her buy off autumn's ills with a hundred eggs, and give her clothes to him, that all her fears and dangers may go with them. She'll stand in the cold Tiber, crawl along the Campus if Io bids her. She'll go to Egypt and fetch holy water to sprinkle Isis' shrine, thinking she hears the goddess' self command her (the gods to talk by night with such as these!). The highest reverence is paid to him who runs about the town with Anubis' head, and laughs at the crowds that beat their breasts. He asks his grace for each offending dame, and the snake shakes its head. Moved by his tears and groans Osiris pardons, bribed with a goose and biscuit.

V. 542. Then goes the Jewish hag, the priestess of the grove, the messenger of heaven, and gets her fee. For a mere trifle Jews will sell you dreams.

V. 548. The haruspex from the East promises wealth and lovers, first searching entrails, hearts of doves, or dogs, or chickens, sometimes even boys, and then he turns informer.

V. 553. Chaldaeans are more trusted still. Whate'er the astrologers may say must be divine. The first of these is he who, banished oft, was fatal with his hireling books to Galba. His exile was his strength; the astrologer's believed only if he has worked in chains, been long in prison, or has been transported and just saved his life. These your wife consults about her mother's death, but first about your own, and when her sisters shall be buried, and her uncle; or if her lover shall survive herself: what greater boon can gods bestow?

V. 569. But she is not so bad who knows not of herself the influence of the stars, and times, and seasons. But shun that woman in whose hand you see thumbed almanacks, who wants no man's advice, but gives advice herself. She'll not go abroad with her husband if the book says no; consults it ere she drives to the first milestone, anoints her eyes by the horoscope, takes no food when sick but at the hour prescribed. Or if she's poor she goes to the Circus. The rich keep their augur, or they fee the public one; the humble strumpet goes to the pillars, and there asks if she shall wed the slop-seller and jilt the victualler.

V. 592. But these bear children, aye, and nurse them too: children are never born on gilded beds, but cut off in the womb. Be glad thou wretch and give the draught thyself, so shalt thou not be father to an Aethiop, nor have an heir whom thou would'st shun to meet in the early morning.

V. 602. Then the supposititious brats, the joys and vows of a fond-father cheated at the wells, and priests and nobles got from that foul quarter! Fortune stands there and smiles, and folds the babies in her bosom, then laughing gives them to great houses and prepares a private farce for herself: these are the men she loves, and rears as her own foster children.

V. 610. Here's a man selling potions to drive husbands prematurely into dotage; which

may be borne if you stop short of frenzy like Caligula's, for whom Caesonia mixed her potent cup—setting the world on fire, as Juno might if she sent her husband mad. Less mischievous was Agrippina's mushroom, that sent an aged man head foremost to his place; the other calls for fire and sword and torture, mingling patrician and plebeian blood. Such was the cost of one foal and one witch!

V. 627. They hate their husbands' bastards; which, if none gainsay, then straight to murder stepsons is no crime. Beware, boys, if you've money trust no meal; let some one taste all that your mother gives you. Sure this is all invention, we are trespassing on tragedy, such as the hills and skies of Latium know nothing of. Would it were so! But here is Pontia glorying in her guilt. What, viper, kill two children at one supper? "Aye, seven if I had them!" We may believe the tragic tales of Procne and Medea; they were great monsters in their day, but did it not for money. When passion hurries them like torrent streams there's less to wonder at. But she who calculates the returns and does huge crimes in her right mind, this woman is unbearable. They see Alcestis dying for her husband; they would invert the case, and let their husband die to save their puppy. You'll meet your Belides and Eriphylae at the early dawn, and Clytemnestras are in every street. The only difference is that Tyndarus' daughter took an awkward hatchet; now a toad's lungs will do the business: but if their lords have taken antidotes, why then the axe shall be resorted to.

Credo Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam
In terris visamque diu, quum frigida parvas
Praeberet spelunca domos ignemque Laremque
Et pecus et dominos communi clauderet umbra;
Silvestrem montana torum quum sterneret uxor
Frondibus et culmo vicinarumque ferarum

1. *Credo Pudicitiam*] Pudicitia was worshipped at Rome under the double form of patricia and plebeia, and had a temple under each name, the first in the Forum Boarium, the other in the Vicus Longus. She represented conjugal fidelity rather than maiden chastity, and her figure on works of art is that of a matron modestly clothed (see note on Hor. C. S. 57). None but matrons of respectable character might sacrifice on her altar.

Saturno rege] Saturnus was according to tradition the founder of the Latin race; "tu sanguinis ultimus auctor," Virgil says, addressing him (Aen. vii. 49). Flying from Olympus to escape from Jupiter he came to Latium, which, according to the legend, he named 'a latendo,' from the hiding-place he found there. In Latium he reigned, and taught the nations agriculture and the arts of peace. His reign is therefore always referred to as the age of gold,

"Aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere
Saecula; sic placida populos in pace regebat." (Aen. viii. 324 sqq.)

The Romans identified their Saturnus, whom as their first ancestor they worshipped, with the Greek Cronus, and Jupiter with Zeus, his son. As Cronus was expelled from his throne by Zeus, so was Saturnus by Jupiter, who, reigning after him, brought in an inferior age, in which the passions of men broke out for the first time in bloodshed and sensuality. Any one can see the confusion of this story; but such it is. See Heyne, Exc. 5 on Aen. vii.; and see below xiii. 28, sqq. As to the four ages, of gold, silver, bronze, and iron, Ovid should be read, Met. i. 89—150.

3. *Praeberet spelunca domos*] Lucretius has the finest description of the earliest race of men, their rude habits, their ignorance, and simplicity. He says, among other things,—

"Sed nemora atque cavos monteis silvasque colebant,
Et frutices inter condebant squalida membra,
Verbera ventorum vitare imbreisque coacti." (v. 953 sqq.)

Pellibus, haud similis tibi, Cynthia, nec tibi, cujus
Turbavit nitidos exstinctus passer ocellos,
Sed potanda ferens infantibus ubera magnis,
Et saepe horridior glandem ructante marito.
Quippe aliter tunc orbe novo caeloque recenti
Vivebant homines, qui rupto robore nati
Compositive luto nullos habuere parentes.
Multa pudicitiae veteris vestigia forsan
Aut aliqua exstiterint et sub Jove, sed Jove nondum

The chastity of the women of these times is referred to again below, v. 287: "Praestabat castas humilis fortuna Latinas," &c.

7. *haud similis tibi, Cynthia,*] Cynthia was the mistress of Propertius, to whom many of his elegies are addressed. She died before him, and during their connexion. Her real name was Hostia. The next line refers to Catullus' mistress, whom he calls Lesbia, but whose real name is said to have been Clodia. There are two odes addressed to Lesbia's sparrow, one of which is a lament for its death. The last lines are,

"O factum male! O miselle passer!
Tua nunc opera meae puellae
Flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli." (c. iii.)

Martial has an epigram in which the matter is mentioned (vii. 14):

"Accidit infandum nostrae scelus, Aule, puellae,
Amisit lusus deliciasque suas.
Non quales teneri ploravit amica Catulli;
Lesbia, nequitiis passeris orba sui."

9. *Sed potanda ferens*] "Non sugenda tantum," says Grangaeus. Aulus Gellius tells how he accompanied the philosopher Favorinus to the house of a lady who had lately given birth to a child. The good man, after inquiring about the health of the patient, the duration of her labour, and other particulars, said to her mother that of course the young wife would suckle her own child. The mother said no; that it would be too hard upon her poor daughter, after going through the pains of childbirth, to be called upon to discharge the disagreeable duty of a nurse. Whereupon the philosopher gave her a very sensible lecture on the duty of mothers in this respect, which might be a useful lesson to some fine ladies of the present day. It will be found in Aul. Gellius, Noct. Att. xii. 1.

12. *qui rupto robore nati*] One of the sources from which mankind were said to have sprung was the trunks of trees. Hesiod (Op. et Di. 145) produces the third race of mankind from the ash: ἐκ μελιᾶν. The oak is the mother more commonly given, as here and in Virgil: "Gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata." (Aen. viii. 315.) This fiction Servius says (in loco) arose out of the circumstance that the first men made their dwellings in the hollow trunks of trees, a singular habitation. It more likely arose from the hardiness attributed to the early inhabitants of the earth. The mountain ash would naturally be the type or parent of mountaineers, the hardiest of men; and hearts of oak have been proverbial in all times and languages, whether in a good or bad sense.

"Te lapis et montes innataque rupibus altis
Robora, te saevae progenuere ferae"

is Dido's reproach to Aeneas (Ov. Her. vii. 37), which explains the origin of the fable well enough.

13. *Compositive luto*] This was the work of Prometheus:

"Quam (terram) satus Iapeto mixtam fluvialibus undis
Finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta deorum." (Met. i. 82.)

A strange coincidence with the Mosaic account. Horace gives a version of the story not found elsewhere:

"Fertur Prometheus addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
Desectam et insani leonis
Vim stomacho imposuisse nostro."
(C. i. 16. 13, where see note.)

Compare (xiv. 35): "Et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan."

15. *et sub Jove,*] See note on v. 1. He says, while Jove was a boy Modesty still lingered on the earth. When his beard began to grow she departed. See v. 59. "Multa aut aliqua" is an anticlimax which

Barbato, nondum Graecis jurare paratis
Per caput alterius, quum furem nemo timeret
Caulibus aut pomis et aperto viveret horto.
Paullatim deinde ad superos Astraea recessit
Hac comite, atque duae pariter fugere sorores.
Antiquum et vetus est alienum, Postume, lectum
Concutere atque sacri Genium contemnere fulcri.
Omne aliud crimen mox ferrea protulit aetas;
Viderunt primos argentea secula moechos.
Conventum tamen et pactum et sponsalia nostra

expresses a great deal. M. and some other MSS., as well as the editio princeps and many of the old editions, have 'exstiterant.'

16. *Graecis jurare paratis*] He had a contempt for the Greeks of his day, as we see in S. iii. 58, sqq. He means before men began to perjure themselves. To swear by the head of their father or others, or by that of the person addressed, was common with Greeks and Romans. The Jews were reproved for the same by our Saviour.

18. *Caulibus aut pomis et aperto*] The MSS. vary between 'aut,' 'ac,' and 'et,' before 'pomis.' 'Aut' is the reading of most old editions, but does not appear in many MSS. M. has it, and I think it is right. For 'et aperto' Henninius adopts a conjecture of Barthius, who (Adv. xxii. 7) says, "malim sed aperto." He gives no reason. The common reading is right, as may be seen by referring to the note on Horace, S. i. 1. 3, where this sort of construction is explained. The passage runs,

"Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem
Seu ratio dederit, seu fors objecerit, illa
Contentus vivat; laudet diversa sequentes?"

'Nemo timeret' is equal to 'quisque non timeret:' the implied 'quisque' is the subject of 'viveret,' and 'et' is the natural copula. Ruperti's note on the various readings contradicts his commentary, and his conjecture 'et operto' "quo omnis difficultas tollitur" supposes a difficulty which does not exist.

19. *Astraea*] She was reputed to be the daughter of Zeus and Themis. The Romans looked upon her as the representative of Justice (*παρθένος Δικαιοσύνη ὡς Ἰουβενάλιος* is a gloss quoted by Jahn). When Astraea left the earth for its crimes, she was translated to the skies as the constellation Virgo. 'Hac' is Pudicitia, and she and Astraea are the 'duae sorores.' An old scholium in the MS. of Barthius says, "Duae sorores sunt Pietas et Fides" (Cramer, p. 598). Pudor and Justitia are joined together by Horace (C. i. 24. 6), but Fides is there called sister of Justitia, who corresponds to Hesiod's Nemesis: *ἀθανάτων μετὰ φῦλον ἴτον προλιπόντ' ἀνθρώπους Αἰδὼς καὶ Νέμεσις*. Op. et Di. 199. (See below, xi. 55: "morantur Pauci ridiculum fugientem ex urbe Pudorem.")

Ovid makes Astraea leave the earth in the fourth or iron age, Met. i. 149:

"Victa jacet pietas, et Virgo caede madentes
Ultima caelestum terras Astraea reliquit."

22. *Genium contemnere fulcri.*] 'Fulcrum,' which is a bedpost, is used for the bed again in xi. 95, and in Propertius, iv. 7. 3: "Cynthia namque meo visa est incumbere fulcro." 'Lectus genialis' is explained on Horace, Epp. i. 1. 87, and 7. 94. It is spoken of below, x. 334. Every man had his Genius, which was associated with him from his birth, and formed (as there said) his spiritual identity. Forcellini thinks from this verse that a figure of the man's Genius was usually carved on his marriage-bed. The order of the verses 21—24 has troubled some critics. Schrader would transpose 24 and 23, Ruperti would put these two after 20. Heinecke thinks 24 spurious, being only a repetition. The sense is plain as given in the argument. Heinrich did not miss it, and it is wonderful that any one should.

25. *Conventum tamen et pactum*] 'Conventiones' and 'pacta' are general terms for contracts and agreements, the different natures of which are stated in Long's Ar-

Tempestate paras, jamque a tonsore magistro
Pecteris et digito pignus fortasse dedisti.
Certe sanus eras: uxorem, Postume, ducis?
Dic qua Tisiphone, quibus exagitare colubris?
Ferre potes dominam salvis tot restibus ullam,
Quum pateant altae caligantesque fenestrae,
Quum tibi vicinum se praebeat Aemilius pons?
Aut si de multis nullus placet exitus, illud
Nonne putas melius quod tecum pusio dormit,
Pusio qui noctu non litigat, exigit a te
Nulla jacens illic munuscula, nec queritur quod
Et lateri parcas nec quantum jussit anheles?
Sed placet Ursidio lex Julia: tollere dulcem

ticle 'Obligationes' in Smith's Dict. Ant. Here the marriage contract is intended, 'sponsalia,' respecting which see S. ii. 119, iii. 111, and Dict. Ant., Art. 'Marriage.' It seems from v. 27, that one of the ceremonies on that occasion was that of the man putting a ring on the woman's finger, which was the fourth of the left hand as with us. See note on Hor. S. ii. 7. 9. Juvenal says, in spite of the profligacy of the age men still go on contracting marriages. 'A tonsore magistro Pecteris' means that the man gets his hair dressed by a first-rate barber to show himself off before his betrothed.

28. *Certe sanus eras:*] "Certainly you were once in your senses: are you now going to marry? What Fury has driven you mad?" Snakes were twisted in the hair of the Furies, as may be seen in all the works of art representing them. "Intorti capillis Eumenidum recreantur angues" (Hor. C. ii. 13. 35). As to the ablative 'qua Tisiphone' after 'exagitare,' see note on S. iii. 91.

30. *Ferre potes dominam*] 'Domina' is used for a wife (see note on Hor. C. ii. 12, 13: "me dulcis dominae musa Licymniae") or a mistress. But here it means a tyrant. He asks if Postumus can submit to any woman-tyrant while there are ropes in the world to hang himself with, or high windows and bridges to throw himself from. Forcellini says the windows are called 'caligantes,' because they are so high they make the eyes blind or dizzy to look down from them. 'Aemilius pons' was a stone bridge built by M. Aemilius Scaurus in his censorship, A.U.C. 645. It was the first bridge across the Tiber going up the river, and was opposite to Mons Aventinus. It has been confounded with Pons Sublicius, which was higher up.

34. *quod tecum pusio dormit,*] 'Pusio' is the reading of the MSS. It is a little boy, connected with 'pusus,' 'pusillus,' &c. Cicero uses the word in the same filthy connexion as here (pro Caelio, c. 15): "tecum semper pusio cum majore sorore cubitavit." Jahn [and Ribbeck] have adopted Valla's conjecture, 'pugio,' arising out of the scholium, which he gives thus: "PUNGIO a facto nomen." Henninius, Cramer, Heinrich, have it 'pusio' in the Scholiast's lemma; but from his explanation it does not seem as if he had that word. Forcellini gives 'pusio:' 'pugio' has the support of one Paris MS. of the tenth century.

35. *exigit a te*] Jahn has 'exigit ex te,' with bad taste and against the MSS.

36. *illic*] ['hillis,' Ribbeck.]

38. *Sed placet Ursidio lex Julia:*] Ursidius (Postumus) is satisfied with the "lex Julia de Maritandis Ordinibus," or as it is otherwise called, "lex Julia et Papia Poppaea," which was enacted about A.U.C. 736, and named after Augustus. In A.D. 9 it was amended, in the consulship of M. Papius Mutilus and Q. Poppaeus Secundus, and their names were added to it. Horace calls it Lex Marita (C. S. 20). Its object among other things was to promote marriage, with which view it imposed penalties on those men who remained single after a certain age. As to 'tollere' for rearing children, see Horace, S. ii. 5. 46. n.: "Validus male filius in re Praeclara sublatus aletur;" where it is explained that the word is used from the old practice of fathers taking up in their arms at their birth such of their children as they wished

Cogitat heredem, cariturus turture magno
Mullorumque jubis et captatore macello.
Quid fieri non posse putes si jungitur ulla
Ursidio? si moechorum notissimus olim
Stulta maritali jam porrigit ora capistro,
Quem toties texit perituri cista Latini?
Quid, quod et antiquis uxor de moribus illi
Quaeritur. O medici, mediam pertundite venam!
Delicias hominis! Tarpeium limen adora
Pronus et auratam Junoni caede juvencam,
Si tibi contigerit capitis matrona pudici.
Paucae adeo Cereris vittas contingere dignae

to rear, and leaving others to be exposed and destroyed.

[Between lines 37 and 38 Ribbeck has interposed near eighty lines from other parts of this satire, in which women's vices are satirized. In fact by many transpositions and some omissions, he has so changed the common text that it is not possible to explain to a reader what he has done. Those who would know, must compare his text of this satire with the common texts.]

39. *cariturus turture magno*] If he gets children, he must not expect to receive presents, fine pigeons, bearded mullets, and other contents of the market, which is called 'captator,' the fortune-hunting market, because fortune-hunters bought the best things to send to their victims. A good deal was said on this subject in the last satire. About mullets see iv. 15, n.

42. *olim*] This contains the root 'ol' of 'olle' or 'ille,' and is an adverb of time, signifying any that is not present. Here it means in former times. 'Jam' is 'at length.'

43. *porrigit ora capistro,*] 'Capistrum' is a halter or headband of any sort, or a rope (generally of twisted osiers or other twigs) by which oxen were fastened to the yoke.

44. *perituri cista Latini?*] This is explained by Horace, S. ii. 7. 59:

"—— an turpi clausus in arca,
Quo te demisit peccati conscia herilis,
Contractum genibus tangas caput?"

Why the chest into which the adulterer was thrust should be called, "perituri cista Latini" may be seen from the scholium quoted on S. i. 36. Heinrich prefers the reading of one MS., 'periturum,' which he explains, 'ut paene perisset.' But as Latinus was put to death, 'perituri' will do. The participle in 'urus' signifies usually intention or destiny (see Key's L. Gr. §§ 702, 1268). Here 'perituri' would mean, who was destined at last to pay the penalty of his lewdness. See v. 39, 'cariturus turture.'

45. *Quid, quod et antiquis*] This is a step farther, not only that he should want to marry, but also think of getting a wife such as those of the olden time. 'Quid' is commonly used thus to introduce a new case or illustration. Sometimes it has 'enim' after it. It should not have a note of interrogation. See notes on Hor. C. ii. 18. 23; S. i. 1. 7.

46. *mediam pertundite venam!*] He recommends the doctors to bleed him for madness. Holyday has a note on 'media vena,' which he shows from Paulus Aegineta (lib. iii. De Phreneticis) to be in the forehead. Jahn [and Ribbeck] from P. and three other MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries, edit 'nimiam.' This reads very like a copyist's invention. P. has 'mediam' by a later hand, and all other MSS. and editions have that word.

47. *Delicias hominis!*] 'A pretty fellow!' (see xiii. 140). He bids him go and sacrifice a thank-offering to Juno Pronuba, at her temple on the Capitol, and bow down and kiss her threshold, if he has succeeded in getting a chaste wife. Juno's temple was at one end of that of Jupiter Opt. Max., as Minerva's was at the other. Mons Capitolinus was originally called Saturnius, and afterwards Tarpeius. 'Aurata juvenca' is a calf with her horns gilt, which was not an uncommon sacrifice.

50. *Cereris vittas*] Virgil seems to be imitated here, Aen. ii. 167,—

Quarum non timeat pater oscula. Necte coronam
Postibus et densos per limina tende corymbos.
Unus Hiberinae vir sufficit. Ocius illud
Extorquebis ut haec oculo contenta sit uno.
Magna tamen fama est cujusdam rure paterno
Viventis. Vivat Gabiis ut vixit in agro;
Vivat Fidenis; et agello cedo paterno.
Quis tamen affirmat nil actum in montibus aut in
Speluncis? Adeo senuerunt Juppiter et Mars?
Porticibusne tibi monstratur femina voto
Digna tuo, cuneis an habent spectacula totis
Quod securus ames quodque inde excerpere possis?
Chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo

"Corripuere sacram effigiem, manibusque cruentis
Virgineas ausi divae contingere vittas."

The festival of Ceres (Cerealia) was celebrated chiefly by matrons of good character clothed in white, and Juvenal only means that there are few who were worthy to act on those occasions, and few who were not so impure that their own fathers would shrink from kissing them.

51. *Necte coronam*] "Well, go if you will; bind the garland to your door-posts, and hang bunches of flowers before your gates (as they were wont to do at weddings). Of course Hiberina (his betrothed) will be satisfied with one husband. Why, you will more readily extort this from her, that she should be satisfied with one eye." "Me libertina neque uno Contenta Phryne macerat." (Hor. Epod. xiv. 15.)

52. *tende corymbos.*] A good many MSS. repeat 'necte.' But the later editors have properly rejected the second. 'Tende' has better authority.

55. *Magna tamen fama est*] "But there is a certain lady living on her own estate who has a mighty reputation (for virtue). Let her go and live at Gabii or Fidenae as she does in the country, and then we may give her some credit." Ruperti thinks we should read 'cujusque in:' this would alter the sense and weaken the passage, which is strengthened by supposing a particular instance. Gabii has been mentioned above on iii. 192. It is associated with Fidenae (a Sabine town about five miles from Rome) in S. x. 100. They were small towns, but no better than their neighbours, Juvenal thinks, in their morals.

57. *et agello cedo paterno.*] "And I grant you, on her own estate,—and yet who will take upon himself to say that nothing has gone on in the hills and the caves? Are Jove and Mars so old?" The meaning is obvious.

60. *Porticibusne tibi monstratur*] He asks if in all the public places where women resort he can find one worthy of his desires. The number of colonnades in Rome was great, and they increased during the empire. (See Hor. S. i. 4. 134, n. and Epp. i. 6. 26, n.) They were the resort of men, but modest women were not found there. Ovid (A. A. i. 67, sqq.) mentions several porticoes abounding in beautiful women of all sorts, those of Pompeius, Octavia, Livia, Apollo Palatinus, and others attached to temples, where assignations were made as much as any where. According to Ovid, the theatres were the greatest resort for bad women, as at one time they were amongst ourselves. But things are altered now I believe. He says (v. 89):

"Sed tu praecipue curvis venare theatris.
Haec loca sunt voto fertiliora tuo."

They swarmed to the theatres like ants or bees:

"Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae.
Ille locus casti damna pudoris habet."

'Cunei' are the benches, or properly the compartments of seats which, by the arrangement of passages, were so formed as to resemble a blunt wedge. The Greeks for the same reason called them κερκίδες. (See Smith's Dict. Ant., 'Theatrum.')

63. *Chironomon Ledam*] "When the

Tuccia vesicae non imperat; Appula gannit
Sicut in amplexu; subitum et miserabile longum
Attendit Thymele; Thymele tunc rustica discit.
Ast aliae, quoties aulaea recondita cessant
Et vacuo clausoque sonant fora sola theatro
Atque a plebeiis longe Megalesia, tristes
Personam thyrsumque tenent et subligar Acci.
Urbicus exodio risum movet Atellanae

lascivious Bathyllus danced the pantomimic Leda." We had the participle χειρονομῶν above (S. v. 121). This is the adjective χειρονόμος. The Latin phrases for dancing were mostly taken from the motion of the arms, as 'brachia jactare, deducere, ducere, dare, mittere, movere,' &c. See Hor. C. ii. 12. 20, n. Ovid (Rem. Am. 334) comes still nearer the Greek word: "Fac saltet, nescit si qua movere manum." And (Met. xiv. 520): "In numerum motis manibus duxere choreas." The 'pantomimus' Bathyllus, the freedman of Maecenas, and one of the most celebrated dancers of his day, is here put for any dancer (see Hor. Epod. xiv. 9, n.). Horace uses 'saltare' in a transitive way: "Pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat" (S. i. 5. 63, n.).

66. *Attendit Thymele;*] This passage has caused a great deal of trouble. It may be corrupt. The general sense seems to be that while the actor is expressing sudden emotions, and sighing, the girl from the country is eagerly and long watching him, and learns to imitate what she sees. P. has 'subito,' which Jahn couples with 'amplexu.' [Ribbeck has the line pointed thus:

'Sicut in amplexu subitum et miserabile, longum,'

which is perhaps better.] Thymele is the name of an actress mentioned in i. 36. But this is a country girl. Gifford has a useful note here on the 'pantomimi.' The extreme wantonness of the Roman ballet, as Juvenal describes it, was of later growth than Bathyllus' day. He and Pylades appear to have improved greatly on the old mimes, and to have given grace to dancing.

67. *aulaea recondita cessant*] When theatres are shut up and cease. 'Aulaea' was the curtain, similar to ours, except that it was raised from below the stage instead of being let down from above (see note on Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 189: "Quattuor aut plures aulaea premuntur in horas"). 'Aulaea' is here put for the theatre. The 'ludi plebeii' was a festival instituted perhaps after the secession of the 'plebs' to Mons Sacer (A.U.C. 260). It was held in the middle of November, and the Megalesia or games of Cybele (see above S. ii. 111, n.) took place in April. It appears there were no plays acted during these five months; and the only noise, Juvenal says, was heard in the fora, where actors ranted on a different stage.

70. *Personam thyrsumque*] The ladies are dull in this long interval, and amuse themselves with private theatricals, wherein they put on the mask themselves, and flourish the thyrsus like the Bacchantes on the stage, and wear the actor's drawers. 'Subligar' is another form of 'subligaculum,' drawers, or something worn for decency under the tunic. Cicero (de Off. i. 35) says, "Scenicorum mos tantam habet a vetere disciplina verecundiam ut in scenam sine subligaculo prodeat nemo, verentur enim ne, si quo casu evenerit ut corporis partes quaedam aperiantur, adspiciantur non decore." Tacitus mentions how Nero established a private theatre, at which young men and women of good family acted, and which encouraged the lowest depravity among them (Ann. xiv. 15). Who Accius may have been is unknown. He was a player. The Scholiast has this note, "*Subligar Acne:* vestem tragoedi;" and Jahn accordingly edits 'subligar acne,' which is in P. But these amateurs did not get up tragedies. [Ribbeck has 'subligar Hagni.']

71. *Urbicus exodio*] Urbicus is the name of a comic actor. Nothing more is known of him. As to 'exodium,' see S. iii. 174, n. The Atellane plays were so named from Atella, a town in Campania, in the dialect of which part of Italy (the Oscan) they were written. They were comedies of five acts with a regular plot. They were refined, it appears, compared with the mimes or broad farces, which superseded them in a great measure, but the 'exodia' between the acts seem to have supplied all

Gestibus Autonoes; hunc diligit Aelia pauper.
Solvitur his magno comoedi fibula: sunt quae
Chrysogonum cantare vetent: Hispulla tragoedo
Gaudet: an exspectas ut Quintilianus ametur?
Accipis uxorem de qua citharoedus Echion
Aut Glaphyrus fiat pater Ambrosiusque choraules.
Longa per angustos figamus pulpita vicos,
Ornentur postes et grandi janua lauro,
Ut testudineo tibi, Lentule, conopeo
Nobilis Euryalum mirmillonem exprimat infans.

that was wanting in the play of the coarser character of the old Atellanes.

72. *Gestibus Autonoes;*] With the gesticulations of Autonoe, who was the sister of Cadmus, and who, as one of the Bacchantes, helped her sister Agave to destroy Pentheus. This story, though tragic enough, must in some way have been got into an Atellane play, probably as a travestie.

74. *Chrysogonum cantare vetent:*] Chrysogonus is a fictitious name for a singer. By forcing the man to acts of lewdness they spoilt his voice.

75. *ut Quintilianus ametur?*] Juvenal had a great respect for Quintilian, who was his contemporary, and some say his master in rhetoric. "Do you suppose (says he) any one would fall in love with a Quintilian? These ladies look for something more to their purpose."

77. *choraules.*] The man who played the 'tibia' to the singing of the chorus. The 'citharoedus' played upon the 'cithara' as an accompaniment to his own voice or without singing. The names here mentioned are unknown, except that of Glaphyrus, who was a well-known flute-player, 'tibicen.' This performer, unlike the 'choraules,' played solo pieces. There are two very complimentary epigrams to this Glaphyrus by Antipater of Thessalonica, in Brunck's Anthology, v. ii. p. 116, one of which begins,

'Ορφεὺς θῆρας ἔπειθε, σὺ δ' 'Ορφέα· Φοῖβος ἐνίκα
τὸν Φρύγα, σοὶ δ' εἴκει μελπομένῳ, Γλάφυρε.

Martial mentions him with one Canus (Ep. iv. 5), "Plaudere nec Cano plaudere nec Glaphyro;" from which epigram and others it appears these people made a great deal of money (see iii. 4 and 31).

78. *figamus pulpita vicos,*] These 'pulpita,' which he tells him to erect along the streets, are connected with the marriage festivities, but the commentators differ in explaining the word. Forcellini says they were stages erected for the purpose of exhibiting some show. Grangaeus and Achaintre say much the same. Valesius, quoted by Ruperti with approval, says the poets built stages on which they recited 'epithalamia' composed on the occasion of any great wedding. All this is guess-work. Heinrich is probably right in supposing the 'pulpita' to be scaffolds on which spectators stood to see the marriage procession. The streets of Rome, till a late period of the Empire, were very narrow and inconvenient.

79. *Ornentur postes*] This is repeated from v. 51. See also xii. 91, "longos erexit janua ramos," &c.

80. *Ut testudineo*] 'Conopeum' is a gauze curtain, and here is used for a bed which has such. It is commonly used in hot countries for keeping off the mosquitoes and flies. As to the form of the word, see note on Hor. Epod. ix. 15:

"Interque signa turpe militaria
Sol adspicit conopium,"

where the allusion is to Egypt, and the form is different, as it is in Propertius, iii. 11. 45: "Foedaque Tarpeio conopia tendere saxo." It was common to inlay furniture with tortoise-shell. Martial speaks of tables so inlaid: "Et testudineum mensus quater hexaclinon" (ix. 60), and "Accipe lunata scriptum testudine sigma." He calls his friend Lentulus here. It was the name of a high patrician family of the gens Cornelia.

81. *Euryalum mirmillonem*] Euryalus is unknown. 'Mirmillones' were one of the many kinds of gladiators, who were distinguished by the arms they carried. The origin of the name 'mirmillones' is

Nupta Senatori comitata est Hippia ludium
Ad Pharon et Nilum famosaque moenia Lagi,
Prodigia et mores urbis damnante Canopo.
Immemor illa domus et conjugis atque sororis
Nil patriae indulsit, plorantesque improba natos,
Utque magis stupeas, ludos Paridemque reliquit.
Sed quanquam in magnis opibus plumaque paterna
Et segmentatis dormisset parvula cunis,
Contempsit pelagus : famam contempserat olim,
Cujus apud molles minima est jactura cathedras.
Tyrrhenos igitur fluctus lateque sonantem

not certain. They are also called Galli, because they wore arms like those of the Gauls. See S. viii. 200. What Juvenal says is, "Go and marry, that on your fine bed your wife may lie in of a child got by Euryalus the gladiator, and expressing his features." The MSS. have 'et' or 'aut' after Euryalum, except P., which has 'Auryalum myrmilionem.' 'Exprimere' is taken from the moulding of wax.

82. *Nupta Senatori*] This senator is A. Fabricius Veiento, mentioned above, iii. 185, iv. 113, and in this satire, v. 113. His wife, Hippia, is mentioned again in x. 220. The gladiator (ludius) with whom she eloped into Egypt was named, as we see below, Sergius. Ludium, followed close by 'ad,' forms a dissyllable (see v. 10, n.), or the middle syllable forms one with the following, as 'semianimum' in iv. 37. P. and other MSS. have 'ludum.'

83. *Ad Pharon et Nilum*] Pharos is the island opposite to Alexandria which, being joined with the mainland by a mole (Heptastadium), formed the two harbours of that town. The mole has since grown into terra firma (on which the present city stands), and the island has thereby become part of the continent, by the accumulation of soil about it. Ruperti thinks 'famosa' is the same as 'inclyta,' a sense it seldom bears, and quite out of place here. The infamous walls of Lagus are those of Alexandria, which was the capital of the Ptolemies, of whom the son of Lagus, Ptolemaeus Soter, was the first (B.C. 323—285).

84. *damnante Canopo.*] Canobus or Canopus, a sea-port at that mouth of the Nile which bears its name, about fifteen miles from Alexandria, was notorious for profligacy. But Juvenal says Canopus itself would cry shame on such monstrous wickedness. He says elsewhere (xv. 44):

"———— horrida sane
Aegyptus: sed luxuria quantum ipse notavi
Barbara famoso non cedit turba Canopo."

Horace speaks of the Egyptian queen as attended, "contaminato cum grege turpium Morbo virorum" (C. i. 37. 9), and laments that a Roman soldier "spadonibus servire rugosis potest" (Epod. ix. 13). They were a profligate race no doubt. 'Prodigia et mores' is one subject, as 'per famam et populum' (S. i. 72).

87. *ludos Paridemque reliquit.*] This is the climax of her infatuation: to neglect her home, her husband, her sister, her country, and her children was much, but to run away from the games was more. This matter has been referred to before on S. iii. 223. Paris was a native of Egypt, a pantomimus in Domitian's time of great celebrity, and in high favour with the emperor till the empress Domitia fell in love with him. When Domitian learned this, he divorced his wife and put Paris to death. He is mentioned below, vii. 87. Martial wrote his epitaph, in which he gives him the highest praise:

"Quisquis Flaminiam teris, viator,
Noli nobile praeterire marmor.
Urbis deliciae, salesque Nili,
Ars et gratia, lusus et voluptas,
Romani decus et dolor theatri,
Atque omnes Veneres, Cupidinesque,
Hoc sunt condita quo Paris sepulcro."
(xi. 13.)

88. *plumaque paterna*] Pluma means a feather bed or pillow. As to 'segmenta,' see on S. ii. 124.

91. *minima est jactura cathedras.*] He says she who had been brought up so delicately from her infancy despised the dangers

Pertulit Ionium constanti pectore, quamvis
Mutandum toties esset mare. Justa pericli
Si ratio est et honesta, timent pavidoque gelantur
Pectore nec tremulis possunt insistere plantis:
Fortem animum praestant rebus quas turpiter audent.
Si jubeat conjux, durum est conscendere navem;
Tunc sentina gravis, tunc summus vertitur aer:
Quae moechum sequitur stomacho valet. Illa maritum
Convomit: haec inter nautas et prandet et errat
Per puppem et duros gaudet tractare rudentes.
Qua tamen exarsit forma, qua capta juventa
Hippia quid vidit propter quod ludia dici
Sustinuit? nam Sergiolus jam radere guttur
Coeperat et secto requiem sperare lacerto:
Praeterea multa in facie deformia, sicut
Attritus galea mediisque in naribus ingens
Gibbus et acre malum semper stillantis ocelli.

of the sea; her reputation she had despised long before, and that is counted no great loss among these melting ladies. The women's litters are put for themselves. See note on i. 66 as to the 'cathedra' and other kinds of litters. As to 'jactura,' see S. iii. 125. n.: 'nusquam minor est jactura clientis.'

93. *Pertulit Ionium*] Bentley, discussing Horace, Epod. x. 19, "Ionius udo cum remugiens sinus," says the Romans would not use Ionius, but Ionium, absolutely for the Ionian sea, because they understood 'mare;' and he says this passage must be altered by putting 'sonorum' for 'sonantem,' or understanding another 'fluctus,' or else the use of the masculine is peculiar to this passage. Bentley might have known that the Romans, if they wanted a substantive, could understand 'pontus' as well as 'mare.' All the MSS. have 'sonantem.'

94. *Justa pericli*] "If there is some good and honest cause for them to run into danger, they tremble and shiver, and cannot stand for shaking."

99. *Tunc sentina gravis,*] "She has stomach enough for the sea if she is going on her own bad errand, but if her husband wants her to go with him she complains of the smell from the hold and dizziness, and vomits all over him." 'Summus vertitur aer' means the sky is turning upside down.

103. *qua capta juventa*] A good many MSS. have 'est' after 'juventa' which Ruperti edits. P. wants it.

105. *radere guttur Coeperat*] This is only a way of saying he was no longer a boy, but had a rough beard to shave. The next line means that he had been wounded, and was hoping for his discharge in consequence. He would then become a 'rudiarius,' concerning which see Hor. Epp. i. 1. 2, n. He calls him Sergiolus, as Hippia might, in the way of endearment, her dear little Sergius.

108. *Attritus galea*] This means a scar in his forehead made by the rubbing of the helmet. Forcellini, and all the commentators but Heinrich, take 'attritus' for a participle. I agree with Heinrich, who takes it as a substantive. Substantives derived from verbs not uncommonly take after them a noun in the case that would follow the verb they are derived from. Heinrich has given instances, as "Justitia est obtemperatio scriptis legibus." (Cic. de Legg. i. 42.) "Quid tibi hanc digiti tactio?" (Plautus, Poen. v. 5. 29.) A similar construction is 'signator falso.' (S. i. 67.) Valesius thought it necessary to change 'galea' into 'galeae,' supposing otherwise 'attritus' must be a participle agreeing with 'gibbus,' which would be nonsense. Ruperti approves of Valesius' alteration, but does not adopt it. [In v. 107 Ribbeck has 'cirrus' in place of 'sicut,' which is not easy to explain and is perhaps a corrupt reading.]

Sed gladiator erat: facit hoc illos Hyacinthos;
Hoc pueris patriaeque, hoc praetulit illa sorori
Atque viro. Ferrum est quod amant. Hic Sergius idem
Accepta rude coepisset Veiento videri.
  Quid privata domus, quid fecerit Hippia, curas?
Respice rivales Divorum: Claudius audi
Quae tulerit. Dormire virum quum senserat uxor,
Ausa Palatino tegetem praeferre cubili,
Sumere nocturnos meretrix Augusta cucullos,
Linquebat comite ancilla non amplius una:
Sed nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galero
Intravit calidum veteri centone lupanar

110. *facit hoc illos Hyacinthos;*] Their trade makes beauties of them (such as the Spartan boy, Hyacinthus, whom Apollo loved, Ov. Met. x. 162, sqq.). He says the secret is their horrid love for blood; and as soon as Sergius takes the 'rudis' (see note on 105), he will come to be looked upon as no better than her cast-off husband.

115. *Respice rivales Divorum:*] 'Rivales' in its legal sense means those "qui per eundem rivum aquam ducunt" (Dig. 43. 20. 1. § 26), "who made use of the same water-channel." The derived sense had reference only to rivalry in love: what we call rivalry in a general way was 'aemulatio,' which when it is 'vitiosa,' 'bad,' Cicero says is "rivalitati similis," "like rivalry in love" (Tusc. iv. 26. See Forcellini). 'Divorum' are the emperors, and their rivals are the frequenters of the stews mentioned below.

Claudius audi Quae tulerit.] The Emperor Claudius had four wives. He divorced two, and the third was Valeria Messalina, to whom he was married when he succeeded to the Empire, A.D. 41. Her amours were unbounded, and she came to her end in consequence of an outrageous act of profligacy and folly. While the emperor was absent from Rome she married publicly one C. Silius, a young lover for whom she had conceived a violent passion, and had discarded a pantomimus, Mnester, who had been her last paramour (Sat. x. 329, &c.). For this act Claudius was induced reluctantly to order her death, A.D. 48. Tacitus, Ann. xi. 1—38. Dion. Cass. lx. 14—31, Suetonius, vit. Claudii, give full details of this bad woman's life. Pliny, by one anecdote not fit for transcription, confirms the worst of Juvenal's description. (H. N. x. 63.)

117. *Ausa Palatino*] The imperial palace was on the Mons Palatinus, as stated above (S. iv. 31, n.). 'Teges' is any kind of coarse bed-covering (v. 8. vii. 221, 'hibernae tegetis;' ix. 140). Augusta was the title of the emperors' wives, as they all had that of Augustus themselves. 'Cucullus' was a hood attached to the 'lacerna,' which might be thrown over the head for concealment or protection against the weather. Horace describes a man going out on the same errand as Messalina "odoratum caput obscurante lacerna" (S. ii. 7. 55). See above, i. 62; iii. 170. The absence of 'et' after 'cubili' has caused a great deal of trouble to the commentators. It is not wanted. [Ribbeck places the verse 'Linquebat,' &c., after v. 116, with a full stop after 'una.' He also places v. 118 before v. 117, and has

'—— cucullos
Ausa, Palatino tegetem praeferre cubili,
Sic nigrum,' &c.]

120. *crinem abscondente galero*] This is a wig, which she put on over her own hair. 'Galericulum' is used in this sense elsewhere, but not 'galerum' (see Forcellini). The Scholiast says in explanation, "Crine supposito: rotundo muliebri capitis tegumento in modum galeae facto; quo utebantur meretrices flavo, nigro enim crine matronae utebantur." Gifford quotes from Menander:

νῦν δ' ἔῤῥ' ἀπ' οἴκων τῶνδε, τὴν γυναῖκα γὰρ
τὴν σώφρον' οὐ δεῖ τὰς τρίχας ξανθὰς ποιεῖν.

121. *calidum veteri centone lupanar*]

Et cellam vacuam atque suam. Tunc nuda papillis
Constitit auratis titulum mentita Lyciscae,
Ostenditque tuum, generose Britannice, ventrem.
Excepit blanda intrantes atque aera poposcit,
Et resupina jacens multorum absorbuit ictus.
Mox lenone suas jam dimittente puellas
Tristis abit, et quod potuit tamen ultima cellam
Clausit adhuc ardens rigidae tentigine vulvae,
Et lassata viris nec dum satiata recessit,
Obscurisque genis turpis fumoque lucernae
Foeda lupanaris tulit ad pulvinar odorem.
Hippomanes carmenque loquar coctumque venenum

'Cento' is a coverlid or other piece of patchwork; and Heinrich supposes it here means a cloth hung up before the doors, keeping the air out of the cells and the reeking moisture in. The Scholiast says on 'centone,' "ut velo ex pannis facto." These places were named after their inmates, who were called 'lupae' for their rapacity. ("Quem scis immunem Cinarae placuisse rapaci," Hor. Epp. i. 14. 33.) Gifford says, "The stews at Rome were constructed in the form of a gallery, along which were ranged on each side a number of contiguous cells or little chambers. Over the door of each of these was written the name, and in some cases the price of the tenants, who stood at the entrance soliciting the preference of the visitors." Therefore Ovid says, "Stat meretrix certo cuivis mercabilis aere" (Am. i. 10. 21). And Martial has (xi. 45) "Intrasti quoties inscriptae limina cellae." Messalina had frequented one chamber so often that it was called hers, and kept vacant for her. She exposed her person, as seems to have been usual, and called herself Lycisca, a common name for such people, corresponding to their generic name 'lupa.'

122. *papillis Constitit auratis*] This Ruperti and Heinrich explain, after Böttiger, of the gold ornaments on her neck. But 'auratis' means 'gilded,' as in v. 48, 'auratam juvencam' is 'a calf with gilded horns,' and 'papillae' does not mean the neck. The passage quoted by Heinrich from Ovid (Fast. ii. 310), "aurato conspicienda sinu" means that the dress was embroidered with gold. Gifford has rightly explained the words. "The nipples were covered with gold-leaf, a species of ornament which, however repugnant to our ideas of beauty, is used by many of the dancing-girls and privileged courtezans of the East to this day. A figure so ornamented is in the curious cabinet of R. P. Knight, Esq." P. has 'prostitit,' and so has the Scholiast. Jahn [and Ribbeck] have adopted it. Most of the MSS. have 'constitit;' and it is more likely that the other should have got in as a gloss than that 'constitit' should have been invented. Heinrich says it is stronger.

124. *tuum, generose Britannice,*] Britannicus, the son of Claudius and Messalina, was only six years old when his mother was put to death, A.D. 48. His father married Agrippina, mother of Nero, soon after that event, and through her influence set aside his son and adopted Nero as his heir. Claudius was poisoned, and Nero succeeded, A.D. 54; and next year Britannicus was poisoned by Nero, in his fourteenth year. (Tac. Ann. xiii. 15.) He was 'generosus' in respect of his birth.

126. *Et resupina*] This verse is wanting in P., M., and most MSS., having probably been omitted through the modesty of the monks. [Ribbeck also has omitted vv. 125, 126.]

130. [Ribbeck omits this verse.]

131. *Obscurisque genis*] That is, dirty. He says below (v. 145), "fiant obscuri dentes," "let her teeth become black."

132. *ad pulvinar*] "Ad lectum maritalem" is the Scholiast's note.

133. *Hippomanes carmenque*] These are love potions and charms. He asks if he shall go on to speak of the other crimes of women, such as the administering of love philtres and charms, and poisoning step-children, for bad as their lust is, women are driven to still greater crimes through the dominion of their sex, that is, of the passions that belong to their sex. As to 'hip-

Privignoque datum? Faciunt graviora coactae
Imperio sexus minimumque libidine peccant.
Optima sed quare Caesennia teste marito?
Bis quingenta dedit; tanti vocat ille pudicam,
Nec Veneris pharetris macer est aut lampade fervet;
Inde faces ardent, veniunt a dote sagittae.
Libertas emitur: coram licet innuat atque
Rescribat: vidua est locuples quae nupsit avaro.
Cur desiderio Bibulae Sertorius ardet?
Si verum excutias, facies non uxor amatur:
Tres rugae subeant et se cutis arida laxet,
Fiant obscuri dentes oculique minores,
"Collige sarcinulas," dicet libertus, "et exi;

pomanes,' see below, v. 616, where he resumes the subject. At present he passes on to another, that of the tyranny of rich and pretty wives. Horace speaks of that as a happy state of society in which "matre carentibus Privignis mulier temperat innocens" (C. iii. 24. 17). [Ribbeck omits v. 133—135.]

136. *Optima sed quare*] He supposes one to ask, if all women are so bad, why some husbands seem to love their wives; why for instance Caesennia's husband counts her the best of women? The answer is, that she brought him a large portion. 'Bis quingenta' is equivalent to 'decies sestertium.' ten hundred thousand sesterces, not much less than 8000*l*. of our money; that is the price at which he calls her chaste. The arrows of his love and the torch of Venus with him are in his wife's money. Horace refers to the tyranny of rich wives, C. iii. 24. 19, where, describing the blessings of rude life, he says,

"Nec dotata regit virum
Conjux nec nitido fidit adultero."

Other examples will be found there. The round number here given is repeated in S. x. 335, "ritu decies centena dabuntur Antiquo," and in the epigram of Martial (ii. 65) quoted on the above place of Horace, and in Tacitus (Ann. ii. 86). "Et Caesar quamvis posthabitam (Agrippae filiam) decies sestertii dote solatus est," where Lipsius says that this was the usual portion among rich people. But it is plainly only put conventionally, as 'quadringenta sestertia' is above (ii. 117). The bow and torch of Cupid are given to his mother by Ovid (Heroid. ii. 39):

"Per Venerem nimiumque mihi facientia tela,
Altera tela arcus, altera tela faces."

Caesennia is the name of a noble Etrurian family. Some MSS. have Caesonia, which name appears in v. 616 of this satire. The other is right.

140. *Libertas emitur:*] She buys her freedom with her portion. She is at liberty to do what she likes to her paramour, answer his letters or any thing else. She is an unmarried woman (vidua) for any allegiance she shows to her husband.

143. *Si verum excutias,*] On the primary meaning of 'excutere' and 'concutere,' which is used in the same way, see note on Hor. S. i. 3. 35, and Long's note on Cic. con. Rull. ii. 23. It means 'to search out.'

145. *obscuri*] See v. 131, n.

146. *Collige sarcinulas,*] This word is explained on iii. 160. The Lex Julia de Adulteriis provided that there should be present on the occasion of a divorce seven witnesses, besides a freedman of the person making the divorce (see Long's Article 'Divortium' in Smith's Dict. Ant). This explains 'dicet libertus;' it was the freedman who declared the divorce in the name of the husband or wife, whichever it might be, for either party could divorce the other. This practice became extremely common under the Empire, and for the most trifling causes. The wife was entitled to her 'dos' unless some grave fault could be proved against her, in which case she only got part of it back.

Jam gravis es nobis et saepe emungeris; exi
Ocius et propera: sicco venit altera naso."
Interea calet et regnat poscitque maritum
Pastores et ovem Canusinam ulmosque Falernas—
Quantulum in hoc!—pueros omnes, ergastula tota;
Quodque domi non est et habet vicinus ematur.

147. *et saepe emungeris;*] The MSS. all have 'et.' N. Heinsius (ad Claudianum, in Stil. ii. 327) and Burmann (ad Petron. i. p. 279) propose 'ut,' "I am tired of your blowing your nose so often." The text is, "I am tired of you, and, besides, you blow your nose so often," which is better; the blowing of the nose is only an after thought. He must make an excuse, and the most trifling is enough.

149. *Interea calet et regnat*] Meanwhile, as long as her beauty lasts, she's a hot imperious tyrant.

150. *Pastores et ovem Canusinam*] The wool of Apulia was the best in Italy. That of Canusium (Canosa, on the Aufidus, where Horace got and travellers still get bad bread, S. i. 5. 91) was famous. Pliny (H. N. viii. 48) says, "Circa Tarentum Canusiumque summam nobilitatem habent (oves)." And Martial speaks of a fine dressed slave as 'Canusinatus Syrus' (ix. 23. 9); and sending a cloak to a friend, he says (xiv. 127),

"Haec tibi turbato Canusina simillima mulso
Munus erit: gaude: non cito fiet anus."

The natural colour was dark, as Pliny says, and that is what Martial means. This woman, as long as she had her beauty and her own way, would be content with none but the finest cloths and the best wine. Falernian elms are put because the vine was commonly trained to the elm. The Falernian wine was not in Juvenal's day as highly valued as it had been in Horace's. The Setine and Alban were preferred.

151. *Quantulum in hoc!*] "How small a matter is this!" [Ribbeck has

'Falernas,
(Quantulum enim hoc!) pueros,' &c.,

which is perhaps better.] She will have all the slaves bought, whole workhouses full, and any thing she has not got and a neighbour has. 'Ergastula' (*τόπος ἐν ᾧ οἱ δεσμῶται ἐργάζονται*, Lipsius gives as the derivation from a gloss of Philoxenus; see Lips. Elect. ii. 15) were places in which slaves were kept in chains at various employments, such as grinding corn, cutting and breaking stones, and other country work, and taken as they were wanted to work in the fields. There were one or more 'ergastula' attached to most estates, and slaves were sent to them for misbehaviour or through the caprice of their masters. See below, S. viii. 180; xi. 80; xiv. 24, n.; and the note (and quotations there given) on Hor. S. ii. 7. 118, "Accedes opera agro nona Sabino;" where the Scholiast says, "Quasi octo servos Horatius miserit in ergastula agri Sabini." In the above chapter Lipsius has a long and interesting dissertation on this subject. It was only usual to put fifteen slaves into one 'ergastulum,' as Lipsius shows from Apuleius: "Quindecim liberi homines populus est: totidem servi familia, totidem vincti ergastulum." Suetonius (Vit. Aug. c. 32) says that in the time of Augustus bands of armed men used to seize travellers and hurry them off to these 'ergastula.' "Rapti per agros viatores sine discrimine liberique servique ergastulis possessorum supprimebantur;" this was one of the abuses that had grown up in the civil wars which Augustus put down, 'ergastula recognovit.' There is another passage to the same effect in the life of Tiberius (Suetonius, Vit. Tib. c. 8). "Curam administravit—repurgandorum tota Italia ergastulorum quorum domini in invidiam venerant, quasi exceptos supprimerent non solum viatores sed et quos sacramenti metus (fear of conscription) ad hujusmodi latebras compulisset." When the slave insurrection broke out in Italy, B.C. 73, under Spartacus, the rebels forced the ergastula, and were joined by the wretched men who had been shut up in them. The private 'ergastula' were abolished by Hadrian not many years after Juvenal wrote, but revived and continued to exist to the latest times of the Empire. See Long's note on Cic. pro Cluentio, c. 7.

152. *et habet vicinus*] Jahn [and Ribbeck] have 'sed,' from P. and three other MSS. But it is not wanted. There are many instances in which 'et' and 'que'

Mense quidem brumae, quum jam mercator Iason
Clausus et armatis obstat casa candida nautis,
Grandia tolluntur crystallina, maxima rursus
Murrina, deinde adamas notissimus et Bernices
In digito factus pretiosior: hunc dedit olim
Barbarus incestae, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori,
Observant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges

in negative sentences have something of an adversative sense. See note on Horace, C. ii. 12. 9: "Tuque pedestribus Dices historiis proelia Caesaris."

153. *Mense quidem brumae, quum*] Ruperti and Jahn have 'quo' after P. and several MSS. M. and many others and most of the old editions have 'quum' or 'cum.' 'Quo' probably arose from the omission of the usual mark in 'quō' for 'quom.' The Saturnalia, or festival of Saturnus (see v. 1, n.), was held at Rome in December, from the 17th to the 23rd inclusive. The three first days were properly the Saturnalia; the next two were called Opalia, the festival of Opis, wife of Saturnus; and the last two Sigillaria, a fair, so named from the little figures (sigilla) which, among other things, were sold as toys and presents. The fair was held, as ours are, in booths; and the Scholiast on this place says the principal place was the Porticus Argonautarum, built and dedicated to Neptune by M. Agrippa in honour of the naval victories of Augustus, probably after the battle of Actium, in which he himself commanded. On the walls were fresco paintings of the Argonauts. (See Hor. Epp. i. 6. 26. n.) This explains the meaning of Juvenal here. 'Mense brumae' is December; 'mercator Iason Clausus,' &c. means that the pictures of Jason and his armed sailors were shut in, or excluded from view, by the booths (casa candida) which filled the 'porticus.' All the old commentators and the translators take the passage differently, and but for the note of the Scholiast the meaning would be very obscure. They suppose Jason to be any merchant; 'casa candida,' a house covered with snow; 'armatis nautis,' sailors all ready for sea; and the meaning of the whole to be that when the winter has set in and voyages are dangerous, "the wanton dames of Rome would make their husbands put to sea to fetch vanities," as Holyday expresses it in his note. All this is quite beside the meaning, and is moreover nonsense.

155. *Grandia tolluntur crystallina,*] Cups and other vessels of coloured glass were common, though some of these were of great value, as we may judge from the Portland Vase in the British Museum. But those of pure transparent crystal were very costly. Pliny (H. N. xxxvii. 2) mentions a lady in his time (and she not rich) having given 150,000 sesterces (HS. CLM.), nearly 1200*l.* sterling, for one drinking cup. The 'murrhina,' or 'murrhia, vasa' were probably the same as Chinese porcelain, though it does not seem to be certain. (See Becker's Gallus, p. 25, n. 21, Metcalfe's Abridg.) Pliny (l. c.) says it came from the East. He also mentions Nero having paid 300 talents for a small cup, more than 7000*l.* (see below, vii. 133.) Pliny speaks of one porcelain cup as holding three sextarii, about three pints. 'Tolluntur' is generally understood to mean that she carries them off. Heinrich says she takes them up in her hand to admire them. If so, she means her husband to buy them. But the other is better.

156. *adamas notissimus*] The diamond has always been the most costly of precious stones. Pliny says it is the dearest thing that exists, not only the dearest stone; "Maximum in rebus humanis non solum inter gemmas pretium habet adamas" (H. N. xxxvii. 4). In his time there were six sorts, among which he gives the first place to that of the East Indies. Berenice's name is familiar to us as the sister of that King Agrippa before whom St. Paul defended himself (Acts xxv.). They were son and daughter of Herod Agrippa (grandson of Herod the Great), whose death was the punishment of his blasphemy (Acts xii.). Agrippa was presented by Claudius (A.D. 48) with the sovereignty of Chalcis, in Syria, on the death of his uncle Herod, to whom Berenice was married. When her husband died she lived with her brother, and there are stories of their having carried on incestuous intercourse. His government was afterwards transferred to that part of Syria which had been the tetrarchy of his great uncle Philip, and he then received the title of king. What follows about kings observing the Sabbath with

Et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis.
Nullane de tantis gregibus tibi digna videtur?
Sit formosa, decens, dives, fecunda, vetustos
Porticibus disponat avos, intactior omni
Crinibus effusis bellum dirimente Sabina,
Rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cygno:
Quis ferat uxorem cui constant omnia? Malo,
Malo Venusinam quam te, CORNELIA MATER
GRACCHORUM, si cum magnis virtutibus affers

naked feet is mere nonsense. The Romans knew little about the Jewish law, which however, and particularly the Sabbath, was held by some of the vulgar in superstitious respect. (See note on Hor. S. i. 9. 69, 'tricesima Sabbata.')

161. *Nullane de tantis*] This is supposed to be another speaker. The answer follows, which is that there is none; for those who have any merit make so much of it, that no man should marry them.

163. *Porticibus disponat avos,*] The porticoes here meant are the covered galleries with pillars on one side, out of which doors led to the different rooms. Between these pillars it was common to set up statues, as Cicero says to Verres (Act. ii. 1. c. 19): "Illa quaero quae apud te nuper ad omnes columnas, omnibus etiam intercolumniis, in silva denique disposita sub divo vidimus?" In the 'atrium,' the principal reception room (as we call it) in a Roman house, it was usual for the 'nobiles' to set up in rows (disponere) waxen busts and pictures (imagines) of such of their ancestors as had held curule offices or were otherwise distinguished. According to this passage such busts and pictures were set up in the galleries. Pictures were also put up at the public expense in temples and public porticoes of those who had earned that honour.

164. *bellum dirimente Sabina,*] The story of the Sabine women reconciling their fathers and brothers with their husbands is told by Livy (i. 13). 'Intactus' is chaste, like 'integer,' which has the same root (tag): "Notus et integrae Tentator Orion Dianae" (Hor. C. iii. 4. 70). "Sunt quibus unum opus est intactae Palladis urbem Carmine perpetuo celebrare" (C. i. 7. 5). He may have copied 'intactior' from Propertius: "Tu rapere intactas docuisti impune Sabinas" (ii. 6. 21). It appears that some are offended at 'intactior' because they were wives; and Markland (on Statius, Silv. ii. 3. 73) proposes 'sit castior,' a very unnecessary alteration. 'Tangere' was used in a bad sense, and 'intactus' is 'chaste.' Propertius says, "Lynceu, tune meam potuisti tangere curam?" (ii. 34. 9.)

165. *nigroque simillima cygno:*] The 'cygnus atratus' is a native of Australia, and not found elsewhere. When Juvenal wrote, therefore, it was unknown, like the white raven he speaks of in the next satire ('corvo quoque rarior albo,' v. 202). 'Rare birds' seems to have been a proverbial way of speaking. Persius has "quamquam haec rara avis est" (i. 46).

166. *cui constant omnia?*] "In whom all virtues meet." "Che d' ogni pregio è adorna" (Accio).

167. *Malo Venusinam*] He says he would rather have a country girl for his wife than the most virtuous proud woman in the world, such as Cornelia, the daughter of the elder Scipio Africanus, wife of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, and mother of the two popular tribunes Tiberius and Caius Gracchi. Plutarch mentions that at her death a monument was erected to her memory with the inscription, 'CORNELIA MATER GRACCHORUM.' She lived to a great age, surviving her sons and also her son-in-law, Scipio Africanus the Younger, who married her daughter. She was a woman of great attainments and strong mind. The spirit of her sons was inherited from her; and Cicero says their eloquence was got from her conversation. He says, "Legimus epistolas Corneliae matris Gracchorum (this name seems to have been proverbial): apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos quam in sermone matris" (Brut. c. 58). Though her husband and her sons belonged to the popular party, Cornelia had the pride of Scipio's daughter and the descendant of a long line of ancestors. She had also great wealth, with which she lived in princely style. [Ribbeck has v. 167 thus,

Grande supercilium et numeras in dote triumphos.
Tolle tuum, precor, Hannibalem victumque Syphacem
In castris et cum tota Carthagine migra.
"Parce, precor, Paean, et tu depone sagittas,
Nil pueri faciunt, ipsam configite matrem,"
Amphion clamat: sed Paean contrahit arcum.
Extulit ergo greges natorum ipsumque parentem,
Dum sibi nobilior Latonae gente videtur
Atque eadem scrofa Niobe fecundior alba.
Quae tanti gravitas, quae forma, ut se tibi semper

'Malo, Venus, nullam quam,' &c., &c., a reading which few persons will prefer to the common text.]

169. *numeras in dote triumphos.*] "Count triumphs in your 'dos,' as part of it." In the first Punic war two Scipios had triumphs, one for victories in Sicily, the other in Corsica and Sardinia. The father of Africanus Major, P. Cornelius Scipio, though no match for Hannibal, distinguished himself in opposing the Carthaginians in Spain. The triumphs that Juvenal mentions were those of Cornelia's father, who however triumphed only once for the victory over Hasdrubal the Carthaginian general and Syphax their Numidian ally, whose camps he burnt, B.C. 203 (Livy, xxx. c. 5), and for the defeat of Hannibal near Zama, B.C. 202. 'Migra' means 'get you gone,' like 'collige sarcinulas et exi' above (v. 146).

172. *Parce, precor, Paean,*] Niobe is introduced as the type of fecundity. According to the story derived from Homer, the earliest authority (Il. xxiv. 602 sqq., where Achilles is comforting Priam for the loss of his son), she had six sons and six daughters. The Scholiasts on this place and on Euripides (who mentions her seven daughters, Phoen. 159) give her seven of each. Other writers give her more or fewer. Her husband was Amphion, the bard-king of Thebes, who here cries to Apollo and Diana to spare his innocent children and to pierce their mother. 'Tu' is addressed to Diana, who, the story in Homer says, shot the daughters while Apollo killed the sons. Graevius proposed 'tu Dea pone' for 'tu depone' against all the MSS.; and Ruperti and Jahn have this reading, which is quite unnecessary. [Ribbeck also has 'tu, dea, pone sagittas.'] The father's agony is quite as well, and perhaps better, expressed by 'tu' alone. The scene is made more present. Heinrich keeps the MSS. reading. The Florence group of Niobe and her children, which is attributed to Scopas, represents the mother in anguish pressing her youngest daughter, a girl of about ten, to her lap; and twelve other children, five of whom are girls and seven sons, one a boy and the rest grown up, in various attitudes of pain or fear. The group is engraved in C. O. Müller's Denkmäler der Alten Kunst, Goettingen, 1835, an excellent publication.

175. *ipsumque parentem,*] According to Ovid (Met. vi. 271) Amphion killed himself for grief at the death of his children:

"Nam pater Amphion ferro per pectus adacto
Finierat moriens pariter cum luce dolorem."

Other traditions give him a different end. Ovid tells the whole story; putting a long boastful speech in the mouth of Niobe, while all the Theban women were going forth to do honour to Leto. He gives her, like the Scholiasts, seven sons and seven daughters. 'Extulit' means carried forth to burial, as in S. i. 72, "nigros efferre maritos." The story is that the victims lay nine days unburied, and that on the tenth the gods buried them, Niobe having been turned to stone, and all that would have performed this office for her children.

177. *scrofa Niobe fecundior alba.*] 'Scrofa' is a 'breeding sow.' The sow here meant is Aeneas'

"——ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus,
Triginta capitum fetus enixa, ——
Alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati." (Aen. iii. 390 sqq.)

[Ribbeck omits the six following lines.]

178. *ut se tibi semper Imputet?*] "That she should always take credit for herself with you." As to 'imputare,' see S. ii. 17, n.

Imputet? Hujus enim rari summique voluptas
Nulla boni, quoties animo corrupta superbo
Plus aloes quam mellis habet. Quis deditus autem
Usque adeo est, ut non illam quam laudibus effert
Horreat inque diem septenis oderit horis?
  Quaedam parva quidem sed non toleranda maritis.
Nam quid rancidius quam quod se non putat ulla
Formosam nisi quae de Tusca Graecula facta est,
De Sulmonensi mera Cecropis? Omnia Graece,
Quum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine.
Hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas,
Hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta. Quid ultra?
Concumbunt Graece. Dones tamen ista puellis:
Tune etiam, quam sextus et octogesimus annus
Pulsat, adhuc Graece? Non est hic sermo pudicus
In vetula. Quoties lascivum intervenit illud
Ζωὴ καὶ ψυχή? Modo sub lodice relictis
Uteris in turba. Quod enim non excitet inguen
Vox blanda et nequam? digitos habet, ut tamen omnes

181. *Quis deditus autem*] 'Deditio' was absolute, unconditional surrender (see below, 206).

183. *septenis oderit horis?*] 'Hates her seven hours a day,' that is, more than half the day; for the Romans divided the day into twelve hours from sunrise to sunset, and the night likewise from sunset to sunrise. Heinrich quotes from the Digest (50. 16. 2. § 1): "Cujusque diei major pars est horarum septem primarum diei, non supremarum."

185. *Nam quid rancidius*] Heinrich would read 'num,' and condemns the verse before. He gives no reason, and I think it may stand. It is wanting in two MSS. of no particular authority. 'Nam' is used here, as occasionally elsewhere, to explain or give an instance. So in Horace (Epp. i. 1. 76): "Bellua multorum es capitum: nam quid sequar aut quem?" (See note on Hor. S. ii. 3. 41.) 'Nam quid' is 'what for instance?' 'Rancidius' is a strong expression of disgust—more sickening, nauseous. Persius (i. 33) and Martial use 'rancidulus' for affected, and so offensive. Here the word is stronger. What stirs his bile is that women affect the airs and language of Greeks. He complains of the town being overrun with Greeks and the influence they were getting, in S. iii. 60 sqq. Barthius (Adv. xi. 19) shows that 'Graeculus' was a proverbial word of contempt.

187. *De Sulmonensi*] Sulmo (Sulmona), a town of the Peligni in which Ovid was born, is here taken for any provincial place. The women with their country breeding and accent gave themselves the airs of thoroughbred Athenians.

188. *Quum sit turpe magis*] "Although it is a greater disgrace to our people to be ignorant of Latin (than of Greek)." Grangaeus quotes Cicero (Brutus c. 37): "Ipsum Latine loqui est illud quidem in magna laude ponendum: sed non tam sua sponte quam quod est a plerisque neglectum. Non enim tam praeclarum est scire Latine quam turpe nescire." Juvenal may have had Cicero's words in his mind. Ruperti and others suspect this verse unnecessarily [Ribbeck omits it]. 'Nescire Latine,' is an elliptical way of speaking for 'nescire Latine loqui.'

193. *adhuc Graece?*] Heinrich thinks the monks have been tampering with this passage, and have put in 'Graece—vetula,' 'modo—turba,' 'quoties' for 'toties,' and 'intervenit' for 'interseris.' They have not added to the strength or decency of the verses if their hand is in them, which is not impossible.

Subsidant pennae. Dicas haec mollius Haemo
Quanquam et Carpophoro, facies tua computat annos.
Si tibi legitimis pactam junctamque tabellis
Non es amaturus, ducendi nulla videtur
Causa, nec est quare coenam et mustacea perdas
Labente officio crudis donanda, nec illud
Quod prima pro nocte datur, quum lance beata
Dacicus et scripto radiat Germanicus auro.
Si tibi simplicitas uxoria, deditus uni
Est animus, summitte caput cervice parata
Ferre jugum; nullam invenies quae parcat amanti.
Ardeat ipsa licet tormentis gaudet amantis
Et spoliis. Igitur longe minus utilis illi
Uxor quisquis erit bonus optandusque maritus.
Nil unquam invita donabis conjuge; vendes
Hac obstante nihil; nihil haec si nolet emetur.

198. *Haemo*] This player is mentioned above (iii. 99). Carpophorus was another of the same sort. [Ribbeck has 'pinnae.']

200. *pactam junctamque tabellis*] See S. ii. 119, n., 'signatae tabulae;' and above, v. 25: "Conventum tamen et pactum et sponsalia nostra." Juvenal tells the man he had better not marry if he is not likely to love the woman he is engaged to. There would be penalties if he broke his contract. Gellius (iv. 4) states the law on this subject in the words of Servius Sulpicius, an eminent jurist: "Qui uxorem ducturus erat ab eo unde ducenda erat stipulabatur eam in matrimonium ductum iri; qui daturus erat itidem spondebat daturum. Is contractus stipulationum sponsionumque dicebatur sponsalia. Tum quae promissa erat sponsa appellabatur, qui spoponderat ducturum sponsus. Sed si post eas stipulationes uxor non dabatur aut non ducebatur, qui stipulabatur ex sponsu agebat. Judices cognoscebant. Judex quamobrem data acceptave non esset uxor quaerebat. Si nihil justae causae videbatur, litem pecunia aestimabat: quantique interfuerat eam uxorem accipi aut dari eum qui spoponderat aut qui stipulatus erat condemnabat."

202. *coenam et mustacea*] See note on ii. 119: "ingens coena sedet." 'Mustacea' are sweet wedding-cakes. Cato (de R. R., quoted by Forcellini) gives directions for making them. The principal ingredients are fine wheat flour, mustum, and spices. 'Officio' means the guests who came 'officii causa' (S. ii. 132); and 'labente' means 'discedente,' as the Scholiast says: "discedentibus pransoribus qui officii causa conveniunt; solebant enim antea per nuptias recedentibus dulcia erogari pro apophoretis." 'Apophoreta' were presents given to guests when they rose to go away.

204. *quum lance beata*] 'Beata' is rich, costly (see Hor. C. i. 4. 14, n.). This custom of presenting the bride with money on a dish is not mentioned elsewhere. Dacicus and Germanicus are coins of Domitian, stamped in commemoration of his expeditions against the Chatti, A.D. 84, and the Daci, A.D. 87. He celebrated a triumph for the former, and took the name of Germanicus, which appears on many of his coins. There are three struck in the year of his fourteenth consulship, the reverses of which have "Rhenus, Germania, Germania Capta," with suitable figures. (See Patinus' collection in Burmann's Suetonius, Plate xxxii.) His expedition against Decebalus, king of the Daci, was a disgraceful failure. There are no coins of Domitian referring to the Daci, though of Trajan's reign there are some. 'Scripto' refers to the inscription on the coins.

206. *deditus uni*] See v. 181.

209. *Ardeat ipsa licet*] "Though she is fond of her husband, she delights in tormenting and robbing him; and so the better husband a man is likely to make, the less good he gets from having a wife." [Ribbeck omits 209—211.]

Haec dabit affectus; ille excludatur amicus
Jam senior, cujus barbam tua janua vidit.
Testandi quum sit lenonibus atque lanistis
Libertas et juris idem contingat arenae,
Non unus tibi rivalis dictabitur heres.
"Pone crucem servo." "Meruit quo crimine servus
Supplicium? quis testis adest? quis detulit? Audi:
Nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est."
"O demens, ita servus homo est? nil fecerit, esto:
Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas."
Imperat ergo viro: sed mox haec regna relinquit
Permutatque domos et flamea conterit: inde

214. *Haec dabit affectus;*] "She will appoint you your regards. She will bid your old friend be refused admittance to your house, him whom you have known from his youth." His friend was now getting old, and he had known him when he wore a beard, that is in early manhood. Accio translates this,

"—— Dalla tua casa,
Che ne vide spuntar la prima barba,
Per lei s' escluderà quel vecchio amico."

Holyday takes it in the same way. Gifford's translation is wrong:

"Shuts out the ancient friend whose beard his gate
Knew from its downy to its hoary state."

Middle-aged men did not wear beards except such as affected philosophy: *ἐκ πώγωνος σοφοί, πωγωνοτρόφοι*. See Horace, S. ii. 3. 35: "Sapientem pascere barbam." 'Excludatur' is 'orders to be excluded.'

216. *Testandi quum sit*] The power of making a will belonged only to those citizens who were patresfamilias. See Long's Art. 'Testamentum' in Smith's Dict. Ant. Slaves could not make a will. But freemen engaged themselves as gladiators, wrestlers, &c., whom Juvenal means by 'arena.' (See note on Horace, S. ii. 7. 59: "auctoratus eas.") As to 'lanista,' see S. iii. 158, n. 'Juris idem' is the same extent of privilege. He says the man will not be as free to make his will and choose his own heirs as one of these low people, for his wife will force him to make it as she pleases, and what is more, will oblige him to make some of his rivals his 'heredes.' As to 'rivalis,' see above, v. 115.

219. *Pone crucem servo.*] The wife orders the cross to be put up to hang a slave who has offended her. The husband remonstrates, and hints that man's life is sacred, and the slave must not be hung till some crime is brought home to him. She calls him a fool for counting a slave a man, and insists that her will is reason enough for hanging the wretch. The theory of slavery gave a man power over his slave's life, and no law prevented him from exerting this power. His own humanity or interest, or other considerations, might make a man careful, but no doubt the caprice or passion of the master was occasionally fatal to slaves. It was not until the time of Antoninus (Gaius, i. 53) that this power was limited by law. See Cic. pro Cluentio, c. 66, Long's note. Holyday quotes from Florus (Hist. iii. 20) a remark worthy of this virago: "nam et ipsi (servi) per fortunam in omnia obnoxii, tamen quasi secundum hominum genus sunt." Gifford advises every husband to get translated and hung over his parlour chimney the following piece of advice from the sayings of D. Cato: "Nil temere uxori de servis crede querenti."

220. *quis testis adest? quis detulit?*] Compare S. x. 69: "Sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam Delator? quibus indiciis? quo teste probavit?" 'Audi' is 'hear what he has to say.'

222. *ita servus homo est?*] "Is it so, a slave a man?" 'Ita' in this way is used for a question accompanied by surprise. A few MSS. have 'Sic volo, sic jubeo.'

225. *flamea conterit:*] "She wears out one veil after another, and after all comes back to her first husband." As to 'flameum' see note on ii. 124. "Conterit autem, exterit saepe nubendo." (Schol.)

Avolat et spreti repetit vestigia lecti.
Ornatas paulo ante fores, pendentia linquit
Vela domus et adhuc virides in limine ramos.
Sic crescit numerus; sic fiunt octo mariti
Quinque per autumnos: titulo res digna sepulcri.
Desperanda tibi salva concordia socru.
Illa docet spoliis nudi gaudere mariti;
Illa docet missis a corruptore tabellis
Nil rude nec simplex rescribere; decipit illa
Custodes aut aere domat: tunc corpore sano
Advocat Archigenen onerosaque pallia jactat.
Abditus interea latet et secretus adulter,
Impatiensque morae pavet et praeputia ducit.
Scilicet exspectas ut tradat mater honestos

226. *repetit vestigia lecti.*] This Lubinus has rightly explained, "Per eadem vestigia eandemque viam per quam maritum deseruerat ad maritum revertitur." She retraces her steps to the bed she had spurned. But the expression is unusual. Her caprice is such that the moment she has married a husband she leaves him, while the flowers and boughs and tapestry are still hanging about the doors (see above, v. 51, n.), and after all she comes back to the first.

229. *Sic crescit numerus;*] The frequency of divorces under the Empire has been mentioned above (v. 146). Seneca asks, "Numquid jam ulla repudio erubescit, postquam illustres quaedam et nobiles feminae non consulum numero sed maritorum annos suos computant, et exeunt matrimonii causa, nubunt repudii?" (De Beneficiis, iii. 16.) Juvenal says the woman ought to have the number of her husbands engraved on her tomb, which Ruperti says was usual. This is not very likely, though Mar tial says of a woman (ix. 16):

"Inscripsit tumulo septem celebrata virorum
Se fecisse Chloe: quid pote simplicius?"

Where the joke is that it being meant that this notorious lady (celebrata) had built this tomb containing her seven husbands, she is said 'fecisse,' which might mean that she had done it, or caused their death. ['Fecit' or 'Fecerunt' is a common word, sometimes at the end of a Roman monumental inscription, the name of him or of them who erected the monument (fecit, fecerunt) being usually placed at the beginning of the inscription. See Fabretti, Inscript.]

As a specimen of the interpolations of the middle ages, it may be mentioned that one late MS. has after verse 230 another: "Si fierent comites citius quam nuberet uxor." The little point of which Achaintre would remove by changing 'si' into 'nec,' which he says is not bad and very satirical. 'Si fierent' is a wish. But nobody supposes the verse to be genuine.

231. *Desperanda tibi*] He says a husband has no chance as long as his wife's mother is alive. She teaches her daughter to rob her husband, she corrects her love-letters, bribes the servants who are set to watch her, and teaches her to pretend fever and send for the doctor as an excuse to avoid her husband, while a lover is all the while hidden in the room.

236. *Advocat Archigenen*] Archigenes was a celebrated physician of this period, a Greek, born in Apamea in Syria. Juvenal mentions him as the representative of his profession here, and in two other places (xiii. 98; xiv. 252). The subject of 'advocat' is not the wife but the mother, who is said 'pallia jactare,' to heap a quantity of bedclothes on her daughter, pretending she is very ill. Ruperti makes the mother the subject. Heinrich the daughter. The explanation of the Scholiast and of those who follow him, that a paramour is called in under the pretence of a doctor, is against the context.

237. *latet et secretus*] One MS. of no particular character has 'securus.' All the

Atque alios mores quam quos habet: utile porro
Filiolam turpi vetulae producere turpem.
  Nulla fere causa est in qua non femina litem
Moverit. Accusat Manilia si rea non est.
Componunt ipsae per se formantque libellos,
Principium atque locos Celso dictare paratae.
  Endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma
Quis nescit? vel quis non vidit vulnera pali?
Quem cavat assiduis sudibus scutoque lacessit,
Atque omnes implet numeros, dignissima prorsus
Florali matrona tuba, nisi si quid in illo
Pectore plus agitat veraeque paratur arenae.
Quem praestare potest mulier galeata pudorem
Quae fugit a sexu? Vires amat. Haec tamen ipsa
Vir nollet fieri: nam quantula nostra voluptas!
Quale decus rerum si conjugis auctio fiat,
Balteus et manicae et cristae crurisque sinistri

rest and the Scholiast have 'secretus.' 'Accersitus' and 'arcessitus' have been conjectured, but both arise out of the Scholiast's error about the doctor. 'Secretus' is awkward after 'abditus,' and I doubt if it be the true reading. But the authority for 'securus' is too slight, and it might readily get into the text. Heinrich has it in his.

The Scholiast says the next verse does not appear in some MSS. No wonder. [Ribbeck has 'salit' for 'pavet.']

240. *utile porro*] "Besides it's useful to the old sinner to have a daughter as bad as herself." She can carry on her gains through her.

242. *Nulla fere causa est*] He says women mix themselves up with legal proceedings, and profess to understand law better than the ablest 'jurisconsulti,' among whom the Celsi, father and son, were eminent about this time. Manilia may be any body. Juvenal says, if she is not defending herself she will turn prosecutor; she must have one side or the other. 'Libellos' means 'libelli accusatorii,' written accusations sent in by the prosecutor to the praetor. 'Principium' means the 'exordium libelli,' and 'locos' the places from which arguments are taken. 'Dictare' is a word proper to teaching, from the masters' practice of dictating their lessons to boys. (See Hor. S. i. 10. 75, n.)

246. *Endromidas Tyrias*] 'Purple rugs,' as Holyday says. These were worn when a person was heated. See S. iii. 103. 'Ceroma' is also explained in that satire, v. 68. 'Pali' is a post on which beginners training for gladiators practised with a wooden sword and a wicker shield.

249. *Atque omnes implet numeros,*] 'Goes through all her course,' as the 'lanista' directs.

250. *Florali matrona tuba,*] The festival of Flora was celebrated at Rome from the 28th April till the 2nd May, every year. It was attended with very licentious exhibitions on the stage, women appearing naked; and Juvenal says this woman gladiator was worthy certainly of blowing a trumpet at the Floralia, except that whereas the representations there were only acted, she was prepared to enter the arena in reality. (See S. i. 22, n.)

255. *Quale decus rerum*] "What a fine thing for you if your wife's property were brought to auction, her belt, gauntlets, crests, and greaves." These were worn by gladiators of different sorts, as may be seen in the engravings from the bas-reliefs on the tomb of Scaurus at Pompeii, in Smith's Dict. Ant., Art. 'Gladiatores.' Some wore greaves on both legs, others on only one. The right arm is covered, the left carries an oblong shield. 'Manicae,' as worn by gladiators, are sleeves which covered the whole of the right arm and hand. 'Balteus' was a sword-belt worn round the

Dimidium tegmen: vel si diversa movebit
Proelia, tu felix ocreas vendente puella.
Hae sunt quae tenui sudant in cyclade, quarum
Delicias et panniculus bombycinus urit.
Aspice quo fremitu monstratos perferat ictus
Et quanto galeae curvetur pondere, quanta
Poplitibus sedeat quam denso fascia libro,
Et ride positis scaphium quum sumitur armis.
Dicite vos neptes Lepidi caecive Metelli,
Gurgitis aut Fabii, quae ludia sumpserit unquam
Hos habitus? quando ad palum gemat uxor Asyli?

waist, as appears in the figures above referred to. The 'balteus' of the Roman soldier was passed over the left shoulder, and fell obliquely to the right side, where it supported a dagger or short sword. Servius, on Virgil, Aen. x. 494, quoting this verse, probably from memory, puts 'tunicae' for 'manicae.'

257. *vel si diversa movebit*] "Or if she turns to other sorts of fighting, and sells her greaves, what a fortunate fellow you will be." Probably he means when she gives up her fellies in the arena and goes back to her wantonness. The commentators write about her giving up the arms of a Samnite for those of some other kind of gladiator, but there is no point in this.

259. *tenui sudant in cyclade,*] "These are the persons who, when they appear in their own character, give themselves squeamish airs, affect to faint under the weight of a 'cyclas,'" which was a woman's tunic, or a petticoat of thin materials as it appears, "and that their delicate skin (delicias) is hurt by a vest of silk." The Greek women had something they called ἔγκυκλον, but that appears to have been an outer dress like the 'palla.' See Aristoph. Thesmoph. 260. Silk dresses of various kinds, tunics, shawls, &c., were worn by Roman ladies during the Empire. They were either manufactured in Europe, especially in the island of Cos, which was famous for this manufacture (S. viii. 101), from material brought from the East, or were imported from the interior of Asia. See Dict. Ant., Art. 'Sericum.' Seneca (de Benefic. vii. 9) speaks of "Sericas vestes, si vestes vocandae sunt in quibus nihil est quo defendi aut corpus aut denique pudor possit; quibus sumptis mulier parum liquido nudam se non esse jurabit."

Another instance of a false quotation from memory is in Priscian (iii. 7. 39), who says, "Notandum etiam 'pannus,' quod 'panniculus' facit Juvenalis in ii.: 'quarum delicias etiam bombycinus urit panniculus.'"

261. *Aspice quo fremitu*] Like other combatants she cries out as she deals her blows. 'Perferat' means 'deals home.' 'Monstratos' means the strokes she has been taught by the 'lanista.' She wears a helmet so large as to weigh down her head, and great leggings up above her knees bound with thick strips of bark. The bark of young saplings makes the strongest thongs. 'Fascia' is nowhere else used for the leggings of a gladiator, but it is the common name for such as women ordinarily and men sometimes wore in cold weather. See Hor. S. ii. 3. 255, "Fasciolas, cubital, focalia," and note. It is usual to take 'quanta poplitibus sedeat' for the woman sinking on her hams ready to spring forward. Manso suggested the explanation I have given, and Heinrich adopts it.

264. *scaphium quum sumitur*] The Scholiast calls 'scaphium' a drinking-cup, which has no sense here. Grangaeus calls it a woman's head-dress, which also has no point. It is more likely that Juvenal means such a 'trulla' as we have had before (iii. 108), and that women had such suited to their use, as the commentators say (see Forcell.).

265. *Dicite vos neptes*] He appeals to the granddaughters of the old worthies whether they ever saw even an actress or gladiator's wife (see above, v. 104) put on arms and practise fencing on a post. Which of the Lepidi is meant is not quite certain. There were many distinguished men of that family, which was a branch of the Aemilia

Semper habet lites alternaque jurgia lectus
In quo nupta jacet; minimum dormitur in illo.
Tum gravis illa viro, tunc orba tigride pejor;
Tum simulat gemitus occulti conscia facti,
Aut odit pueros, aut ficta pellice plorat,
Uberibus semper lacrimis semperque paratis
In statione sua atque exspectantibus illam
Quo jubeat manare modo: tu credis amorem,
Tu tibi tunc, curruca, places fletumque labellis
Exsorbes, quae scripta et quas lecture tabellas,
Si tibi zelotypae retegantur scrinia moechae!
Sed jacet in servi complexibus aut equitis. Dic,

gens; but none were so distinguished as M. Aemilius Lepidus. He was consul, A.U.C. 567, and again in 579; Pontifex Maximus, 574; Censor, 573; and died 602 at a great age. He built the bridge mentioned in v. 33, and carried out other great public works during his censorship. L. Caecilius Metellus, who lost his sight in rescuing the Palladium from the temple of Vesta, has been mentioned before on S. iii. 139: "Servavit trepidam flagranti ex aede Minervam." Q. Fabius Maximus, probably the grandfather of Fabius Maximus Cunctator, Hannibal's opponent, was surnamed Gurges, from his dissipation as a young man. He was consul first in A.U.C. 462, and again in 481. In both years he was successful against the Samnites, and had triumphs. Asylus must have been the name of a gladiator sufficiently well known to be proverbial.

268. *Semper habet lites*] He goes on to speak of curtain-lectures as they are called, a common subject for amusement. He describes the woman as flying at her husband like a tigress robbed of her whelps, pretending to groan over his amours, while conscience pricks her with her own, charging him with unnatural crimes (aut odit pueros), or with keeping a mistress, with a plentiful stock of tears only waiting her directions to flow, like soldiers waiting for their orders; while the man is fool enough to think it all a sign of her love, and kisses off her tears: but what letters he would find if he were to open his wife's desk! [Ribbeck omits 274, 275.]

276. *Tu tibi tunc, curruca,*] The MSS. vary; and the meaning of this word 'curruca,' or whatever the form may be, can only be got from scholia on this place, and they differ. One calls it a small insect generated in beans. But he reads 'uruca,' and that is the word in P. The substance of another scholium is given by Forcellini as his idea of the meaning, that 'curruca' was the name of a bird that was in the habit of hatching other birds' eggs as if they were her own. Forcellini adds that whatever the meaning may be, the word is not Latin. Heinrich has said much, and all that is wanted on the subject. Jahn has Uruca, following the first-mentioned Scholiast, who says it was the name of a stupid mimologus, who always broke down in acting the part of a husband.

277. *et quas lecture tabellas,*] This way of using the vocative case is uncommon. Heinrich quotes Persius (iii. 28):

"Stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis,
Censorem fatuum vel quod trabeate salutas?"

where Casaubon says it is a common construction both in Greek and Latin. Not I think as we have it in these two places, where the nominative would no doubt have been used but for the metre. The MSS. and editions vary between 'quot' and 'quas.' The quality is of more consequence than the quantity, and 'scripta' and 'tabellas' are the same subject.

278. *Si tibi zelotypae*] As to 'zelotypa,' see S. v. 45. She pretends to be jealous. 'Capsa' and 'scrinium' were the names of book and letter boxes.

279. *in servi complexibus aut equitis.*] High or low she is not particular. It seems to be a proverbial way of speaking. [Ribbeck omits this line, and it might be omitted without any injury to the sense. But the meaning is clear, and the line adds force to the passage. Her letters, if they

Dic aliquem sodes hic, Quintiliane, colorem.
"Haeremus." Dic ipsa. "Olim convenerat," inquit,
"Ut faceres tu quod velles, nec non ego possem
Indulgere mihi: clames licet et mare caelo
Confundas, homo sum." Nihil est audacius illis
Deprensis; iram atque animos a crimine sumunt.
Unde haec monstra tamen vel quo de fonte requiris?
Praestabat castas humilis fortuna Latinas
Quondam, nec vitiis contingi parva sinebat
Tecta labor somnique breves et vellere Tusco
Vexatae duraeque manus ac proximus Urbi
Hannibal et stantes Collina turre mariti.
Nunc patimur longae pacis mala; saevior armis
Luxuria incubuit victumque ulciscitur orbem.

could be seen, would show that she is an adulteress. The letters however are concealed from the husband; but 'suppose (sed jacet, &c.) she is caught with a slave or an eques, what defence could she make then?' The woman has her answer ready.]

280. *Dic aliquem sodes*] As if he were the injured husband. He calls upon his friend Quintilian, a skilful rhetorician and a good man (see above, v. 75, n.) to find any excuse or colouring for the woman's conduct. But he has nothing to say ('haeremus' is his answer). The woman is then called upon to defend herself, and she says they had mutually agreed when they married that they were to take their own ways; and she defies him, crying that storm as he will she is a woman, and will have her pleasures. Detection does not shame but exasperate them. When found out they are like wild beasts at bay, they get a desperate courage. 'Mare caelo Confundas' is like "Quis caelum terris non misceat et mare caelo" in S. ii. 25, where see note.

286. *Unde haec monstra tamen*] His answer to this question is, riches and idleness, the fruit of peace, are the cause of all this profligacy. When Latin women were poor they were chaste, and labour kept vice out of their doors when their hands were hard with spinning, and when danger threatened the gates of Rome, and their husbands were fighting for their country's safety. Augustine, in one of his letters to Marcellinus (Class. iii. Ep. 138, Edit. Bened.), quotes these fine lines to show that it was not Christianity but money that brought ruin upon Rome. Except that he has 'in turre' (v. 291), he quotes the passage as it is in the text. Sallust (Bell. Cat. 6—12) gives much the same account of the growth of vice in Rome, and it is worth while to read Augustine's commentary on Sallust in the 18th chapter of his treatise De Civitate Dei, the title of which is *Quae de moribus Romanorum aut metu repressis aut securitate resolutis Sallustii prodat historia.*

290. *proximus Urbi*] In the year A.U.C. 543, while his army in Capua was besieged by Fulvius Flaccus the consul, Hannibal, in order to force him to raise the siege, marched a force against Rome. The greatest terror prevailed in the city. The women flocked to the temples to pray, while their husbands and sons manned the walls. It happened that two newly-raised legions were in the city. The consul hurried up from Capua with a great part of his army, and the Albans sent a force to assist. Hannibal was unable therefore to do any thing but ravage the surrounding country and retire. The description Livy gives of the state of the city and the conduct of the women accounts for Juvenal taking this incident for his illustration. The route that Hannibal took from Capua to Rome is uncertain. It is generally supposed he came round to the north of the city, where he encamped within four miles of the walls. The porta Collina was the northern gate, that by which the Gauls are said to have entered.

292. *Nunc patimur longae pacis mala;*] Horace attributes to the same cause the declension of the Greeks after the Persian war (Epp. ii. 1. 93, sqq., where see note):

"Ut primum positis nugari Graecia bellis
Coepit, et in vitium fortuna labier aequa,—

Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit: hinc fluxit ad istos
Et Sybaris colles, hinc et Rhodos et Miletos
Atque coronatum et petulans madidumque Tarentum.
Prima peregrinos obscena pecunia mores
Intulit, et turpi fregerunt secula luxu
Divitiae molles. Quid enim Venus ebria curat?
Inguinis et capitis quae sint discrimina nescit,
Grandia quae mediis jam noctibus ostrea mordet,
Quum perfusa mero spumant unguenta Falerno,
Quum bibitur concha, quum jam vertigine tectum
Ambulat et geminis exsurgit mensa lucernis.

Hoc paces habuere bonae, ventique secundi."

'Luxuria incubuit (orbi)' is like Horace's

"Et nova febrium Terris incubuit cohors."
(C. i. 3. 30.)

295. *hinc fluxit ad istos*] 'Hinc' is 'from this time.' 'Istos' is a conjectural reading of some antiquity. Most MSS. have Histros or Istros, from which the reading of the text has been derived. P. has Indos, and Jahn has adopted it. What Indos can have to do here I cannot say. As to 'perit,' see v. 559. [Ribbeck, v. 295: 'hinc fluxit Aminsos Et Sybaris sollers, &c.']

296. *Et Sybaris colles,*] The Romans dated with truth the deterioration of their morals from their first intimate intercourse with the Greek colonies. (See note on Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 156, "Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit.") The conquest of Sicily, and its annexation to Rome as a province, gave the first heavy blow to the severity of the olden time. And when the cities of Magna Graecia were reduced, and still more when the kingdom of Attalus became a Roman province, the habits of luxury, for which the Ionian Greeks in particular were notorious, were imported with the wealth required for their indulgence. On this subject and the evils that flowed into Rome from Eastern Asia through the province of Syria, we have a good deal in the 3rd Satire, v. 58, sqq. On the condition of the province Asia and its relations with Rome, see Long's Excursus, Cic. Orat. vol. ii. p. 285. Cicero speaks of it as "tam corruptrice provincia," Ep. ad Qu. Fr. i. 1. 6.

The ancient Greek town of Sybaris, near the Gulf of Tarentum, had ceased to exist long before the Romans had crossed the Apennines. It was founded B.C. 720 by Achaeans and Troezenians, and was destroyed in a civil war, B.C. 510. But in two centuries the people had established a name which is a proverb to this day. The town of Thurii rose in its place, and was the Sybaris of Juvenal's time. Rhodes was not a part of the Roman Empire till the reign of Vespasian, who made it and the islands of the Aegean into a Provincia Insularum; but the Rhodians formed an alliance with Rome as early as the war of Attalus with Philip III. (B.C. 197), in which the Romans gave the King of Pergamum their help. Its celebrity for works of art, statues and paintings, surpassed that of any other place. Miletus contributed the finest woollen manufactures to the luxury of Rome. The character of the Tarentines was not less notorious than that of their neighbours of Sybaris. Their life was one holiday. Their calendar is said to have contained more festivals than there are days in the year. See note on Hor. S. ii. 4. 34, "molle Tarentum." Elsewhere he calls it 'imbelle' (Epp. i. 7. 45).

304. *Quum bibitur concha,*] "When the drunken wretches pour the wine into the oil cup and drink out of that, and don't know the difference," which is Forcellini's explanation. 'Concha' was a shell-shaped vessel of various kinds, and used for various purposes. Horace has "concha salis puri" (S. i. 3. 14), and "funde capacibus unguenta de conchis" (C. ii. 7. 22). Pliny (H. N. xiii. 3) has some good remarks upon the extravagant use of perfumes, which he says are the most superfluous of all luxuries, and adds, "At, hercule, jam quidam etiam in potus addunt; tantique amaritudo est ut odore prodigo fruantur ex utraque parte corporis."

I nunc et dubita qua sorbeat aera sanna
Tullia, quid dicat notae collactia Maurae,
Maura Pudicitiae veterem quum praeterit aram.
Noctibus hic ponunt lecticas, micturiunt hic,
Effigiemque Deae longis siphonibus implent,
Inque vices equitant ac Luna teste moventur.
Inde domos abeunt: tu calcas luce reversa
Conjugis urinam magnos visurus amicos.
Nota Bonae secreta Deae, quum tibia lumbos
Incitat et cornu pariter vinoque feruntur
Attonitae crinemque rotant ululantque Priapum
Maenades. O quantus tunc illis mentibus ardor
Concubitus! quae vox saltante libidine! quantus
Ille meri veteris per crura madentia torrens!
Lenonum ancillas posita Saufeia corona
Provocat et tollit pendentis praemia coxae:
Ipsa Medullinae fluctum crissantis adorat.
Palmam inter dominas virtus natalibus aequat.
Nil ibi per ludum simulabitur: omnia fient
Ad verum, quibus incendi jam frigidus aevo
Laomedontiades et Nestoris hernia possit.
Tunc prurigo morae impatiens, tunc femina simplex.
It toto pariter repetitus clamor ab antro:

306. *I nunc et dubita*] "Go now and doubt when you are told with what a sneer Tullia snuffs the air." The order of these verses varies in the MSS., 307 and 308 changing places in a very few. Jahn and Ruperti [and Ribbeck] have followed Achaintre in that arrangement. Heinrich keeps to the common reading, which there is no necessity for changing. P. and three of Achaintre's MSS. omit 307. 'Collactia' is a 'foster-sister.' 'Collactanea' is a form of the same word found in the jurists. See Forcellini, who shows from inscriptions in Gruter that 'collactia,' not 'collactea' as many MSS. have it, is the right form, though he gives both. Collatia, a proper name, is the reading of nearly all the old editions. As to the temples of Pudicitia, see note on v. 1 of this Satire. 'Maura' is brought in again in S. x. 224.

313. *magnos visurus amicos.*] That is at the early 'salutatio' (S. i. 95. 127).

314. *Nota Bonae secreta Deae,*] "Notorious are the good goddess' secret rites." On these, see S. ii. 86, sqq.

316. *Attonitae crinemque rotant*] 'Attonitae' is the proper word for inspiration, like ἐμβρόντητος. Horace says, "Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet Vates" (C. iii. 19. 14). Priapus and Dionysus were confounded in the older Greek legends, and so they are here. Their worship, however, was distinct in historical times. Respecting that of Priapus, who was the protector of gardens and orchards, and also of flocks and herds, and who represented the principle of fertility, see note on Hor. S. i. 8. 1, "Olim truncus eram ficulnus." The MSS. and editions vary between Priapi and Priapo, which last appears in most. 'Ululantque' is in these changed to 'ululante,' which must have been done because Priapo was not understood. It must originally have been Priapō for Priapom, which case Ruperti and Heinrich prefer. I believe it to be the true MSS. reading. [Ribbeck and Jahn have 'Priapi;' and Ribbeck omits v. 323.]

328. *It toto*] [Ribbeck and Jahn have 'ac pariter toto,' and a comma after 'simplex;' and in v. 332, Ribbeck has 'veniet' for 'venit et.']

"Jam fas est; admitte viros." Jam dormit adulter:
Illa jubet sumpto juvenem properare cucullo.
Si nihil est servis incurritur. Abstuleris spem
Servorum, venit et conductus aquarius. Hic si
Quaeritur et desunt homines, mora nulla per ipsam
Quo minus imposito clunem summittat asello.
Atque utinam ritus veteres et publica saltem
His intacta malis agerentur sacra: sed omnes
Noverunt Mauri atque Indi, quae psaltria penem
Majorem quam sunt duo Caesaris Anticatones
Illuc, testiculi sibi conscius unde fugit mus
Intulerit, ubi velari pictura jubetur
Quaecunque alterius sexus imitata figuram est.
Et quis tunc hominum contemptor numinis? aut quis
Simpuvium ridere Numae nigrumque catinum
Et Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas
Ausus erat? Sed nunc ad quas non Clodius aras?
Audio quid veteres olim moneatis amici.
"Pone seram, cohibe." Sed quis custodiet ipsos
Custodes? Cauta est et ab illis incipit uxor.
Jamque eadem summis pariter minimisque libido:
Nec melior silicem pedibus quae conterit atrum
Quam quae longorum vehitur cervice Syrorum.

337. *Noverunt Mauri atque Indi,*] 'All the world knows.' The 'psaltria' referred to is Clodius, Cicero's profligate adversary, who in A.U.C. 692 got himself introduced, dressed as a female musician, into a room in Caesar's house, where the mysteries of Bona Dea were being celebrated. His object was to keep an assignation with Pompeia, Caesar's wife. The two verses before this (335, sq.) Heinrich considers spurious [and they are omitted by Ribbeck].

338. *duo Caesaris Anticatones*] Cicero wrote a book in praise of Cato of Utica, to which Caesar replied in a work in two books, called Anticato. Suetonius mentions it (Caes. c. 56), and Gellius quotes from it (iv. c. 16). Cicero also refers to the work occasionally. It seems to have been very abusive. ("Ejus vituperationis quam Cæsar scripsit de Catone," Cic. ad Att. xii. 41.)

342. *Et quis tunc hominum*] 'Tunc' is emphatic, and means 'in the olden time.' But now, he says, there is a Clodius for every altar. 'Simpuvium' was a sort of earthen cup out of which libations were poured. Another form of the word is 'simpulum.' 'Nigrum catinum' means a 'coarse dish of clay,' of which also the paterae were made. They are all meant to represent the simplicity of the ancient worship. 'Vaticano monte' is only a way of speaking. The clay that made the cup was got he means in the neighbourhood, and a rude native artist made it.

346. *olim moneatis amici.*] 'Olim' means that long since his old experienced friends had been inclined to advise this course. All the time he has been going on exposing the women, they had been saying, "Why don't you put locks upon them, and keep them under restraint?" This seems to be the meaning. (See S. iv. 96.) [P. and Ribbeck have 'prohibe' in place of 'cohibe.'] The next words, "Sed quis custodiet ipsos Custodes," have a proverbial air. They at least are so used now, and express a great deal.

349. *Jamque eadem*] [This verse is omitted by Ribbeck.]

350. *silicem pedibus quae conterit*] High and low are all as bad one as the

Ut spectet ludos conducit Ogulnia vestem,
Conducit comites, sellam, cervical, amicas,
Nutricem, et flavam cui det mandata puellam.
Haec tamen argenti superest quodcunque paterni
Levibus athletis ac vasa novissima donat.
Multis res angusta domi est: sed nulla pudorem
Paupertatis habet, nec se metitur ad illum
Quem dedit haec posuitque modum. Tamen utile quid sit
Prospiciunt aliquando viri, frigusque famemque
Formica tandem quidam expavere magistra.
Prodiga non sentit pereuntem femina censum,
At velut exhausta redivivus pullulet arca
Nummus et e pleno tollatur semper acervo,
Non unquam reputant quanti sibi gaudia constent.
Sunt quas eunuchi imbelles ac mollia semper
Oscula delectent et desperatio barbae,
Et quod abortivo non est opus. Illa voluptas
Summa tamen, quod jam calida matura juventa
Inguina traduntur medicis, jam pectine nigro.
Ergo spectatos ac jussos crescere primum
Testiculos, postquam coeperunt esse bilibres,
Tonsoris damno tantum rapit Heliodorus.
Conspicuus longe cunctisque notabilis intrat
Balnea, nec dubie custodem vitis et horti
Provocat a domina factus spado. Dormiat ille

other, the girl who tramps along the pavement or the fine lady in her chair. 'Atrum silicem' is the lava pavement. Liburnian slaves are spoken of as bearers in S. iii. 240: "ingenti curret super ora Liburno." Here we have Syrians, who may be any Easterns, for the name is general.

352. *Ut spectet ludos*] He now comes to the extravagance of women indulging themselves with fashionable amusements in a style beyond their means and condition. The woman he speaks of hires every thing, even to her dress, to make a figure in at the play. The extravagant dressing of the men has been spoken of before, S. iii. 180: "Hic ultra vires habitus nitor." As to 'sella,' see i. 64, n. 'Cervical' is a pillow to support the head. Women of fashion seldom went out without a train of female slaves and dependants like their husbands. Hence the terms 'deducere,' 'reducere.' See Hor. S. i. 9. 59, n. See Casaubon on Theophrastus, Char. xxii. The Ogulnii were a plebeian gens, who became 'nobiles' through the brothers Q. and Cn., who as tribunes of the plebs carried a law affecting the number and election of pontiffs and augurs in the year A.U.C. 454, and afterwards became Curule Aediles. (Livy, x. 6, sqq.) 'Vasa novissima' is like Pollio's 'novissimus annulus' (xi. 42), the last he had.

361. *Formica tandem*] This is the old fable of the ant laying up stores for the winter. He says sometimes after long experience and at the last hour (tandem) the husbands try to lay by a little against a rainy day, as we say. But the wives never consider how much their pleasures are to cost, and seem to think money grows like trees, and is better for lopping. Heinrich thinks v. 362 should come after 364.

363. *At velut*] [P., Jahn, and Ribbeck have 'ac velut.']

Cum domina: sed tu jam durum, Postume, jamque
Tondendum eunucho Bromium committere noli.
  Si gaudet cantu nullius fibula durat
Vocem vendentis Praetoribus; organa semper
In manibus; densi radiant testudine tota
Sardonyches; crispo numerantur pectine chordae,
Quo tener Hedymeles operam dedit: hunc tenet, hoc se
Solatur gratoque indulget basia plectro.
Quaedam de numero Lamiarum ac nominis alti
Cum farre et vino Janum Vestamque rogabat,
An Capitolinam deberet Pollio quercum

380. *Vocem vendentis Praetoribus;*] See S. viii. 194, n. He turns to the woman whose taste lies in music and musicians, and says none of these can withstand her advances. She always carries about the harp of her favourite, whom he calls Hedymeles (ἡδὺ μέλος), and plays upon it and kisses it in the absence of its owner. He describes it as set all round with stones. Cicero describes a 'citharoedus' as coming before the audience "optime vestitus, palla inaurata indutus, cum chlamyde purpurea coloribus variis intexta, et cum corona aurea magnis fulgentibus gemmis illuminata, citharam tenens exornatissimam, auro et ebore distinctam, ipse praeterea forma et specie et statura apposita ad dignitatem" (ad Herenn. iv. 47). The 'sardonyx,' the stone most frequently used for gems, Pliny (xxxvii. 6) says was first brought into fashion by the elder Scipio, and from that time became very highly esteemed. The bottom of the lyre, the original conception of which was supposed to have been derived from the shell of the tortoise, continued to late times to be made of that material. (See Dict. Ant., 'Lyra.') As to the different sorts of musical instruments that went by the general name of 'organa,' see Forcellini. 'Pecten' and 'plectrum' were both used to signify a small staff with which the strings were commonly struck, though it seems the fingers were used sometimes without it. See Virg. Aen. vi. 647: "Jamque eadem digitis, jam pectine pulsat eburno." And Persius, vi. 2: "Jamne lyra et tetrico vivunt tibi pectine chordae?" The latter is the Greek name for the same thing (from πλήσσειν), the other is taken from a comparison of this instrument with the comb which weavers use. See Dict. Ant., 'Tela.' 'Crispo,' Forcellini says, is 'celeri et crispante,' 'quick and darting.'

'Numerantur' is the reading of all the MSS. Jahn gives 'pulsanti' as the reading of the Scholiast. "*Crispo:* eburno scilicet pectine qui crispet et agitet cordas; aut scutulato et pulcro." It is supposed his word 'agitet' refers to 'pulsantur' or 'vibrantur' in the text. (Markland ad Stat. Silv. iii. 5. 64.) Jahn edits 'pulsantur.' But 'numerantur' is not likely to have been invented. It means that numbers are brought from the chords by the striking of the 'pecten.' [In v. 383 Jahn and Ribbeck have 'operas' from P. and other MSS.]

385. *Quaedam de numero Lamiarum*] He says some noble lady once upon a time offered sacrifice to Janus and Vesta to learn whether her favourite musician would win the crown at the games. As to the Lamiae, see note on iv. 154. As to the 'salted cake' (far, mola salsa), see note on Hor. C. iii. 23. 20: "Farre pio et saliente mica." Janus was worshipped first of all the gods (as explained more fully on Hor. S. ii. 6. 20, "Matutine pater seu Jane libentius audis"), and Vesta last, which Cicero explains thus: "Vis ejus ad aras et focos pertinet. Itaque in ea Dea quae est rerum custos intimarum, omnis et precatio et sacrificatio extrema est." (De Nat. Deor. ii. 27.) Juvenal therefore makes his woman pray to all the gods at once, from Janus to Vesta.

For 'nominis alti' the Scholiast had 'nominis Appi,' and he adds 'Appiam significat.' But, as Cramer says, 'ac' must in that case be 'aut,' and then the verse is weakened. Jahn has 'Appi,' and Ruperti approves.

387. *An Capitolinam*] Suetonius says of Domitian (Vit. Domit. c. 4), "Instituit quinquennale certamen Capitolino Jovi triplex, musicum, equestre, gymnicum et aliquanto plurium quam nunc est coronatorum. Certabant etiam et prosa oratione

Sperare et fidibus promittere. Quid faceret plus
Aegrotante viro, medicis quid tristibus erga
Filiolum? Stetit ante aram, nec turpe putavit
Pro cithara velare caput, dictataque verba
Pertulit ut mos est, et aperta palluit agna.
Dic mihi nunc quaeso, dic, antiquissime Divum,
Respondes his, Jane pater? Magna otia caeli:
Non est, ut video, non est quod agatur apud vos.
Haec de comoedis te consulit; illa tragoedum
Commendare volet: varicosus fiet haruspex.
  Sed cantet potius quam totam pervolet urbem
Audax et coetus possit quam ferre virorum
Cumque paludatis ducibus praesente marito
Ipsa loqui recta facie strictisque mamillis.
Haec eadem novit quid toto fiat in orbe;

Graece Latineque; ac praeter citharoedos chorocitharistae quoque et psilocitharistae." The crown was of oak leaves. So Martial says (iv. 54):

"O cui Tarpeias licuit contingere quercus,
Et meritas prima cingere fronde comas."

These games which Nero celebrated, though perhaps Domitian first instituted them as a regular quinquennial practice, were continued to a late period of the Empire. Martial attributes them to Domitian:

"Pro Capitolinis quid enim tibi solvere templis,
Quid pro Tarpeiae frondis honore potest?" (ix. 4.)

Pollio is mentioned in the next Satire, v. 176. It was the name of a living musician, for Martial mentions him. 'Sperare et fidibus promittere,' is like Lucan, vii. 758:

"Cum sibi Tarpeias victor desponderit arces,
Cum spe Romanae promiserit omnia praedae."

391. *Pro cithara velare caput,*] "For a mere player to put on the veil," the usual custom in sacrifices. The priest in attendance recited the usual form of prayer (carmen) and the suppliant repeated it after him. 'Pertulit' means, as Heinrich says, repeats these tedious formulae with all patience from beginning to end. 'Aperta palluit agna' expresses her anxiety as she looks into the entrails of the lamb, and expects the declaration of the haruspex.

393. *antiquissime Divum,*] See the note on Horace, S. ii. 6. 20, referred to on v. 385. 'Antiquissimus' here is 'foremost.' "Unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores Instituunt" (Hor. l. c.).

394. *Magna otia caeli:*] Horace, copying Lucretius, says (S. i. 5. 101):

"—— namque deos didici securum agere aevum;
Nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id
Tristes ex alto caeli demittere tecto."

Juvenal says the haruspex will get varicose veins in his legs with standing about so much in attendance on these women.

398. *Sed cantet potius*] The next character is that of a bold masculine woman who thrusts herself into the company and business of men; a busybody who knows every one's affairs; a gossip who is familiar with all the news, running about the town to pick up the last reports. [Ribbeck omits from the text vv. 398—412. In v. 399 he and Jahn have 'quae' for 'quam.']

400. *paludatis ducibus*] The 'paludamentum' was a cloak worn by superior officers. It was loosely thrown over one shoulder, and fastened with a clasp over the other, so as always to leave one arm bare, or it fell over the back, the clasp shifting round to the throat, as in the figures given in Smith's Dict. Ant. sub verb. (See Cic. in Verr. ii. 5. 13, 'quum paludatus excipit,' Long's note.) 'Strictis mamillis' Heinrich explains, 'exstantibus, nudis,' 'mit unbedecktem Busen.' "E sinu exsertis et patentibus. Sic dicimus

Quid Seres, quid Thraces agant; secreta novercae
Et pueri; quis amet, quis diripiatur adulter.
Dicet quis viduam praegnantem fecerit et quo
Mense; quibus verbis concumbat quaeque, modis quot.
Instantem regi Armenio Parthoque cometen
Prima videt; famam rumoresque illa recentes
Excipit ad portas; quosdam facit, isse Niphaten
In populos magnoque illic cuncta arva teneri
Diluvio; nutare urbes, subsidere terras,
Quocunque in trivio, cuicunque est obvia, narrat.
  Nec tamen id vitium magis intolerabile quam quae

strictum gladium pro evaginato" (Valla). It seems to mean this, and the word is used like 'strictus ensis,' a sword unsheathed.' As the woman is in the company of soldiers this way of speaking is not inappropriate. The commentators and translators generally understand 'strictis' as 'bare.' Ruperti follows Britannicus, who explains it as "ita coarctatis ut in summo natent sinu." The Scholiast has "adhuc exstantibus vel sine sudore." He alludes to the variant 'siccis' which appears in P. and several good MSS., and is taken into the text by Jahn. [Ribbeck has 'siccis.']

403. *Quid Seres, quid Thraces agant;*] This is as much as to say she knew what no one else cared to know. Horace speaks of the Seres as an indefinite sort of people far away in the East: "Sive subjectos orientis orae Seras et Indos" (C. i. 12. 55). He thinks it very unnecessary for Maecenas to trouble himself about

"Quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent Tanaisque discors."
(C. iii. 29. 27.)

See notes on those places and on C. iv. 15. 23: "Non Seres infidive Persæ." 'Thraces' stands for the remoter Scythian tribes, about whom the Romans did not trouble themselves much. 'Secreta' means the intrigues between a stepmother and her stepson. For 'diripiatur' M. and a good many MSS. and editions have 'decipiatur,' which most of the translators have followed. P. has 'diripiatur,' which is the true reading. It means torn to pieces among the women, each trying to secure him, as in Persius ii. 37, "Puellae hunc rapiant;" and Martial vii. 76, to a parasite who was a favourite among the rich:

"Quod te diripiunt potentiores
Per convivia, porticus, theatra."

407. *Instantem regi Armenio*] Armenia was reduced to a Roman province by Trajan, who went in person at the head of a large army into that country, and deposed the king, Parthamasiris, who was a Parthian, and had been placed on the throne of Armenia by Chosroes, King of Parthia, expelling the reigning king, Exedares, who had been king from A.D. 78, and was restored by Trajan, A.D. 106. Lipsius (Epistolicae Quaestiones, iv. 20), discussing the age of Juvenal, infers from this passage that he lived in the time of Trajan, and that he here refers to his expedition. Several comets are recorded in the reigns about this time; and Suetonius mentions one in the reign of Vespasian, on which the emperor said in jest that it had something to do with the Parthian king, "Qui capillatus esset." (Vesp. 24.) The particular allusion, if any, cannot be determined. It may be to the expedition of Trajan or to any time before it, but not later, for Armenia did not give the Romans any trouble for some time after that expedition.

409. *quosdam facit, isse Niphaten*] Niphates is a range of mountains in Armenia, part of the range of Taurus. Some of the Latin poets speak of it as the name of a river, and so Juvenal supposed it to be. (See note on Hor. C. ii. 9. 20, 'rigidum Niphaten.') The woman stands at the city gates, and picks up all sorts of travellers' lies, about floods and earthquakes in distant parts, and so forth, and retails them to every one she meets as the news of the day. 'Facit,' 'she makes out;' part of her news she invents.

413. *Nec tamen id vitium*] He says the gossip is not so bad as the hot-tempered violent creature who flies into a passion and gets black in the face with rage if a dog barks and breaks her rest, and bids the poor beast and his master be cruelly flogged.

Vicinos humiles rapere et concidere loris
Exorata solet. Nam si latratibus alti
Rumpuntur somni, "Fustes huc ocius," inquit,
"Afferte," atque illis dominum jubet ante feriri,
Deinde canem. Gravis occursu, teterrima vultu,
Balnea nocte subit; conchas et castra moveri
Nocte jubet; magno gaudet sudare tumultu,
Quum lassata gravi ceciderunt brachia massa,
Callidus et cristae digitos impressit aliptes
Ac summum dominae femur exclamare coegit.
Convivae miseri interea somnoque fameque
Urgentur: tandem illa venit rubicundula, totum
Oenophorum sitiens, plena quod tenditur urna
Admotum pedibus, de quo sextarius alter
Ducitur ante cibum rabidam facturus orexin,
Dum redit et loto terram ferit intestino.
Marmoribus rivi properant, aurata Falernum
Pelvis olet: nam sic, tanquam alta in dolia longus
Deciderit serpens, bibit et vomit. Ergo maritus
Nauseat atque oculis bilem substringit opertis.
  Illa tamen gravior, quae quum discumbere coepit
Laudat Virgilium, periturae ignoscit Elissae,
Committit vates et comparat; inde Maronem
Atque alia parte in trutina suspendit Homerum.
Cedunt grammatici, vincuntur rhetores, omnis

'Exorata' means though they beg to be let off. [Ribbeck omits this verse; and in v. 415 he has 'exertata' for 'exorata.']

419. *Balnea nocte subit;*] She goes to bathe late in the evening, and keeps her guests waiting for dinner. 'Conchas' means the 'oil-cup' (see v. 304). 'Castra moveri' expresses the fuss she makes, as imperious women will. Her preparations for a bath were like moving a camp. 'Sudare' refers to the vapour-bath, 'Massa,' to dumb-bells used after bathing. The woman had a man to rub her dry.

425. *tandem illa venit rubicundula,*] She comes back glowing with her bath, and calls for wine, ready to drink off a whole 'urna,' which was 24 sextarii, or about 12 quarts. Of this she drinks off two pints (sextarius alter) before dinner, to get up a ravenous appetite (ὄρεξιν). This is thrown up again, and with it the contents of her stomach, dirtying the marble floor, and disgusting her husband. 'Oenophorus' is a general name for any wine-vessel. It is here said to be filled to the brim (tenditur) with an entire 'urna.' 'Admotum pedibus' means only that it was put before her; but 'admotum' implies that it was large and heavy. 'Dum redit' is the reading of nearly all the MSS. 'Cum' appears in two according to Ruperti (Var. Lect.), and it would seem better suited to the sense.

434. *Illa tamen gravior,*] He considers a greater nuisance than any of the foregoing a clever woman, who gives her opinion and lays down the law, criticizing the poets and comparing them so loud and fast that no one can get in a word. As to 'discumbere,' see S. v. 12.

435. *periturae ignoscit Elissae,*] She pities poor Dido, and forgives her faults. She matches ('committit,' see i. 163) Virgil and Homer, and puts them in the scales together. 'Trutina' was the general name

Turba tacet: nec causidicus, nec praeco loquatur,
Altera nec mulier: verborum tanta cadit vis,
Tot pariter pelves, tot tintinnabula dicas
Pulsari. Jam nemo tubas, nemo aera fatiget:
Una laboranti poterit succurrere lunae.
Imponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis:
Nam quae docta nimis cupit et facunda videri,
Crure tenus medio tunicas succingere debet,
Caedere Silvano porcum, quadrante lavari.
Non habeat matrona tibi quae juncta recumbit

for scales, of which the Romans commonly used the libra, which is here referred to, a balance with two dishes, and the statera or steel-yard. 'Grammatici' was the name of all teachers of languages, as 'rhetores' was of teachers of rhetoric, both ordinary parts of a Roman's education after as well as during his school-days. See Hor. Epp. i. 19. 40, n.

439. *nec causidicus, nec praeco*] As to the 'causidici,' see note on S. i. 32. These people are put with the criers because like them they have good lungs, but they give way to the chattering woman who talks so loud that every word she utters is like the clatter of a metal basin or a bell. [Jahn and Ribbeck have 'loquetur.']

442. *Jam nemo tubas,*] "No one need now blow trumpets and beat cymbals to help the moon in her trouble and drown the voices of the witches." The superstitions connected with eclipses are as prevalent in one form or other now as ever. It seems the ignorant supposed that the witches charmed the moon away, and that noise would drown their incantations. How possible such nonsense may be, any one may convince himself by going among the Hindoos. He may see multitudes prostrating themselves on the sea-shore, and crying and beating drums, while the moon is retiring under the earth's shadow, the vulgar notion being that a great snake is swallowing her.

444. *Imponit finem sapiens*] I do not see any difficulty in these words. Gifford calls it a difficult line, and translates it, "She lectures too on Ethics, and declaims on the Chief Good," which he says "is in conformity to the opinion of some of the best commentators." As the words stand the sense is plainly that however good knowledge may be for women, all good things have their limits, and a woman ought not to be too learned; for she who seeks to be so had better come out as a man at once. All that follows illustrates this excess. Whether Juvenal wrote the line or not is another question. Heinrich thinks he did not, but that the monks did. Heinrich also thinks vv. 445–447 should come after 456. [Ribbeck places v. 444 and the three following verses after v. 456, and this is a better place for them.] 'Nam' must have some meaning. If v. 444 is spurious, as I am inclined to think it is, it may have been substituted for some other. Whether this be so or not 'nam' may be used, as it sometimes is, only to carry on the sense (see note on v. 185, above).

446. *Crure tenus medio*] As the Scholiast says, "hoc est, accipere debet virilem habitum et cingi ut vir." As to the length of the tunic, see note on Hor. S. i. 2. 25, "Maltinus tunicis demissis ambulat." The Scholiast says on the next line that women might not sacrifice to Silvanus. They would have no occasion to do so. He was the farmer's god, and all kinds of country productions were offered to him (see note on Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 143, "Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant"). As to 'quadrante lavari' see S. ii. 152, n., "nisi qui nondum aere lavantur."

448. *Non habeat matrona*] As to 'non' for 'ne,' see Key's Lat. Gr. § 1402; and for several examples in Horace, see note on C. i. 13. 13, "Non si me satis audias Speres perpetuum," and on S. ii. 5. 89, "Neu desis operae neve immoderatus abundes," and 'non etiam sileas,' v. 91. Euripides (Hippolytus, v. 640) says,

σοφὴν δὲ μισῶ· μὴ γὰρ ἔν γ' ἐμοῖς δόμοις
εἴη φρονοῦσα πλεῖον ἢ γυναῖκα χρῆν·
τὸ γὰρ πανοῦργον μᾶλλον ἐντίκτει Κύ-
πρις
ἐν ταῖς σοφαῖσι.

Dicendi genus, aut curtum sermone rotato
Torqueat enthymema, nec historias sciat omnes:
Sed quaedam ex libris et non intelligat. Odi
Hanc ego, quae repetit volvitque Palaemonis artem,
Servata semper lege et ratione loquendi,
Ignotosque mihi tenet antiquaria versus,
Nec curanda viris opicae castigat amicae
Verba. Soloecismum liceat fecisse marito.
Nil non permittit mulier sibi, turpe putat nil,
Quum virides gemmas collo circumdedit et quum
Auribus extentis magnos commisit elenchos.
Intolerabilius nihil est quam femina dives.
Interea foeda aspectu ridendaque multo
Pane tumet facies, aut pinguia Poppaeana
Spirat, et hinc miseri viscantur labra mariti.

449. *curtum sermone rotato*] He calls an enthymema 'curtum,' 'curtailed,' because it is a syllogism with one of the premises understood. The commentators quote in illustration of 'sermone rotato Torqueat' v. 193 of the next Satire, "Felix orator quoque maximus et jaculator;" and Muretus (Var. Lect. viii. 21) quotes Plato (Protagoras, p. 342), where, speaking of the Lacedaemonians and their brevity of speech, he says, *ἐνέβαλε ῥῆμα ἄξιον λόγου βραχὺ καὶ συνεστραμμένον ὥσπερ δεινὸς ἀκοντιστής.* [For 'curtum' P*ω*, Jahn and Ribbeck have 'curvum.']

451. *et non intelligat.*] There is irony here. "Let her even not understand some things in all the books" in the world; let it be possible she may be ignorant of some few things.

452. *repetit volvitque Palaemonis artem,*] "Goes over again and again Palaemon's trade." He was a grammarian, and the Scholiast says he was Quintilian's teacher. She poises and measures her sentences by strict rule, has by heart old poetry, corrects the mistakes of her friend, such mistakes as not even men would notice. As to 'opicae,' see S. iii. 207, n.

456. *Soloecismum liceat*] "Let a man have liberty to make a mistake before his wife at any rate."

457. *Nil non permittit*] The women come next who spend large sums of money in ornaments and dress to please their admirers, while they neglect their persons at home. Necklaces were much worn by Roman women, and emeralds were a favourite stone for setting them off. Pearl earrings also were fashionable. Pliny describes the 'elenchus' as a long kind of pearl, 'fastigata longitudine,' tapering to a point. He adds, "hos digitis suspendere et binos ac ternos auribus faeminarum gloria est." (H. N. ix. 35.) Seneca, among other extravagances of luxury, says, "video uniones non singulos singulis auribus comparatos (jam enim exercitatae aures oneri ferendo sunt): junguntur inter se et insuper alii binis superponuntur. Non satis muliebris insania viros subjecerat nisi bina ac terna patrimonia auribus singulis pependissent." (De Benefic. vii. 9.)

460. *Intolerabilius nihil est*] Heinrich considers this verse spurious [and Ribbeck]. Those that follow have been variously arranged by the editors. I do not find that the MSS. vary, but 461—463 may, perhaps, be better after 464—466, as Jahn has placed them [and Ribbeck]. 'Interea' otherwise is not very intelligible.

462. *Pane tumet facies,*] We have seen how Otho covered his face with moist bread to soften the skin. That seems to have been a common practice, the bread being dipped in asses' milk. Poppaea Sabina, the wife of Nero, who was a beautiful woman and took care of her beauty, bathed in asses' milk, as Pliny tells us (H. N. xi. 41. xxviii. 12), and Dio (62. 28), *τήν τε γὰρ ὥραν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ σώματος λαμπρῶς ἐσπουδάκει.* She may have invented some plaster for preserving the skin, and which is here called 'pinguia Poppaeana.'

Ad moechum veniet lota cute. Quando videri
Vult formosa domi? moechis foliata parantur;
His emitur quidquid graciles huc mittitis Indi.
Tandem aperit vultum et tectoria prima reponit:
Incipit agnosci, atque illo lacte fovetur
Propter quod secum comites educit asellas,
Exsul Hyperboreum si dimittatur ad axem.
Sed quae mutatis inducitur atque fovetur
Tot medicaminibus coctaeque siliginis offas
Accipit et madidae, facies dicetur an ulcus?
  Est pretium curae penitus cognoscere toto
Quid faciant agitentque die. Si nocte maritus
Aversus jacuit, periit libraria, ponunt
Cosmetae tunicas, tarde venisse Liburnus
Dicitur et poenas alieni pendere somni
Cogitur: hic frangit ferulas, rubet ille flagello,
Hic scutica: sunt quae tortoribus annua praestent.

464. *Ad moechum*] ['Ad moechum lota veniunt cute,' Jahn, Ribbeck, and most MSS.]

465. *foliata parantur;*] 'Foliatum' was ointment expressed from the leaves of the 'nardus,' an Indian plant, the perfume got from which has in all ages been highly esteemed. It was of great value, as we know from the anecdote in the New Testament, John xii. 3. 5. Martial says (xi. 27. 9), "At mea me libram foliati poscat amica;" being among the most costly presents she could ask. According to Pliny the oil of the spikenard was mixed with other oils to compose 'foliatum' (H. N. xiii. 1). Horace offers his friend Virgil an 'amphora' of good wine for a small box of 'nardum:'

"Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum
Qui nunc Sulpiciis accubat horreis."
(C. iv. 12. 17.)

467. *Tandem aperit vultum*] She lays aside her first plasters to anoint her face with cosmetics of a pleasanter kind, and bathes herself with asses' milk, by which, he says, she set such store, that if she were sent away to the Hyperborei she would carry asses' milk with her. The inhabitants of those regions (the position of which was a mystery) according to Pindar sacrificed asses to Apollo, in which rite Perseus, the only hero who ever found his way there, surprised them (Pyth. x. 33. See note on Hor. C. ii. 20. 16). This may be the reason why the Hyperboreans are mentioned here. Poppaea, in the places of Pliny and Dio, mentioned above (in v. 462), is said to have carried about with her 500 asses for their milk to bathe in. The hiatus after 'agnosci' is clumsily mended in some MSS. by adding 'tunc' after 'illo.' Ruperti (V. L. on i. 151) has given all the instances of hiatus in Juvenal, and they are not few.

471. *Sed quae*] [Ribbeck has 'Sed quae fucatis,' &c.]

473. *facies dicetur an ulcus?*] He thinks a thing which is always changing its medicines and being covered with poultices is more like a sore than a woman's face.

474. *Est pretium curae*] The more common phrase is 'operae pretium;' and some of the MSS. have 'operae' here and also in the passage from the Younger Pliny (Epp. viii. 6) quoted by Forcellini: "Postquam mihi visum est pretium curae ipsum S. C. quaerere." He says it is worth while to inquire how the women employ themselves by day. And he goes on to show how if they have a quarrel with their husbands they vent their wrath upon their slaves. The 'librariae' were scribes for the women, as 'librarii' were for the men. 'Cosmetae' were men who attended to their mistresses' wardrobes and ornaments. 'Ponunt tunicas' means they are stripped to be flogged. As to Liburnus see iii. 240. 'Alieni somni' is her husband's slumbers.

Verberat atque obiter faciem linit, audit amicas,
Aut latum pictae vestis considerat aurum,
Et caedit; longi relegit transversa diurni,
Et caedit donec lassis caedentibus "Exi!"
Intonet horrendum jam cognitione peracta.
Praefectura domus Sicula non mitior aula.
Nam si constituit solitoque decentius optat
Ornari et properat jamque exspectatur in hortis
Aut apud Isiacae potius sacraria lenae,
Disponit crinem, laceratis ipsa capillis,

He breaks the sticks, in one sense, on whose back they are broken. The 'ferula' was usually a vine-switch. The 'flagellum' was made with various cruel devices, and was sometimes fatal. See Horace, S. i. 2. 41, "ille flagellis Ad mortem caesus;" and note on S. i. 3. 119, "Ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello;" and Smith's Dict. Ant., Art. 'Flagrum.' In the slave family there were 'lorarii' kept for flogging their fellows. Some women, he says, paid a salary (annua) to the public torturers, who tortured slaves for evidence. As to the construction with 'sunt qui,' see note on Hor. C. i. 1. 3.

481. *Verberat atque obiter*] While the flogging is going on, she coolly employs herself with her face-wash, talks to her friends, admires the gold border on her dress, and reads her accounts. 'Transversa diurni' the Scholiast explains as "ratiocinium diurnum in transversa charta scriptum;" that is, the accounts were so long that they were written across as well as down the page. Others take 'transversa' to be the same as 'adversaria,' which are notes, so called because they were jotted down on each side of the paper (i. 6, n.). Some MSS. of inferior note have 'transacta,' which would stand for the ordinary word 'acta.' But this is a substitute for 'transversa,' by some copyist, who thought the public newspaper (acta diurna) was meant. [Ribbeck has 'transacta.'] The Scholiast is probably right. Forcellini does not take notice of this passage.

485. *jam cognitione peracta.*] He speaks of it as a judicial proceeding, a 'cognitio.' The barbarities here spoken of are probably no exaggeration. Where caprice had no legal limits, it would often run wild.

486. *Praefectura domus*] "The government of a private house is not less cruel than that of Sicilian tyrants in their palace." The names of Phalaris of Agrigentum and Dionysius of Syracuse are still proverbial for cruelty. "Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni Majus tormentum" (Hor. Epp. i. 2. 58). M. and many MSS. and old editions have 'Profectura domo,' which involves a false quantity and no sense.

487. *Nam si constituit*] "If she has made an assignation." (See S. iii. 12, "Numa constituebat amicae.") Ruperti says this is not the meaning, but that it is 'constituit ornari,' 'has resolved to dress herself,' which is certainly wrong. Grangaeus and Heinrich take it the other way. As to 'nam,' see above, v. 185, n.

488. *in hortis Aut apud Isiacae*] The Scholiast says, "quia in hortis templorum adulteria committuntur." Grangaeus thinks the affair of Silius and Messalina in the garden of Lucullus is referred to (Tac. Ann. xi. 32). But these places were probably much frequented for such purposes, as the Scholiast says. We have below (ix. 24), "quo non prostat foemina templo?" Most temples had colonnades, and some had gardens, attached to them. The worship of Isis was the most impure of all. It was introduced from Egypt into Greece in early times: it is said to have been brought to Rome in the dictatorship of Sulla. It was repeatedly suppressed, and her temples and chapels destroyed; but it was too popular to be put down, and in the reign of Vespasian it was firmly established (S. ix. 22). The commentators quote from Josephus (Ant. xviii. 3. 4) a story of one Mundus, who in the time of Tiberius decoyed a Roman matron into the temple of Isis and there violated her under the character of Anubis, with the connivance of the priests, who were crucified by the emperor's orders. Juvenal calls the goddess herself a procuress, not her priestess, as Ruperti says.

490. *Disponit crinem,*] The slaves who discharged this duty, and others connected

Nuda humero Psecas infelix nudisque mamillis.
"Altior hic quare cincinnus?" Taurea punit
Continuo flexi crimen facinusque capilli.
Quid Psecas admisit? quaenam est hic culpa puellae
Si tibi displicuit nasus tuus? Altera laevum
Extendit pectitque comas et volvit in orbem.
Est in consilio materna admotaque lanis
Emerita quae cessat acu: sententia prima
Hujus erit; post hanc aetate atque arte minores
Censebunt, tanquam famae discrimen agatur
Aut animae: tanta est quaerendi cura decoris,
Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Aedificat caput. Andromachen a fronte videbis,
Post minor est; credas aliam. Cedo, si breve parvi

with the toilette, were called generally 'ornatrices.' This Psecas was one. It is the name of one of Diana's nymphs in Ovid (Met. iii. 172). Her impatient mistress has pulled the poor girl's hair and torn her tunic from her shoulders, and has the lash (taurea) or cow-hide laid on her for not arranging her curls as she wishes: that is to say, she blames her maid for her own ugly nose, which defies all the arts of hair-dressing. Another slave arranges the left side of the head, and an old woman of long experience and others of less are called in to give their opinions. 'Crimen facinusque' make one subject.

497. *materna admotaque lanis*] The common reading is 'matrona,' but the Scholiast and Pithoeus' MS. and some others have 'materna,' which the Scholiast explains, "quae fuerat matris," a slave who had belonged to the woman's mother. Heinrich, Jahn [and Ribbeck] adopt this reading, which is also in the editions of Rigaltius (Paris, 1613) and Pithoeus (1585). She had once practised with the crisping-pin (acu), but was discharged (emerita) from that duty, and was made 'lanipendia,' the woman who superintended the spinning department.

500. *Censebunt,*] 'Sententia,' 'censere' are words taken from the senate, which is expressed in 'consilio.'

502. *Tot premit ordinibus,*] "With so many layers she loads her head, with so many stories, another and still another (adhuc), she builds it up." From this description of the hair Achaintre confirms the opinion of Lipsius (on v. 407) that the satire was written in the time of Trajan. He says that the medals representing the Juliae, Agrippinae, and Domitia show the hair loosely flowing on the head and tied behind; while those of Plotina, Marciana, and Matidia, the wife, sister, and niece of Trajan, of Sabina, Hadrian's wife, and the two Faustinae, show it piled up as Juvenal describes. This remark may be verified so far as regards the ladies before and during the reign of Trajan, by referring to their names in Smith's Dict. Biog. The fashion described by Juvenal seems to have been a little modified in Hadrian's reign, and a good deal altered after that. Achaintre got his remark from Valesius, who adds that the fashion was first condemned by Faustina, wife of Antoninus. She wore her hair plain, as her medals show.

503. *Andromachen a fronte videbis,*] Andromache appears to have been proverbial for tallness. Ovid says (A. A. ii. 645):

"Omnibus Andromache visa est spatiosior aequo:
Unus qui modicam diceret Hector erat."

Martial describes a dwarf thus:

"Si solum spectes hominis caput, Hectora credas;
Si stantem videas, Astyanacta putes."
(xiv. 212.)

504. *Cedo, si breve parvi*] 'Cedo' is 'come tell me.' See S. xiii. 210, and Pers. S. ii. 75. These words seem to be a

Sortita est lateris spatium breviorque videtur
Virgine Pygmaea, nullis adjuta cothurnis,
Et levis erecta consurgit ad oscula planta?
Nulla viri cura interea, nec mentio fiet
Damnorum: vivit tanquam vicina marito,
Hoc solo propior, quod amicos conjugis odit
Et servos, gravis est rationibus. Ecce furentis
Bellonae matrisque deum chorus intrat et ingens
Semivir, obsceno facies reverenda minori,
Mollia qui rapta secuit genitalia testa
Jam pridem, cui rauca cohors, cui tympana cedunt
Plebeia et Phrygia vestitur bucca tiara.
Grande sonat metuique jubet Septembris et Austri

sort of mock apology for the turreted hair-dressing. "What is a woman to do if she is shorter than a pigmy (without her shoes), so short that she must rise on her tiptoes to be kissed?" Gifford gives up this passage in despair, and leaves it out, "not so much on account of its singular clumsiness as of his utter inability to make any tolerable sense of it." There can be no doubt of the meaning I think. But others have been given. The Pygmaei were the little folk who fought with cranes (Hom. Il. iii. init.). They come in again, S. xiii. 168.

508. *Nulla viri cura*] The woman who is thus dressing herself out for her paramours cares nothing all the while for her husband, and says nothing of the losses he suffers through her neglect and extravagance. She lives as if she were a mere neighbour and acquaintance of her husband, except that she makes a point of hating his friends and servants, and is a burden to his purse. Rutgersius on Horace, C. iii. 19. 24, "Et vicina seni non habilis Lyco," compares this verse of Juvenal's. But the sense is different (see note there in my edition). The want of a conjunction before 'gravis' makes Ruperti think a verse or two is lost. There is nothing very remarkable in the asyndeton, as it is called. [Ribbeck and Jahn have 'vicina mariti.']

511. *Ecce furentis Bellonae*] He goes on to speak of the superstitions of women, and introduces first a company of priests of Bellona and of Cybele frightening a woman out of money to buy a lustration, and out of her clothes, under the pretence that all the dangers of the coming year will go with them. Bellona was worshipped from the earliest times in Italy as the goddess of war, but her first temple at Rome seems to have been built by Appius Claudius, A.U.C. 458, in the Campus Martius (Livy x. 19). The character of her mad rites has been referred to before (S. iv. 124). They were accompanied with disturbances and noisy processions which were a nuisance to the inhabitants. See note on Hor. S. ii. 3. 223: "Hunc circumtonuit gaudens Bellona cruentis." Her priests, who were numerous, were called Bellonarii. As to the rites and priests (Galli) of Cybele, the mother of the gods, see S. ii. 111, n. The chief priest was called Archigallus, and he is the person meant by 'ingens semivir,' the burly eunuch (see Pers. S. v. 186, 'grandes Galli'), to whom the lesser eunuchs (obsceno minori) bowed down, and gave way, and stopped their drums as he passed. He wears a cap tied under his chin, such as they wore in Phrygia, from whence they came. As to 'testa' Pliny (xxxv. 12) says: "Samia testa Matris Deum sacerdotes qui Galli vocantur virilitatem amputant nec aliter citra perniciem." The pottery of Samos was very hard, and capable of being sharpened. Martial speaks of it as used for the same purpose (iii. 81). Juvenal, above, says it was the custom "supervacuam cultris abscindere carnem" (ii. 116). Sharp flints are spoken of in the same connexion by Ovid (Fast. iv. 237, "Ille etiam saxo corpus laniavit acuto") and others. 'Rapta testa' expresses the enthusiasm of the man. Ruperti, with his usual want of judgment, adopts 'rupta' from two MSS. and some old editions. The MSS. are from the same original. M. has 'rupta.'

517. *Grande sonat*] He comes into the

Adventum, nisi se centum lustraverit ovis
Et xerampelinas veteres donaverit ipsi,
Ut quidquid subiti et magni discriminis instat
In tunicas eat et totum semel expiet annum.
Hibernum fracta glacie descendet in amnem,
Ter matutino Tiberi mergetur et ipsis
Verticibus timidum caput abluet; inde superbi
Totum regis agrum nuda ac tremebunda cruentis
Erepet genibus, si candida jusserit Io;
Ibit ad Aegypti finem calidaque petitas
A Meroe portabit aquas, ut spargat in aedem
Isidis, antiquo quae proxima surgit Ovili.
Credit enim ipsius dominae se voce moneri:
En animam et mentem cum qua di nocte loquantur!

house, and when the woman consults him talks big, in a loud voice. As to the dangers of autumn see Horace, C. ii. 14. 15:

"Frustra per auctumnos nocentem
Corporibus metuemus Austrum,"

and above, S. iv. 56, "jam letifero cedente pruinis Auctumno." About eggs used in lustrations see Persius, S. v. 185. The woman was to buy safety for a year at the cost of a hundred eggs, and to cast off all fear of coming dangers with her clothes. The colour of the clothes he calls 'xerampelinae' is that of dry vine-leaves, but in what stage of decay, and therefore of what colour, is not to be determined. The Scholiast says the colour was "intra coccinum et muricem," between scarlet and purple.

523. *Ter matutino Tiberi*] These to v. 541 are the votaries of the Egyptian worship. Persius speaks of such infatuation (ii. 15):

"Haec sancte ut poscas Tiberino in gurgite mergis
Mane caput bis terque, et noctem flumine purgas."

Horace, too, makes a mother vow to Jove that if her child recovers he shall stand naked in the Tiber, S. ii. 3. 289, n.

524. *inde superbi Totum regis agrum*] That is, the Campus Martius, which was the property of Tarquinius Superbus, and after his expulsion was dedicated to Mars by Brutus (Livy, ii. 5). The penance here described appears to have been common. Tibullus says (i. 2. 83, sqq.):

"Non ego si merui dubitem procumbere templis,
Et dare sacratis oscula liminibus;
Non ego tellurem genibus perrepere supplex,
Et miserum sancto tundere poste caput."

Wherever superstition is found this absurdity is practised, or others like it.

526. *si candida jusserit Io;*] In later times the Argive divinity, Io, came to be confounded with the Egyptian Isis, and the names are here used as identical. Herodotus distinguishes them, though he gives a reason which may account for the confusion, *τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἴσιος ἄγαλμα ἐὸν γυναικήϊον βούκερών ἐστι, κατάπερ Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι* (ii. 41). Io represented the moon; and Isis it appears did so, but not originally. She was also identified with Demeter. The intercourse between the Greeks and Egyptians led to the partial identification of their divinities and the importing of Egyptian worship into Greece, from whence, or from Greek colonies, they passed to Rome. 'Candida' refers to the story of the white cow into which Io was changed. The principal temple of Isis was in the Campus Martius (where she was called Isis Campensis), and therefore Juvenal speaks of it as 'antiquo proxima Ovili.' The Ovile was an enclosure into which the people went to vote at the 'comitia centuriata.' The kingdom of Meroe lay between the Nile and the Astaboras, one of its Aethiopian tributaries. It corresponds in part to the modern Sennaar.

531. *En animam et mentem*] This

Ergo hic praecipuum summumque meretur honorem,
Qui grege linigero circumdatus et grege calvo
Plangentis populi currit derisor Anubis.
Ille petit veniam, quoties non abstinet uxor
Concubitu sacris observandisque diebus,
Magnaque debetur violato poena cadurco,
Et movisse caput visa est argentea serpens:
Illius lacrimae meditataque murmura praestant
Ut veniam culpae non abnuat ansere magno
Scilicet et tenui popano corruptus Osiris.
  Quum dedit ille locum, cophino foenoque relicto
Arcanam Judaea tremens mendicat in aurem,
Interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos
Arboris ac summi fida internuntia caeli;
Implet et illa manum, sed parcius: aere minuto
Qualiacunque voles Judaei somnia vendunt.
  Spondet amatorem tenerum vel divitis orbi
Testamentum ingens calidae pulmone columbae

means the priest—"a noble heart and mind for the gods to hold communion with at night!" 'Ergo' is also indignant. "So this is he who claims the first and highest honour?" 'Linigero' refers to their linen dresses. Her priests, and sometimes it appears her worshippers, wore linen. Tibullus speaks of his Delia sitting before her temple 'lino tecta' (i. 3. 30). That the priests were also shorn we learn from Plutarch's treatise on Isis and Osiris, and Herodotus says so of the Egyptians generally. Martial speaks of the priests as 'linigeri, calvi, sistrataque turba.' Some MSS. have 'lanigeri.' (See Heins. on Ov. Ars Am. i. 77.)

534. *Plangentis populi*] The worship of Anubis, another Egyptian god, was introduced at Rome probably at the same time and in conjunction with that of Isis. Plutarch (Is. et Os. 38) speaks of Anubis as the guard of Isis. His symbol was a dog's head, which was carried by the priests of Isis about the city (S. xv. 8, "oppida tota canem venerantur"); and Juvenal says he laughed at the crowd beating their breasts as he passed.

535. *Ille petit veniam,*] 'Ille' means the priest who carried the god, who being applied to by this or that woman to get her offence pardoned, entreats Osiris for her. His practised tears and sighs prevail ('meditata' belongs to both) as appears by the asp which the god carried in his hand moving its head, a piece of jugglery easily performed. Heinsius, on Ovid (Met. ix. 693: "Plenaque somniferi serpens peregrina veneni") quotes this description of Isis from Apuleius: "Laeva cymbium dependebat aureum, cujus ansulae, qua parte conspicua est, insurgebat aspis, caput attollens arduum." Heinrich refers to a medal of Memphis representing the god with an asp in his left hand. As to 'cadurco,' see S. vii. 221. The notion that men and women were bound to keep themselves chaste during the festival of Isis is referred to in various places by the poets. See Ruperti's note. Osiris, the Nile-god and husband of Isis, was worshipped in conjunction with his wife (viii. 29). Horace makes his man with a broken leg swear "per sanctum Osirim" (Epp. i. 17. 60). He is bribed by a goose, the usual offering to Isis (often found on Egyptian monuments), and a 'popanum,' which was a flat thin cake commonly used in sacrifices. Timaeus (Lex. Plat.) describes πόπανα as πέμματα πλατέα καὶ λεπτὰ καὶ περιφερῆ, on which Ruhnken has a note which may be consulted, and Casaubon on Athenaeus, iv. 21.

542. *cophino foenoque relicto*] These have been mentioned before, S. iii. 14. 'Cophinus' is the word used by the sacred writers for baskets in the accounts given

Tractato Armenius vel Commagenus haruspex :
Pectora pullorum rimabitur, exta catelli,
Interdum et pueri : faciet quod deferat ipse.
Chaldaeis sed major erit fiducia : quidquid
Dixerit astrologus credent a fonte relatum
Hammonis, quoniam Delphis oracula cessant
Et genus humanum damnat caligo futuri.

of the miracles of the loaves and fishes, and from those it is inferred that it was the general practice of the Jews when travelling to carry about with them small baskets with their daily food. See Bengel on Matt. xiv. 9: "Numerus cophinorum respondit numero apostolorum ut singuli cophino quem gestabant pleno gauderent." The impostor here introduced is an old palsied Jewess, whispering in the woman's ear something from the law of Moses, with which, especially those that related to the Sabbath, it appears the superstitious were easily frightened. See notes on Horace, S. i. 9. 69: "hodie tricesima sabbata," and ii. 3. 291. Solymus is an adjective. The plural Solyma is used for Jerusalem by Martial, xi. 94: "Solymis quod natus in ipsis." The priestess of the woods (sacerdos arboris) is explained by S. iii. 15, 16:

"Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est
Arbor et ejectis mendicat silva Camenis."

She gets a fee, but not so large as the priest. Probably the Jews traded upon the dream interpretations of Joseph and Daniel, and made people believe it was a gift of their tribe. Selling dreams is to sell the interpretation, to make them out whatever may be desired. 'Arcanam in aurem,' 'into her private ear,' is an unusual kind of phrase. Heinrich thinks it should be 'arcanum.'

550. *Armenius vel Commagenus haruspex :*] The next beggars are fortune-tellers from the East, professing to deal with the future through the bowels of beasts and birds, sometimes, he adds, of human victims. Commagene, which was to the north of Syria, on the right bank of the Euphrates, was at this time a Roman province, having been made so in the year A.D. 73. The capital was Samosata, afterwards the birthplace of Lucian.

551. *rimabitur,*] The MSS. vary. P. has the future, nearly all the MSS. have 'rimatur et.' But Juvenal is more likely to have written the future and without the conjunction.

552. *faciet quod deferat ipse.*] He will kill the child, and then go and inform.

553. *Chaldaeis sed major erit*] The astrologers (mathematici) from Babylon and other parts of Asia were a nuisance that frequently caused the interference of the state. Cicero speaks of them as numerous in his time, and Tacitus said they were a set of knaves who would be always forbidden and always retained (Hist. i. 22). See Introduction to Horace, C. i. 11, where he advises his Leuconoe to have nothing to do with them. They appear to have had great hold on women's minds. Augustus is said by Suetonius (c. 94) to have had a firm faith in them, which may be doubted. Tiberius had a party of them at Capreae.

554. *a fonte relatum Hammonis,*] The tradition Juvenal seems to follow respecting the Libyan oracle of Jupiter Ammon is that related by Servius on Virgil iv. 196: "Hic Hammone satus." He says that when Liber or Hercules (for the story varies, he says) was passing through the deserts of Libya with an army, being bound for India, he was in want of water; and when he prayed to his father Jove, a ram was sent to show him the way to a spring, which the beast discovered by scratching the ground with his foot. It need not be supposed that Juvenal had more respect for the oracle of Hammon than for any other.

Dion (lxiii. 14) says that Nero, either angry with Apollo for some answer he got from him, or under the influence of some other madness, robbed the temple at Delphi of the land of Cirrha, which was attached to it, and gave it to his soldiers: at the same time he put an end to the oracle and killed the priests. He robbed the temple, in fact, to support his own extravagance, as Henry VIII. robbed the churches. The oracle was not restored till after this satire was probably written, by Hadrian, from whose time till it was finally abolished by the Emperor Theodosius, it continued to be consulted.

556. *damnat caligo futuri.*] 'Damnat' means 'punishes' them for their sins, or for the sacrilege of Nero. 'Damnare,' like 'obligare,' is 'to bind under a penalty.' Ruperti wishes Juvenal had written some

Praecipuus tamen est horum qui saepius exsul,
Cujus amicitia conducendaque tabella
Magnus civis obit et formidatus Othoni.
Inde fides artis, sonuit si dextera ferro
Laevaque, si longo castrorum in carcere mansit.
Nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit,
Sed qui paene perit, cui vix in Cyclada mitti
Contigit et parva tandem caruisse Seripho.
Consulit ictericae lento de funere matris,
Ante tamen de te, Tanaquil tua; quando sororem
Efferat et patruos; an sit victurus adulter
Post ipsam, quid enim majus dare numina possunt?
  Haec tamen ignorat quid sidus triste minetur
Saturni, quo laeta Venus se proferat astro,
Qui mensis damnis, quae dentur tempora lucro:

other word. Heinrich therefore cautions us against supposing it a corruption.

557. *Praecipuus tamen*] The historians tell us that Otho was led on to aim at the empire among other means by a person of this profession, whom Tacitus (Hist. i. 22) and Plutarch (Galba, c. 23) call Ptolemaeus, but Suetonius (Otho, 4. 6) calls Seleucus. With this man he was on terms of intimacy. He accompanied Otho, Tacitus says, into Spain. That he was often banished is not elsewhere mentioned. His 'tabella' was an almanac, called below 'ephemerides.' He and his almanac were to be had for money. The great citizen is Galba (see note on S. ii. 104). 'Obit' is for 'obiit,' as 'perit' for 'periit,' above, v. 295, and below, v. 563; viii. 85: "dignus morte perit;" and x. 118: "uterque perit orator." See Ovid, Fast. i. 109: "Flamma petit altum;" and Met. viii. 349: "Longius it: auctor teli Pagasaeus Jason." P. and one or two Paris MSS. omit 558, 9 [and Ribbeck].

560. *Inde fides artis,*] He says, the greater the knave the more he is trusted: no man can expect to be believed but those on whose wrists the chains have rattled, and who have been in prison for some military offence, or have deserved death, and narrowly escaped with banishment, and not back from transportation. 'Genium habebit' means will have one to tell him the future, as Cassius' Genius told him of Philippi (Plut. Brut. 36). As to Cyclas and Seriphus, see notes on S. i. 73: "Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum Si vis esse aliquis;" and x. 170: "Ut Gyari clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho." [Ribbeck omits v. 561, which is certainly a feeble addition.]

565. *Consulit ictericae*] It has been observed before (iii. 42, n.) that the astrologers were often consulted about the death of relations. By Tanaquil he means his wife. Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, Livy says (i. 34), was, like the Etruscans in general, skilled in the signs of the skies. Therefore her name is taken here. The woman is impatient for her mother's death, but still more for her husband's. 'Icterus' is the name of a bird, one of the many genera of the 'sturnidae,' or starling family. People with the jaundice (regius morbus) were called 'icterici,' according to Pliny (H. N. xxx. 11), from the fanciful notion that the disease is cured by looking at the 'icterus,' which dies instead of the patient: "Avis icterus vocatur a colore, quae si spectetur, sanari id malum tradunt et avem mori."

569. *Haec tamen ignorat*] He says that is still not so bad as those women who profess the art themselves. Of the planets the astrologers held Saturnus and Mars to be noxious, Jupiter and Venus to be favourable. See Horace, C. ii. 17. 22:

> "—— te Jovis impio
> Tutela Saturno refulgens
> Eripuit volucrisque Fati
> Tardavit alas."

'Sidus' and 'astrum' both properly signify a constellation. Here 'sidus' is the planet; 'quo astro' means in what constellation she appears. 'Dentur lucro' is like Horace's "Quem Fors dierum cunque dabit

Illius occursus etiam vitare memento,
In cujus manibus ceu pinguia sucina tritas
Cernis ephemeridas, quae nullum consulit et jam
Consulitur, quae castra viro patriamque petente
Non ibit pariter numeris revocata Thrasylli.
Ad primum lapidem vectari quum placet, hora
Sumitur ex libro; si prurit frictus ocelli
Angulus, inspecta genesi collyria poscit.
Aegra licet jaceat capiendo nulla videtur
Aptior hora cibo nisi quam dederit Petosiris.
Si mediocris erit, spatium lustrabit utrinque
Metarum et sortes ducet frontemque manumque
Praebebit vati crebrum poppysma roganti.

lucro Appone" (C. i. 9. 14). [Ribbeck has 'Haec tamen ignorant, quid sidus triste minetur!' which verse with those which follow it here as far as v. 581, he places after v. 626.]

572. *Illius occursus etiam*] 'Etiam' must be taken with 'occursus,' "avoid even meeting her, to say nothing of marrying her," as Heinrich says. 'Pinguia sucina' are balls of amber which the luxurious carried in their hands to keep them cool in the hot weather. 'Pinguia' would express the sticky clammy state they would come to in a hot hand. Heinrich takes it so, Ruperti differently. See S. ix. 50: "cui sucina mittas Grandia." Ovid refers to this when he says of the tears of the Heliades (see S. v. 38): "lucidus amnis Excipit et nuribus mittit gestanda Latinis" (Met. ii. 365). Martial speaks of "Sucina virginea regelata manu" (xi. 8). As to 'ephemerides,' see above, v. 557.

576. *numeris revocata Thrasylli.*] "Nec Babylonios Tentaris numeros," is Horace's advice to Leuconoe (C. i. 11. 2). It means the astrologer's calculations. The Thrasylli father and son were astrologers, and the father a learned physician who lived in close intimacy with Tiberius. The origin of their acquaintance, which began when Tiberius was at Rhodes, is told by Tacitus (Ann. vi. 21). The son is said by Tacitus to have foretold the accession of Nero to the empire (Ib. c. 22). The woman will not go with her husband to the camp or come home if they are abroad, nor go out for a drive, if the hour is not propitious according to the almanac of Thrasyllus, and must consult her horoscope before she puts salve on her eye if it itches. As to 'collyria,' see note on Hor. S. i. 5. 30.

581. *nisi quam dederit Petosiris.*] This was the oldest Egyptian astrologer. He is commonly mentioned in conjunction with Necepsos, the other Egyptian authority. See Pliny, H.N. ii. 23: "Egyptia ratio quam Petosiris et Necepsos ostendere." vii. 49: "Durat et ea ratio quam Petosiris ac Necepsos tradiderunt." Their age is quite unknown. Almanacs and such like books probably bore their names. Ruperti's note, "Petosiris pro quovis astrologo ut Thrasyllus," is nonsense. This woman does not consult the astrologers, but is learned in books, which Juvenal says is worse.

582. *Si mediocris erit,*] If she be a person in humble life, she will go and get advice from the astrologers in the Circus; respecting whom see note on Horace, S. i. 6. 113, sq.: "Fallacem Circum vespertinumque pererro Saepe Forum; adsisto divinis," where this passage and v. 588 are referred to and explained. 'Poppysma' is 'a smack of the lips,' such as is made by a hearty kiss. Such seems to be the meaning here. See Forcellini and Heinrich's note.

These verses 582—591 seem rather to belong to the former class, who consulted the astrologers. He has done with those, and passes in v. 569 to others who do not want advice, but give it, who have only to consult their books and their horoscopes and so forth for themselves. It appears to me that these verses should come after v. 568. The great Chaldaean comes to the rich woman's house, or she hires a Phrygian or Indian; the poor woman must be content to go to the Circus and consult the common cheats.

Divitibus responsa dabunt Phryx augur et Indus
Conductus, dabit astrorum mundique peritus
Atque aliquis senior qui publica fulgura condit:
Plebeium in Circo positum est et in aggere fatum.
Quae nudis longum ostendit cervicibus aurum,
Consulit ante phalas delphinorumque columnas,
An saga vendenti nubat caupone relicto.
  Hae tamen et partus subeunt discrimen et omnes
Nutricis tolerant fortuna urgente labores:
Sed jacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto.
Tantum artes hujus, tantum medicamina possunt,
Quae steriles facit atque homines in ventre necandos
Conducit. Gaude, infelix, atque ipse bibendum
Porrige, quidquid erit: nam si distendere vellet
Et vexare uterum pueris salientibus, esses
Aethiopis fortasse pater: mox decolor heres
Impleret tabulas, nunquam tibi mane videndus.
  Transeo suppositos et gaudia votaque saepe

585. *Phryx augur et Indus*] The rich keep a seer in their own pay. Cicero mentions the Phrygians among other Easterns as dealing in this art (De Div. i. 41). 'Mundus' is 'the sky.' (See Forcell.) 'Fulgura' or 'fulmina condere' was the phrase for the ceremony by which places struck by lightning or thunderbolts were purified. Such a place was called 'bidental.' (See Persius, ii. 27, n.) The persons employed on this ceremony were called from it 'fulguratores.' (See Forcell.) As to 'aggere,' see S. v. 153, and viii. 43. [Ribbeck has 'Indi,' and omits v. 586. PΣω and Jahn have 'inde' for 'Indus.']

589. *Quae nudis longum*] This is any common prostitute. As to 'aurum,' see above, v. 122: "nuda papillis constitit auratis." [Ribbeck has 'armum' in place of 'aurum.'] 'Phalae' (or 'falae,' as Forcellini has it) and 'delphinorum columnae' are here spoken of as different things. Heinrich says 'phalae' were pillars at each end of the Circus course supporting the 'ova' and the dolphins. According to Servius, on Virgil, Aen. ix. 705, they were moveable towers on which fights took place. There was certainly a pillar on the 'spina,' or wall that ran down the course, supporting figures of dolphins in honour of Neptune, as may be seen in the woodcut in Smith's Dict. Ant., Art. 'Circus,' and two others, supporting a number of wooden balls (ova), which were taken down one by one as the chariots went round the course, to mark the number of times. Forcellini follows Servius' explanation.

591. *An saga vendenti*] She wants to know whether she shall marry the clothesman or the victualler.

592. *Hae tamen*] The poorer sort, however, bad as they are, do sometimes bear children and nurse them, for their condition obliges them to this (fortuna urgente). But rich ladies will not breed; they carry off all they conceive by abortive drugs. 'Hujus' is as if the woman was present who contracts (conducit) for this business. 'Infelix' is the husband, who ought to be glad to give the drug himself rather than become the reputed father of a black boy, such as you would count ominous if you met him in the morning as you stepped out of your door.

After 601 in one MS., but after 614 in a few others, are three feeble monkish lines which are not worth repeating. Jahn has them in his Var. Lect.

602. *Transeo suppositos*] See S. iii. 114: "Transi Gymnasia atque audi facinus majoris abollae." He passes on to another point, the practice of women putting off supposititious children upon their husbands as their own. Ruperti says 'transeo' is 'praetereo silentio;' so he inter-

Ad spurcos decepta lacus atque inde petitos
Pontifices, Salios, Scaurorum nomina falso
Corpore laturos. Stat Fortuna improba noctu
Arridens nudis infantibus. Hos fovet omnes
Involvitque sinu : domibus tunc porrigit altis,
Secretumque sibi mimum parat. Hos amat, his se
Ingerit utque suos ridens producit alumnos.
  Hic magicos affert cantus, hic Thessala vendit
Philtra, quibus valeant mentem vexare mariti
Et solea pulsare nates. Quod desipis inde est;
Inde animi caligo et magna oblivio rerum
Quas modo gessisti. Tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
Et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis,

prets the former 'transi.' The joys and vows are those of the husband, who has been wishing for a son. As to 'lacus,' which were the public tanks from which the poorer people drew water who could not afford to have it laid on at their houses, see note on Hor. S. i. 4. 37. They are called here 'spurcos,' 'muddy,' which such places, trodden by many people at all hours with water-pots, would always be. The Pontifices were the principal religious college at Rome, fifteen in number at this time, and formed the supreme court in matters relating to religion. The Salii formed two other colleges, one connected with the worship of Mars, the other of Quirinus. The Pontifices might be plebeians, but the Salii were chosen from the patricians, which makes the case worse. As to the Scauri, who are here as before put for any noble family, see note on S. ii. 35.

603. *Ad spurcos*] [In this verse Ribbeck has 'saepe inde;' and in v. 606 he has 'ulnis' for 'omnes.']

608. *Secretumque sibi mimum parat.*] "Makes herself a private farce," as Horace says (C. iii. 29. 49):

"Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax."

Juvenal calls her 'improba,' 'sly,' like Horace's old woman of Thebes, "anus improba Thebis Ex testamento sic est elata" (S. ii. 5. 84). This picture of Fortune doating and chuckling over her foundlings, and presenting them to the great people as their own, and amusing herself throughout their career with the secret of their birth, laughing at the homage paid to their blood and at the unconscious contamination the exclusives are incurring, is a fine piece of satire. 'Fortunae filius' (Hor. S. ii. 6. 49) and παῖς τύχης (Soph. Oed. R. 1080) were ordinary phrases. 'His se ingerit' means she heaps her favours upon them.

610. *Hic magicos affert cantus,*] The next vice dealt with is the administering of love-potions, the common effect of which was madness. Ovid says (A. A. ii. 105):

"Nec data profuerint pallentia philtra puellis;
Philtra nocent animis vimque furoris habent."

There is a story that Lucretius was driven mad by a philtre. Thessalian witches, drugs, charms, were proverbial. See Hor. C. i. 27. 21: "quis te solvere Thessalis Magus venenis, quis poterit deus?" Epod. v. 45. Epp. ii. 2. 209. Juvenal says that a man is lucky if he only becomes a driveller, lets his wife beat him with her slippers, and so forth. 'Furere' and 'furor' apply to insanity with violence. 'Desipis' and 'gessisti' are addressed to any husband so victimized. I say this because Ruperti says it is an "apostrophe ad maritum vel Postumum," which is nonsense.

615. *avunculus ille Neronis,*] Caligula was the brother of Agrippina, mother of the Emperor Nero. They were the children of Germanicus. Caligula married Milonia Caesonia (Dion, 59. 23) after having lived in adultery with her. Suetonius (Calig. 50) says, "Creditur potionatus a Caesonia uxore amatorio quidem medicamento sed quod in furorem vertit." His

Cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli
Infudit. Quae non faciet quod Principis uxor?
Ardebant cuncta et fracta compage ruebant,
Non aliter quam si fecisset Juno maritum
Insanum. Minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinae
Boletus, siquidem unius praecordia pressit
Ille senis tremulumque caput descendere jussit
In caelum et longa manantia labra saliva.
Haec poscit ferrum atque ignes, haec potio torquet,
Haec lacerat mixtos Equitum cum sanguine Patres.
Tanti partus equae, tanti una venefica constat!
Oderunt natos de pellice; nemo repugnet,
Nemo vetet, jam jam privignum occidere fas est.
Vos ego, pupilli, moneo, quibus amplior est res,

sufferings from this cause, especially through horrid dreams and want of sleep, were very severe; and, whatever his madness proceeded from, the contrast between the first four months of his reign and his savage conduct for three years afterwards can only be accounted for by insanity, as Juvenal says below, v. 618, sqq. (Josephus, Ant. Jud. xix. 2, § 4.) Caesonia was murdered by the conspirators who killed her husband, 24 January, A.D. 41.

616. *Cui totam tremuli frontem*] "For whom Caesonia mixed the entire forehead of a shivering foal." See above, v. 133: "Hippomanes carmenque loquar." 'Hippomanes' was the name given by the Greeks to a small black excrescence which they said appeared on the forehead of every foal at its birth, and which the dam tears off with its teeth and swallows, but if she fails to do so, and any one gets it off before her, and she smells it, she is driven mad. See Aristotle: *καὶ ζητοῦσι τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων αἱ περὶ τὰς φαρμακείας.* (Hist. An. vi. 18. 22; viii. 24. 11.) Pliny says nearly in the same words (H. N. viii. 42), "Et sane equis amoris innasci veneficium, hippomanes apellatum, in fronte, caricae magnitudine, colore nigro; quod statim edito partu devorat feta, aut partum ad ubera non admittit. Si quis praereptum habeat, olfactu in rabiem id genus agitur." Among the things offered to the infernal deities before Dido's self-destruction was "nascentis equi de fronte revulsus Et matri praereptus amor." (Virg. Aen. iv. 515.) Virgil says that the name 'hippomanes' is properly given to a different thing (Georg. iii. 280, sqq.):

"Hic demum, hippomanes quod vero nomine dicunt
Pastores, lentum destillat ab inguine virus:
Hippomanes, quod saepe malae legere novercae,
Miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba."

620. *Minus ergo nocens*] As to the 'boletus' Agrippina gave to Claudius, see S. v. 146. Juvenal says her crime was less than that of Caesonia, for she sent an emperor mad and set the world on fire, while the other only sent an old dotard to heaven with his heels uppermost, that is, sent him the other way, as the Scholiast says. Claudius was upwards of seventy-three when he died. Suetonius describes him much as Juvenal does, "Risus indecens, ira turpior, spumante rictu, humentibus naribus, praeterea linguae titubantia, caputque cum semper tum in quantulocunque actu vel maxime tremulum" (c. 30).

624. *Haec poscit ferrum*] "This potion (of Caesonia's) calls for fire and sword, and tortures and tears to pieces patricians, and mingles their blood with the blood of Equites. And that is the cost of a mare's foal and one charmer!"

627. *Oderunt natos de pellice;*] "Wives hate their husbands' bastards; and suppose no one finds fault with that or forbids it, then straight they count it right to kill a stepson."

629. *Vos ego, pupilli,*] He goes on to caution boys who have property against their own mothers. 'Pupillus' was a boy under age (impubes) who had lost his

Custodite animas et nulli credite mensae:
Livida materno fervent adipata veneno.
Mordeat ante aliquis quidquid porrexerit illa
Quae peperit; timidus praegustet pocula pappas.
Fingimus haec altum satira sumente cothurnum
Scilicet et finem egressi legemque priorum
Grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu,
Montibus ignotum Rutulis caeloque Latino!
Nos utinam vani! sed clamat Pontia, "Feci,
Confiteor, puerisque meis aconita paravi,
Quae deprensa patent: facinus tamen ipsa peregi."
Tune duos una, saevissima vipera, coena?
Tune duos? "Septem, si septem forte fuissent."
Credamus tragicis quidquid de Colchide saeva
Dicitur et Procne: nil contra conor: et illae

father, and whose property was looked after by a tutor. The care of his person belonged to his mother (see note on Hor. Epp. i. 1. 20: "ut piger annus Pupillis quos dura premit custodia matrum"). 'Adipata' are cakes mixed with lard (see Forcellini). 'Livida' and 'fervent' express the effect of the poison on the complexion and the bowels.

633. *timidus praegustet pocula pappas.*] 'Pappas' is the 'paedagogus.' 'Praegustatores' waited on the emperors from Augustus downwards. See note on Hor. S. ii. 6. 109: "praelambens omne quod affert." On this and the preceding verse the Scholiast says, "sequuntur duo versiculi qui in aliis non sunt." They are not in P., but Pithoeus has edited them. Some Paris MSS. want them, and Jahn has marked them as doubtful. [Ribbeck omits them.]

634. *Fingimus haec*] "This is all an invention, you may say, and my satire is putting on the tragic cothurnus." 'Priorum' are Lucilius, Horace, Persius, and others who had written before him. 'Hiatu' refers to the mask with its wide mouth. The later masks, even for tragedy, had exaggerated features and a large mouth, which does not appear in the earlier. (See Smith's Dict. Ant., 'Persona.') The Romans always represented the dignity of tragedy by the plays of Sophocles, whom they knew therefore how to estimate.

638. *sed clamat Pontia, "Feci,*] He says he wishes what he has been saying was false, but there is Pontia who not only poisoned her two children but boasted of it. The Scholiast on this place says, "She was the daughter of Petronius, who was convicted of a conspiracy against Nero. After her husband's death she murdered her children, and being convicted, she ate a great supper and drank a quantity of wine, opened her veins, and then died dancing, an amusement she was very fond of. Her name became a proverb. 'O mater qua nec Pontia deterior.'" (Martial, ii. 34. 6.) Martial elsewhere speaks of "iratam Pontiae lagenam" (iv. 43. 5). Her motive for this horrid crime is not mentioned, but Juvenal seems to imply it was for money she did it (646). What would he have said to mothers poisoning their children for burial-money?

640. *facinus tamen ipsa peregi.*] "The act has been discovered and cannot be concealed; but still I boast that I did it." It must be admitted that this is not very satisfactory. She may mean that if people are inclined to disbelieve the verdict, she will not let them; or that she not only got the poison (paravi), which the evidence had proved, but that she administered it with her own hand. Heinrich, after Guietus, prefers reading 'tantum' for 'tamen,' thinking the abbreviation 'tm̄' may have become 'tn̄' in the MSS. 'Tantum' may be right, and it makes the sense plain. The two words are sometimes confounded in the MSS. See Long's note on Cic. pro Sulla, c. 19, vol. iii. Jahn's punctuation is lame, "facinus: tamen ipsa peregi." [Ribbeck's is the same.]

643. *de Colchide saeva*] Medea. Procne killed her son Itys to punish his father, Tereus. He says these stories may well be believed. There is less reason to wonder

Grandia monstra suis audebant temporibus, sed
Non propter nummos. Minor admiratio summis
Debetur monstris, quoties facit ira nocentem
Hunc sexum : rabie jecur incendente feruntur
Praecipites, ut saxa jugis abrupta, quibus mons
Subtrahitur clivoque latus pendente recedit.
Illam ego non tulerim, quae computat et scelus ingens
Sana facit. Spectant subeuntem fata mariti
Alcestim et, similis si permutatio detur,
Morte viri cupiant animam servare catellae.
Occurrent multae tibi Belides atque Eriphylae
Mane; Clytaemnestram nullus non vicus habebit.
Hoc tantum refert, quod Tyndaris illa bipennem
Insulsam et fatuam dextra laevaque tenebat:
At nunc res agitur tenui pulmone rubetae:
Sed tamen et ferro, si praegustabit Atrides
Pontica ter victi cautus medicamina regis.

at these monsters who out-top the rest, for they were hurried on by the passions of their sex. But that woman is intolerable who makes murder a matter of gain and calculation (quae computat).

647. *Debetur monstris,*] [Ribbeck points this verse and the following thus:

'quoties facit ira nocentes.
Hunc sexum rabie jecur &c.,'

which is not an improvement.]

649. *quibus mons Subtrahitur*] This describes a landslip; "like stones torn from the heights from which a mountain is withdrawn, and from the hanging slope its side recedes."

652. *Spectant subeuntem*] They go to the play and see Alcestis dying for Admetus, and if such things might be, they would gladly send their husbands to the grave to save the life of a lapdog.

655. *Belides atque Eriphylae*] The daughters of Danaus, son of Belus, king of Argos, who murdered their husbands, and Eriphyle, the wife of Amphiaraus, who induced her husband to take part in the expedition against Thebes, in which he lost his life, and her son Alcmaeon to join the second expedition of the Epigoni, in the hope of his doing the same. But he survived to kill her. Her price in the first case was a necklace, in the second a gown. 'Mane' means in the early part of the morning, when comparatively few women are abroad. Ruperti compares v. 601 "nunquam tibi mane videndus," but that has nothing to do with the sense here.

657. *Hoc tantum refert,*] 'There is only this difference.' 'Quid refert?' 'what difference is it?' 'Non minimum refert,' 'it makes a great difference.' "Nec minimo sane discrimine refert" (S. v. 123) is another construction. 'Refert' being an abbreviation of 'rem fert' is capable of a different construction, 'mea refert,' 'it is for my interest.' The difference here is that Clytemnestra killed Agamemnon with a rude uncouth axe that she could only lift with both hands, while now-a-days women go to work with secret poison, such as the inside of a toad ('rubeta,' S. i. 70). But they would seize the hatchet if their Agamemnons were in the habit of taking antidotes such as Mithridates VI., king of Pontus, took. (See note on xiv. 252.) The three principal persons by whom his armies were defeated were Sulla, who destroyed his forces in Greece, B.C. 87—84, and made peace with him; Lucullus, who, when hostilities were renewed, drove him from his own country, B.C. 72, which, however, he recovered, but was driven from it again by Cn. Pompeius (B.C. 66), who reduced Pontus to the condition of a Roman province. He died three years afterwards in the Crimea, by the sword of a Gaul whom he asked to kill him. See Cic. de Leg. Agraria, ii. c. 19, Long's note, vol. ii.

660. *Sed tamen*] [In this verse Ribbeck has 'praegustarit.']

SATIRA VII.

INTRODUCTION.

This satire turns on the neglect of literary men by the rich. Poets are left to starve or get their bread by menial callings; historians are no better off; lawyers and schoolmasters are put off with the shabbiest fees, and men will spend their money on any thing rather than their sons' education. This is the most forcible and instructive part of the satire, which describes the weary task of the schoolmaster, the little return of gratitude he gets, and the exacting demands of parents who expect every thing and will pay little or nothing. The teacher who in the good old times, Juvenal says, was treated with profound respect, in his day was insulted by parents and therefore by pupils. If the boy is a blockhead and cannot learn the master gets all the blame.

"——— culpa docentis
Scilicet arguitur si laeva in parte mamillae
Nil salit Arcadio juveni." (vii. 158.)

The only patron learned men have, says Juvenal, is the emperor, and it has been much questioned which emperor it could have been. The statement is most in accordance with what we hear of the reign of Hadrian, during which he managed to encourage the arts and literature at Rome, though he was absent the greater part of his time. The subject is discussed in the Life of Juvenal, to which the reader is referred.

ARGUMENT.

The hope and purpose of our studies is in Caesar only. He only cares for the Muses in these times when poets leave the vales of Helicon and live by baths, by baking, auctioneering. For if Pierian woods won't give you bread, you must e'en ply the crier's trade in the Atria. And this is better than to lie in the courts, though knights of Asia and Bithynia do it.

V. 16—35. But this is past; no poet now shall be degraded to do dirty work. Up and bestir yourselves, my friends; the prince is seeking whom he may reward. If you are waiting for another patron, go put your books in the fire or leave them to the worms: go break your pens and wipe out all your lines; the rich have learnt to admire and praise you, as children do the peacock. But the useful years of life are passing, and when old age comes on with weariness and poverty, it hates itself and its own Muse.

V. 36—47. This is the way the man you worship, leaving the Muses and Apollo's temple, contrives to give you nothing. Being himself a poet (equal to Homer save in years), if you're ambitious to recite your poems he lends you a dirty room a long way off, bolted for years as safe as the gates of a beleaguered town: he sends his freedmen to applaud; but he'll not give as much as the benches cost to hire.

V. 48—97. And yet we go on at this work, ploughing the sands laboriously. If you should give it up, the old habit pulls you back; for with too many the itch of writing is incurable and goes on to old age in their weary hearts. But a rare poet, none of your common sort, such as I only can conceive not name, is made so by a careless mind, free from all bitterness, loving the woods and Muses' springs. 'Tis not for poverty to sing in caves and wield the thyrsus. Horatius was full when he cried Euoe! What room for genius if other cares than his own verse disturb the poet's

breast? The great soul must not be distressed to find itself a blanket—it should only look at horses, chariots, gods, and furies. If Virgil had not had a servant and a tolerable house, the snakes had dropped from his fury's head, her trumpet had been dumb. We expect forsooth that our poor playwright should rise to the old cothurnus, who to produce his play must pawn his dishes and his cloak. Poor Numitor has nothing for his friend, but plenty for his mistress and his lion—of course the brute eats less than a poet. Lucanus may lie in his fine gardens content with his great fame, but what is fame to such as poor Serranus and Saleius, suppose they get it? Statius delights the town who crowd to hear him; but after all he starves if Paris does not buy his play. Paris gives honours to the poet—a player does what the great should do! Yet will you pay your court to these noble people? Praefects and tribunes come of plays; but you'd not envy him who gets his living by the stage. Where will you find me a Maecenas now, a Proculeius, Fabius, Cotta, Lentulus? Then genius was rewarded, many then found it worth while to pale their cheek with study and keep from wine through all December's feast.

V. 98—104. But is the historian's labour more productive? It wants more time and oil; for without limits page on page arises and ruins him in paper; so varied are the topics, such the condition of the work. But what is the crop he reaps? Not more than one would get to read the news.

V. 105—149. But they're an idle herd. Well, come; what do the lawyers get for all their roaring, especially when their client is in court and nudges them in the side? Then truly do they puff their lies like bellows, spluttering all their breast. If you would know the harvest that they reap, put in one scale a hundred lawyers' patrimonies and that of one driver in the Circus. The court have taken their seats; pale Ajax rises to plead for a man's liberty with a clown for judex. Burst then your liver that you may hang your staircase with the palm. What is your pay? a flitch of bacon, or a pot of fish, or old roots, black slaves' rations, or of bad wine five jars for four pleadings. Or if you get an 'aureus,' the attorney gets a part according to agreement. Aemilius is rich and has a statue and triumphal chariot, and so he gets as much as he likes to ask, and yet we can conduct a case better than he can. 'Tis this that brought Pedo to bankruptcy and Matho too: this was Tongillus' ruin, he who his great horn carried to the baths, disturbed the bathers with his dirty train, and through the forum lounged, to buy all manner of fine things, his lying purple securing him credit. And yet these fine clothes are of use; they give a man his value; it's their policy to make a noise and wear the look of wealth, for Rome is prodigal and knows no bounds to expense. Trust we our eloquence? Why Cicero would get nothing now unless he wore a great ring on his finger. No man employs you till he hears how many slaves you keep. So Paulus hired a ring and got more fees than Basilus or Cossus. Eloquence in rags is rare. What chance has Basilus of being heard? Go off to Gaul or Africa and practise if you have set a value on your tongue.

V. 150—214. What, teach you rhetoric? O nerves of steel, when your whole class is slaying savage tyrants! They sit and read, and then get up and say it word for word from first to last; the same dish served again, killing the wretched teacher. All would learn rhetoric, but none will pay. "Your fee? what have I learnt?" "Of course the teacher is in fault because the boy is a blockhead, whose Hannibal has stunned me week by week, whether it be that he deliberates of going to Rome from Cannae, or of turning round his troops drenched with the storm. Ask what you will I'll give it, if you can make his father listen as often as I've listened to his nonsense." That is the way plenty of teachers talk, and then they quit the hackneyed themes and go and practise real strife in the courts. But if my counsel weigh with them, they'll take their own discharge and go some other course who seek the forum

from the rhetoric school, that they may get as much as a tessera's worth, for they will get no more. But see how much the music master gets, and laughs at Theodorus. He builds him costly baths and porticoes to ride in when it rains. What, must he wait till the sky clears and go and splash in the mud? And then a dining-room on marble pillars. Whatever his house costs, he has his butlers and his cooks besides. Meanwhile Quintilian gets his two sestertia, and that a splendid fee! There's nothing a father will not pay for more than his son. How then is Quintilian so rich? He is an exception: a lucky man is every thing that's great, and good, and wise; a senator, an orator; though he's hoarse his voice is still divine. It makes a difference under what star you're born. Fortune can make a rhetorician consul, and if she please a consul rhetorician. What was Ventidius, what Tullius? what but a star and influence of hidden destiny? Fate gave a slave a kingdom and a prisoner triumphs. But he was lucky, rare as a white raven. Many get tired of the fruitless teacher's chair, witness Carinas and Thrasymachus: he too was poor to whom Athens could give nothing but cold hemlock. Light lie the turf upon the worthies of old time who held the teacher in the place of parent. Achilles on his father's hills learnt singing and reverenced the rod when now grown up: yet who could see his master's tail nor laugh? But Rufus and the rest are flogged by their own pupils, Rufus who called Cicero Allobrogian.

V. 215—229. Who pays the grammar master what his toil deserves? E'en from his little fee the pedagogue nibbles part. Give it him, and then give up a little more, like shopmen selling blankets, or else you may lose all for which you've sat from midnight till the dawn, where a blacksmith or a weaver would not sit, and all for nothing you may have smelt the lamps, whose smoke has Flaccus stained and blackened Maro. But fees are few which do not need the tribune to award them.

V. 230—243. But lay strict terms upon them, that the teacher speak grammatically, know history and all authors as well as the nails on his hand; so that at any moment he can tell who was Anchises' nurse, who and whence Archemorus' stepmother, how long Acestes lived, and how much wine he gave the Phrygians. Require that he shall mould his pupils' morals as a man makes a face of wax, and be their father and keep their fingers from foul practices (though he may say, it is no easy matter to watch the hands and eyes of all those boys). This do, says one, and when the year comes round you'll have a golden piece, as much as a successful fighter gets.

Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum:
Solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas
Respexit, quum jam celebres notique poetae
Balneolum Gabiis, Romae conducere furnos

1. *Et spes et ratio*] See Introduction. He says the hope and object of their studies is in Caesar only. He uses 'studiis' below, v. 17. Their reward was only to be expected from him, and him only could they please. As to Camenas, see S. iii. 16, n. The Scholiast says they were sad 'tacentibus poetis,' because the poets were silent. Autumnus says 'quia contemnuntur.' It comes to the same thing. 'Respexit' is like Horace's "Sive neglectum genus et nepotes Respicis, auctor" (C. i. 2), and Virgil's "Libertas quae sera tamen respexit inertem" (Ecl. i. 28). 'Quum jam' means while they were and long had been trying the lowest means of getting a livelihood, hiring a shabby bath at small country towns, or a bakery at Rome, or acting as criers at auctions.

4. *Balneolum Gabiis,*] Gabii has been mentioned twice before, iii. 192 (where see note), vi. 56, and is referred to again below, x. 100. 'Furni' were baking-houses where poor people got their bread baked. See Horace, S. i. 4. 37: "Gestiet a furno redeuntes scire lacuque Et pueros et anus." The Scholiast says, "*Furnos:* ad panem coquendum;" not "ut panem coquerent ven-

Temptarent, nec foedum alii nec turpe putarent
Praecones fieri; quum desertis Aganippes
Vallibus esuriens migraret in atria Clio.
Nam si Pieria quadrans tibi nullus in umbra
Ostendatur, ames nomen victumque Machaerae,

dendum," as Ruperti says; they may or may not have sold bread. Horace joins baths and bakeries together in Epp. i. 11. 13:

"——nec qui
Frigus collegit furnos et balnea laudat,
Ut fortunatam plene praestantia vitam."

C. S. Curio (edit. Henninii) quotes what he says was a proverb applied to chilly persons (qui assidue frigerent tremerentque), "numquam eos de balneo aut furno conducendo cogitasse:" and this he says explains the above passage of Horace, which I do not believe. Grangaeus steals from Curio without acknowledgment.

6. *Praecones fieri;*] The business of the auctioneer's 'praeco' was among other things to get persons to attend; as Horace says (Ars Poet. 419):

"Ut praeco, ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas,
Assentatores jubet ad lucrum ire poeta."

Therefore the Scholiast calls them 'emissarii.' Martial advises his friend Lupus, who was doubting how he should bring up his son, by no means to send him to the grammar schools; but,

"Artes discere vult pecuniosas?
Fac discat citharoedus aut choraules.
Si duri puer ingeni videtur,
Praeconem facias vel architectum."
(v. 56.)

In another place he commends an old man who gave his daughter in marriage to a 'praeco,' though two praetors, four tribunes, seven lawyers, and ten poets, had asked for her. So the praeco's was a thriving business. But there were various sorts. See the note on Horace quoted above on S. iii. 157.

desertis Aganippes Vallibus] On the eastern ascent, from Ascra, of Mount Helicon in Boeotia was the fountain Aganippe, which as the Scholiast says, quoting Callimachus, was the source, or one of the feeders of the Permessus, a stream which flowed into the Lacus Copais. The valleys on that side of the range were fruitful and woody. The waters of this fountain, like that of Hippocrene considerably higher up, were supposed to inspire those who drank them. The grove of the Muses (Pieria umbra) lay between these two fountains, and the position is identified by Col. Leake with that of the convent of St. Nicholas now existing at the foot of Mount Marandali.

7. *migraret in atria Clio.*] The atria here meant are not the antechambers of the rich, as Ruperti says, but the courts in which auctions were held, as Lubinus observes, quoting Cic. Pro P. Quin. c. 3, "Tollitur ab atriis Liciniis atque a praeconum consessu in Galliam Naevius" (see Long's note). See also c. 6, "Ipse suos necessarios ab atriis Liciniis et a faucibus macelli corrogat." They are mentioned again by Cicero (de Lege Agrar. i. 3): "At hoc etiam nequissimi homines consumptis patrimoniis faciunt, ut in atriis auctionariis potius quam in triviis aut in compitis auctionentur." [Martial (viii. 3) has

"Et quum rupta situ Messalae saxa jacebunt,
Altaque quum Licini marmora pulvis erunt."]

8. *Nam si Pieria*] He has just been speaking of the Muses in connexion with Helicon and Boeotia. Here he calls the grove Pieria, using the conventional name of the Muses, though the Pieria of historical times lay north of Olympus. Müller (Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 27) accounts for the confusion of Pieria and Boeotia by saying that the Pierians lived in Boeotia and Phocis near the ranges of Helicon and Parnassus till the time of the Dorian and Aeolian migration. (See note on Hor. A. P. 405.) 'Pieria umbra' is the grove mentioned on v. 6. Ruperti's note on this 'umbra' is a specimen of his loose style of commentary.

9. *ames nomen victumque Machaerae,*] 'Amare' is used like the Greek στέργειν, ἀγαπᾶν, 'to be content with,' as in Horace, A. P. 234:

"Non ego inornata et dominantia nomina solum
Verbaque, Pisones, Satyrorum scriptor amabo,"

which Heinrich quotes with other places

Et vendas potius commissa quod auctio vendit
Stantibus, oenophorum, tripodes, armaria, cistas,
Alcithoen Pacci, Thebas et Terea Fausti.
Hoc satius quam si dicas sub judice "Vidi,"
Quod non vidisti; faciant equites Asiani,
Quanquam et Cappadoces faciant equitesque Bithyni,
Altera quos nudo traducit Gallia talo.

from Seneca and Pliny. 'Machaera' is the name of an auctioneer or crier, not a parasite or a barber as Ruperti, who generally gives us a wide choice, suggests. Heinrich says the name should be Magiri, which has been corrupted through Machiri to Machaerae; this however is in Heinrich's text.

10. *commissa quod auctio*] Grangaeus has a bad note here which Ruperti says is not bad: "ubi licitantes utrinque pretio pugnant: translate a gladiatoribus, qui proprie committi dicuntur." Mr. Mayor adopts this note. 'Commissa auctio' is a sale 'bonorum commissorum,' forfeited goods. 'Commissum' was a thing confiscated. (See Forcellini.) 'Oenophorum' is a wine-jar (vi. 426). 'Tripodes' are old-fashioned tables ("Sit mihi mensa tripes," Hor. S. i. 3. 13). The finest tables of the Romans (orbes) rested on a single pillar (Hor. S. ii. 2. 4, n.). 'Armaria' were cupboards or cases, usually for books, standing against the walls, as opposed to 'capsae' and 'scrinia,' which were boxes also used for books. (See Hor. S. i. 4. 21, n.) Ruperti confounds 'armaria' and 'scrinia.' 'Cista' was any box, large or small. It was sometimes big enough to hold a man, though he had to squeeze to get into it. See last satire, v. 44, and Horace, S. ii. 7. 59:

"—— an turpi clausus in arca,
Quo te demisit peccati conscia herilis,
Contractum genibus tangas caput,"

where 'arca' is the same as 'cista.'

12. *Alcithoen Pacci,*] This is the reading of P., except that by an obvious error it has Alcitheon. Alcithoe was the Boeotian woman, daughter of Minyas of Orchomenus, who refused to celebrate the rites of Dionysus, and was changed into a bat by him together with her sister Leuconoe (Ovid, Met. iv. 390, sqq.). There was a festival connected with Bacchus observed at Orchomenus as late as the time of Plutarch (Quaestiones Graecae, 38) called Agrionia, which was said to have had its origin from these sisters. In consequence of their connexion with Bacchus some MSS. have Bacchi for Pacci. There are many various readings here, which Ruperti has given with the authorities. These were, no doubt, tragedies by living writers, whether Paccius and Faustus were their real names or not. Thebes under a hundred forms gave subjects for the stage; and there are fragments of a play founded upon the story of Tereus and the two sisters Procne and Philomela by Sophocles. See Aristoph. Aves, 100. The Scholiast on v. 280 of that play says Sophocles was the first to handle this subject, and after him Philocles. The subject was popular at Rome (see below, v. 92).

14. *faciant equites Asiani,*] Knights from Asia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Galatia (altera Gallia) are slaves who have made equestrian fortunes (see iii. 154, n.). Ruperti thinks Achaintre is right in calling them 'chevaliers d'industrie.' They have this interpretation to themselves. Heinrich considers v. 15 spurious; Jahn includes it in brackets. Bithynus has the first syllable long in x. 162; xv. 1 (Bithynice); and in Horace, Epp. i. 6. 33. It has therefore been proposed to make Bithyni and Asiani change places. The verses appear as they stand in all the MSS. [Ribbeck omits v. 15, and gives good reasons for condemning it. If Juvenal wrote it, we must blame him for inserting such a verse. But the omission of this verse does not remove all the difficulty, for we must then take 'Altera quos,' &c., as explanatory of 'equites Asiani;' and 'Asiani' properly means 'those of the Roman province Asia.' It may be answered that Juvenal uses 'Asiani' generally for people of Asia; but if so, the term is then too extensive, and in Sat. iii. 218 he certainly means only the temples of the province Asia.] As to Cappadoces, see Pers. vi. 77. Galatia, or Gallograecia, got its name from the Galli, who in the year B.C. 278 came over from Byzantium to help Nicomedes I. to get the kingdom of Bithynia. He gave them the neighbouring country, which was called after them. (See Mr. Long's article 'Ga-

Nemo tamen studiis indignum ferre laborem
Cogetur posthac, nectit quicunque canoris
Eloquium vocale modis laurumque momordit.
Hoc agite, o juvenes: circumspicit et stimulat vos
Materiamque sibi Ducis indulgentia quaerit.
Si qua aliunde putas rerum exspectanda tuarum
Praesidia, atque ideo croceae membrana tabellae
Impletur, lignorum aliquid posce ocius, et quae
Componis dona Veneris, Telesine, marito,
Aut clude et positos tinea pertunde libellos.
Frange miser calamos vigilataque proelia dele,
Qui facis in parva sublimia carmina cella
Ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra.
Spes nulla ulterior: didicit jam dives avarus
Tantum admirari, tantum laudare disertos,

latia' in Smith's Dict. Geog.) 'Nudo talo' may be compared with 'pedibus albis,' S. i. 111, though I am not sure that the usual interpretation there is right. 'Traducit' Heinrich is right in explaining 'puts forward to view,' comparing viii. 17, "Squalentes traducit avos," and xi. 31, "loricam—in qua se traducebat Ulixes." Ruperti says it is not so, but that it means 'brings across the seas to Rome;' and so Mr. Mayor takes it.

17. *Nemo tamen studiis*] He says no poet henceforth need follow any unbecoming business. He describes the poet as one who joins the eloquence of words with the harmonies of music, and has eaten the bay, that is, the 'laurea Apollinaris' (Hor. C. iv. 2. 9), 'Delphica laurus' (C. iii. 30. 15), where Bentley proposes a reasonable correction of Ovid (Ex Pont. ii. 5. 67), "Delphica non aeque gustata est laurea vobis," where the common reading is 'gestata.'

20. *Hoc agite,*] This is a formula which occurs in Horace (Epp. i. 6. 30), "Si virtus hoc una potest dare, fortis omissis Hoc age deliciis." 'Set about it; lose no time' (see v. 48). The phrase is used often in Terence. Ruperti refers to several places. Juvenal calls Domitian 'Dux magnus' above, iv. 145; and he uses the word as equivalent to 'imperator,' though in the field it was different, as a 'dux' had not the 'imperium' or 'auspicium.' As to 'croceae membrana tabellae,' see S. i. 5, n.; and Persius iii. 10, "bicolor positis membrana capillis." Casaubon there quotes this line with the difference of 'crocea tabella,' which is the reading of P. and one French MS., and Pithoeus' edition, Heidelberg, 1590. Jahn [and Ribbeck] have it.

25. *dona Veneris, Telesine, marito,*] He bids a man, if he depends on any patron but Caesar, put his poems in the fire, or, as he says, give them to Vulcan, as Catullus' mistress vowed:

> "Electissima pessimi poetae
> Scripta tardipedi Deo daturam
> Infelicibus ustulanda lignis."
> (xxxvi. 6, sqq.)

The name Telesinus occurs in inscriptions; and Martial occasionally uses it and the feminine Telesina (ii. 49). The MSS. have Thelesine, but the inscriptions have Tel., Τελεσῖνος. The Scholiast and P. and some other MSS. have the older form, 'clude.' Most MSS. have 'claude.' The same variation appears in S. iii. 19: "viridi si margine clauderet undas." I have followed Heinrich's judgment there and here. He bids the man lock up his books and let the worms eat holes in them, break his pens and rub out all the battles he had wasted his nights upon.

29. *Ut dignus venias*] That you may come forth worthy of the ivy crown and a poor lean bust, such as a half-starved poet's would be. There were put up in the library of Apollo on the Palatine, and in other public as well as private libraries, busts of distinguished literary men. See note on S. ii. 4: "quanquam plena omnia gypso Chrysippi." 'Venire' occurs in this way above, S. ii. 83, "Nemo repente venit turpissimus," where see note.

31. *Tantum . . . laudare disertos,*] 'Di-

Ut pueri Junonis avem. Sed defluit aetas
Et pelagi patiens et cassidis atque ligonis.
Taedia tunc subeunt animos, tunc seque suamque
Terpsichoren odit facunda et nuda senectus.
Accipe nunc artes ne quid tibi conferat iste
Quem colis et Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta.
Ipse facit versus atque uni cedit Homero
Propter mille annos; et si dulcedine famae
Succensus recites maculosas commodat aedes.
Haec longe ferrata domus servire jubetur,

sertos' here means poets, who are also called 'docti' ("doctarum hederae praemia frontium," Hor. C. i. 1. 29. "Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim," Epp. ii. 1. 117) like the Greek σοφοί. 'Disertus' properly applies to oratory. Cicero defines its meaning (de Orat. i. 21) as opposed to 'eloquens.'

32. *Sed defluit aetas*] See Argument.

36. *Accipe nunc artes*] He goes on to show how the patron compromises with the poet by giving help that costs nothing. There was a temple called Herculis Musarum, built by Fulvius Nobilior about A.U.C. 575; and restored by Marcius Philippus, stepfather of Augustus, after whom it was called Porticus Philippi. The temple of Apollo Juvenal refers to is that on the Palatine, built by Augustus 26th October, B.C. 28, to commemorate his victory at Actium (see Introduction to Hor. C. i. 31: "Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem Vates?"), and to which he attached the library referred to on v. 29. The poets recited their compositions in the porticoes attached to the temples, as shown in the note on Horace, S. i. 10. 38: "Quae neque in aede sonent certantia judice Tarpa." Juvenal says these misguided poets left the usual places of recitation to accept of a shabby patron a dirty room and a packed audience. In Horace's time the public censor of plays heard them rehearsed in the porticoes, as appears in the place just quoted. There also it is probable the emperor sometimes himself heard poets, or set persons to hear and report to him. Jahn [and Ribbeck] follow Madvig in putting the full stop after 'artes' and a comma at 'relicta.' I think 'artes' was not intended to stand by itself; it is 'artes ne quid tibi conferat iste.' According to the other punctuation it would appear that the man wrote verses to avoid giving money to the poet.

38. *Ipse facit versus*] This scurvy patron himself affects to be a poet inferior to Homer only for the reverence due to his antiquity; and to show that he has a poet's sympathies he lends his poor brother a dirty room, which had long been locked up as fast as the gates of a town when the enemy is coming. He also gives him a few of his dependants to sit at the end of the room, and in different parts to applaud him; but he leaves him to go to the expense of hiring his own benches and of the porterage. For 'maculosas' the MSS. have Maculonis or Maculonus, which the older editors and Achaintre have adopted as the name of the patron. The Scholiast has a note which is corrupt, and has been variously mended, "Succensus R. M.: alii sordibus dixit, alii pictas." 'Sordibus' was probably 'sordidas,' from which Heinrich conjectures the word 'maculosas' for Maculonis. 'Maculatas' had before been suggested by Schurzfleisch (Spicilegium, A.D. 1717), and Jahn quotes one Paris MS. of the tenth century which has 'maculosos.' There can be no doubt of the true reading. Heinrich explains it of cobwebs, and alters the Scholiast's 'dixit' to 'textis' to represent that meaning.

39. *Propter mille annos;*] The Scholiast has a note, which must be taken for what it is worth: "Fuit Homerus annis ante urbem conditam centum LX, post Ilium captum ducentis LX." He therefore supposed Homer to have lived at the end of the tenth century before Christ, and the Trojan War to have happened B.C. 1173. Porphyrion puts Homer 275 years after the Trojan War, and the Parian Marble 277. The Scholiast therefore was nearer to them than any of the other computations. But his authority is not worth much.

41. *Haec longe ferrata*] The interpreters properly explain 'longe' as 'diu.' Forcellini gives plenty of examples; which Mr. Mayor seems not to have noticed, for

In qua sollicitas imitatur janua portas.
Scit dare libertos extrema in parte sedentes
Ordinis et magnas comitum disponere voces.
Nemo dabit regum quanti subsellia constent,
Et quae conducto pendent anabathra tigillo,
Quaeque reportandis posita est orchestra cathedris.
Nos tamen hoc agimus, tenuique in pulvere sulcos
Ducimus et litus sterili versamus aratro.
Nam si discedas, laqueo tenet ambitiosi
Consuetudo mali; tenet insanabile multos
Scribendi cacoethes et aegro in corde senescit.
Sed vatem egregium cui non sit publica vena,
Qui nihil expositum soleat deducere, nec qui

he says, "Not i. q. 'diu,' which force it seems not to have except with such words as 'provectus,' which properly denote extension. It may mean 'at a distance.'" No doubt it may, but does not so here.

46. *pendent anabathra tigillo,*] The room is supposed to be arranged like a theatre with 'subsellia,' which are benches placed about the room on the floor; 'anabathra,' or benches rising one above the other at the sides of the room; and an orchestra, reserved seats near the speaker. The orchestra in a Greek theatre was the circular space in front of the stage occupied by the chorus. In Roman theatres, which nearly resembled the Greek, the orchestra was given up to the accommodation of senators and magistrates and other persons of distinction. Here the reciter put chairs for his more important auditors. 'Conducto anabathra tigillo' is equivalent to 'conducta anabathra tigillaria,' hired seats of plank. 'Posita est,' the orchestra is set out with chairs, as stated on Horace, S. i. 4. 73. The author of the dialogue De Oratore attributed to Tacitus (c. 9) describes the pains of one Saleius Bassus, mentioned below (v. 80), to get an audience, hiring a room and benches, distributing handbills, and so forth, and getting not so much as a dinner, or any thing but idle clamour for his trouble.

48. *Nos tamen hoc agimus,*] See above, v. 20. What follows are proverbs for labour thrown away. So in Ovid (Heroid. v. 115):

"Quid facis, Oenone? quid arenae semina mandas?
Non profecturis littora bubus aras."

He says again in the Tristia (v. 4. 48), "Non sinet ille tuos litus arare boves." Jahn edits 'tenuis' (for 'tenues') instead of 'tenui.' P. has 'tenui * que.' One MS. makes 'tenui' and 'sterili' change places; and many of the old editions have 'tenui' instead of 'sterili' in 49. But 'sterili' is poetically applied to the plough in this case.

50. *Nam si discedas,*] He says if the man tries to get away, he finds himself tied by the leg with his ambitious but pestilent itch for writing, which, though his heart is sick with hope deferred and the cravings of a foolish ambition, grows upon him with his years. 'Cacoethes,' which properly means no more than a bad habit, was applied medically to inveterate ulcers and cancers. See Pliny xxii. 25, and other places quoted by Forcellini. Jahn, judging the next line (51) to be an interpolation, changes 'ambitiosi' into 'ambitiosum,' to agree with 'cacoethes.' [Ribbeck does the same. The objections to the verse are several. One is that 'consuetudo mali' is a literal translation of 'cacoethes.' But it is not easy to see what led an interpolator to insert this verse between 51 and 53.]

53. *Sed vatem egregium*] These hunters after a small reputation and the rewards of authorship, which they never realize, can never be good poets. Such a one must have his mind free from care and bitterness, and be at peace and love it. 'Vena' is a metaphor from mines, as in Horace, C. ii. 18. 9:

"At fides et ingeni
Benigna vena est."

'Publica' is, like κοινὴ, that which belongs to all, commonplace; 'expositum' means such as you would meet with in the high-

Communi feriat carmen triviale moneta,
Hunc qualem nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum
Anxietate carens animus facit, omnis acerbi
Impatiens, cupidus silvarum aptusque bibendis
Fontibus Aonidum. Neque enim cantare sub antro
Pierio thyrsumve potest contingere moesta
Paupertas atque aeris inops, quo nocte dieque
Corpus eget: satur est quum dicit Horatius, Euoe!
Quis locus ingenio, nisi quum se carmine solo
Vexant et dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque feruntur

way, and so is 'triviale.' 'Deducere' is commonly applied to verse-making, and is probably taken from spinning, as in Horace, Epp. ii. 1. 225, "deducta poemata filo;" he also says, "similesque meorum Mille die versus deduci posse," S. ii. 1. 3. See note on Horace, S. i. 10. 44: "forte epos acer Ut nemo Varius ducit." The works of the brain are commonly in most languages described as the coinage of a mint; and Juvenal speaks of the man whose ideas are not coined at the common mint, in which all manner of base metal is struck, and then passes current among the ignorant. The operations of the Roman mint and the adulteration of the coinage are related in the article 'Moneta' in Smith's Dict. Ant. Private persons could get their gold and silver coined at the public mint. Bentley on Horace, A. P. 59, "semperque licebit Signatum praesente nota producere nomen," quotes this passage among others to support his alteration, 'procudere nummum.'

56. *sentio tantum*] He says he cannot point out such a person; he can only imagine, or, as he says better, feel him. 'Impatiens acerbi' expresses ἄγευστος πικροῦ, not impatient, but free from the suffering of bitterness, which is that of poverty, disappointment, mortification, and self-contempt. The Muses had their name Aonides from Boeotia, anciently called Aonia. See above, v. 6, n. Bacchus and the Muses are always close companions, and so he says 'thyrsum contingere.' Horace says (Epp. ii. 2. 77):

"Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem,
Rite cliens Bacchi somno gaudentis et umbra."

58. *aptusque bibendis*] Jahn has 'avidus,' on the authority, he says, of the Scholiast, whose note is "Impatiens cupidus silvarum avidus. ut Horatius, Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus Vidi docentem," where 'avidus' is only a gloss on 'cupidus.' The MSS. have 'aptus.'

60. *moesta*] Most MSS. have 'sana.' P. and others have 'maesta.' Some have 'saeva.' Heinrich has 'moesta.' Ruperti, Jahn, [Ribbeck,] and most other editors 'sana.' [In v. 61 Ribbeck has 'quom.']

62. *satur est quum dicit Horatius, Euoe!*] Horace, he says, had all he wanted when he sang Euoe! as

"—— Euoe! parce, Liber,
Parce, gravi metuende thyrso!"
(C. ii. 19. 7.)

Ruperti asks how this agrees with what Horace says of himself (Epp. ii. 2. 51, sqq.):

"—— paupertas impulit audax
Ut versus facerem: sed quod non desit habentem
Quae poterunt unquam satis expurgare cicutae,
Ni melius dormire putem quam scribere versus?"

The answer is that Horace is joking. He takes a good deal of trouble to show that he is lazy, for he did not write this epistle, the best in some respects of all, without much pains. There is no doubt, as I have shown, that Horace wrote all his odes after he had got a competence; and if his poverty made him write in the first instance, what he wrote then was of a different character. I have said enough on this subject elsewhere.

64. *dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque*] Cirrha was situated at the head of the bay called Sinus Crissaeus, in the Corinthian Gulf. There are ruins of the town still existing in a village called Magula. On the high ground above it was the more ancient city of Crissa, of which it was the port, and with which some ancient writers and modern have con-

Pectora vestra duas non admittentia curas?
Magnae mentis opus nec de lodice paranda
Attonitae currus et equos faciesque deorum
Aspicere et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinnys.
Nam si Virgilio puer et tolerabile deesset
Hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri;
Surda nihil gemeret grave buccina. Poscimus ut sit
Non minor antiquo Rubrenus Lappa cothurno,

founded it. Crissa was the original seat of the worship of Apollo, afterwards transferred to Delphi in its neighbourhood; and in this way Cirrha came to be associated with Apollo, who is the 'dominus Cirrhae' here referred to. Nysa is a name given to several places where Bacchus was worshipped, having originally belonged to that (wherever it was) which reared him as a child. The locality of the original Nysa is generally placed by the poets in the Punjaub. 'Feruntur' are carried away, borne headlong; as "quin per mala praeceps Fertur, uti pulvis collectus turbine" (Hor. S. i. 4. 30). The word is used for madness or (as here) inspiration or other strong excitement. (See Burmann on Ovid, Her. xv. 140.) P. and many MSS. and the Scholiast have 'vestra.' Ruperti has edited from others 'nostra.' M. has 'voces' for 'curas,' with that word in the margin. There is one other MS. (Kulenkamp's Ruperti calls it) with this reading, which is that of Calderini's editions, 1475, &c., and no others. Calderini does not notice the word.

66. *lodice paranda Attonitae*] 'Lodix,' a blanket or other bed-covering, is used before, S. vi. 195. He uses 'attonitae' for 'perplexed,' as the word belongs to the subject. It is equivalent to *ἐμβρόντητος*, and represents one inspired, as in Horace, C. iii. 19. 13:

"Qui Musas amat impares
Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
Vates."

68. *Rutulum confundat Erinnys.*] This is Alecto, whom Juno moved to inflame Turnus with jealousy when Latinus gave his daughter Lavinia to Aeneas. See Virg. Aen. vii. 420, sqq. In vii. 450 he says, "geminos erexit crinibus angues Verberaque insonuit rabidoque haec addidit ore;" and elsewhere from the top of a rock she sounds a blast upon her horn with which the forests and rivers are startled, mothers press their babes to their bosom, and all the country people are roused to arms:

"Tum vero ad vocem celeres qua buccina signum
Dira dedit raptis concurrunt undique telis
Indomiti agricolae," &c. (519, sqq.)

All this roaring and snake-lifting the poet would not have been able to invent if he had not been in easy circumstances, if he had not had a slave or two and a pretty good house. Virgil had a good deal more than this. He had property, as is well known from his first Eclogue, in his native place; and he got liberal presents from Augustus and others, with which he bought a house near the gardens of his friend Maecenas on the Esquiline. Horace refers to Augustus' liberality in his epistle to the emperor (ii. 1. 245, sqq.):

"At neque dedecorant tua de se judicia atque
Munera, quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt
Dilecti tibi Virgilius Variusque poetae."

On this passage one of the Scholiasts says that Augustus gave Virgil and Varius each a million sesterces. (See note on Hor. S. i. 5. 40.)

69. *tolerabile deesset*] M. and most MSS. have 'desit.' P. has 'deesset,' which the modern editors have done well to adopt. Most old editions have 'desit.'

71. *Surda nihil gemeret grave buccina.*] 'Surdus' is used for one dumb as well as deaf. Propertius applies it to the lyre: "Istius tibi sit surda sine aere lyra" (iv. 5. 56). See Forcellini, and below, xiii. 194. The 'buccina' or 'bucina' was the oldest wind instrument, and was a ruder sort of 'cornu.' Ovid (Met. i. 335) describes it as a very noisy one and spiral, bulging out at the end. There are two woodcuts representing 'buccinae' in Smith's Dict. Ant. s. v., where further information may be got. 'Gemeret' is like 'nullo gemit hic tibicina cornu.' He applies the word to any loud discordant sound. Virgil calls it 'Tartaream vocem' (Aen. vii. 514).

72. *Rubrenus Lappa cothurno,*] This

Cujus et alveolos et laenam pignerat Atreus.
Non habet infelix Numitor quod mittat amico;
Quintillae quod donet habet; nec defuit illi
Unde emeret multa pascendum carne leonem
Jam domitum: constat leviori bellua sumptu
Nimirum, et capiunt plus intestina poetae.
Contentus fama jaceat Lucanus in hortis
Marmoreis: at Serrano tenuique Saleio
Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?
Curritur ad vocem jucundam et carmen amicae
Thebaidos, laetam fecit quum Statius Urbem
Promisitque diem. Tanta dulcedine captos
Afficit ille animos tantaque libidine vulgi
Auditur: sed quum fregit subsellia versu
Esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven.

is some small play-writer of the day. He says we expect such a man as this, who is obliged to pawn his dishes and his cloak while he is employed upon his play, to rise to the dignity of the old tragedy. Forcellini (v. pignero) so explains it rightly. As to 'alveolos' see S. v. 88; and on 'laena,' iii. 283. Atreus and the other members of 'saeva Pelopis domus' (Hor. C. i. 6. 8, see note) furnished subjects for numberless tragedies.

74. *Non habet infelix Numitor*] This name he takes for the same purpose in the next satire (viii. 93). He says the great man (poor fellow) has nothing to send to his friend, but plenty to give to his mistress, and enough to buy meat for his tame lion: of course, he adds, the beast costs less and eats less than a poet. [Ribbeck places 74—78 after v. 93.]

78. *capiunt plus*] One MS. (Nürnberg) has 'cupiunt,' and Heinrich appears to have approved that reading (Animadv. in auct. vet. p. 109, referred to by Jahn, V. L.).

79. *jaceat Lucanus in hortis*] The poet M. Annaeus Lucanus inherited a large fortune from his father, who was a native of Corduba in Hispania, and collector of the imperial revenues. He is said to have died at the age of 26, A.D. 65, in consequence of having taken part in Piso's conspiracy against Nero. To avoid the executioner he opened his own veins. He was therefore dead when this satire was written. We know nothing of Serranus. Saleius is the man alluded to above (note on v. 46). He says Lucan may be happy in his renown because he is rich, but what is any amount of fame to these poor wretches, suppose they get it?

83. *laetam fecit quum Statius Urbem*] The poet P. Papinius Statius was the son of a schoolmaster at Neapolis. He was patronized by Domitian, whom he flattered in the usual way. His poem called Thebais, relating entirely to the expedition against Thebes which Aeschylus has made the subject of a tragedy, occupied him twelve years, a year for each book, as he says at the end of the poem, "O mihi bissenos multum vigilata per annos Thebai." It was finished some time between A.D. 87 and 90, and therefore was begun before Domitian became emperor, A.D. 81. During the time it was composing he recited parts of it, and at that time he seems to have been poor. Whether he afterwards profited by the patronage of the emperor or not is unknown. By Juvenal's description his poem seems to have been highly thought of, and his manner of reciting it was attractive. 'Carmen' is used for a book or division of an entire poem, as by Lucretius, vi. 938, "quod in primo quoque carmine claret." See note on Horace, Epod. xiv. 7, "olim promissum carmen." The Thebais in twelve books, the Achilleis, an unfinished poem, in two, and the Silvae, a collection of smaller poems, in five, are all we have of Statius' works. It seems he wrote tragedies, for Juvenal says he would have starved if he had not sold his Agave to Paris (see vi. 87, n.).

86. *fregit subsellia*] See S. i. 13.

87. *intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven.*] 'Unless he sells his virgin Agave to Paris.'

Ille et militiae multis largitur honorem,
Semestri vatum digitos circumligat auro.
Quod non dant proceres dabit histrio: tu Camerinos 90
Et Bareas, tu nobilium magna atria curas?

The commentators differ about 'intactam.' It has the same sense as 'integram.' It stands for 'new,' as Heinrich says. Whether this means that other poets had not handled the subject, as he and Bentley understand it (Bentley, Horace, Epp. ii. 2. 80), or that the play had not yet been in the actors' hands, and was unpublished, may be doubtful. It is unlikely that this subject should not have been handled by any of the Latin poets, who followed the Greek tragedians, and I am inclined to take 'intactam' as fresh rather in composition than subject. Bentley quotes Statius himself in favour of the other meaning (Silv. iii. 1. 66, sq.):

"Assidue moresque viri pacemque novosque
Pieridum flores intactaque carmina discens."

Juvenal may possibly have taken Statius' own word ironically, and without much meaning. It is not easy to decide. Neither Statius' play nor any other on this subject has come down to us. Agave is the furious mother who tore her son Pentheus to pieces at the revels of Dionysus, as represented in Euripides' play, the Bacchae. Paris seems to have bought the play out of charity to the writer. Whether he meant to exhibit it as the aediles exhibited plays for the public entertainment at their own expense, or whether it was a 'canticum,' as the Romans called pieces written expressly for pantomimic performance, and Paris intended to act it, Juvenal no doubt means that he bought it because the poet wanted the money. 'Esurit—nisi vendat,' 'he starves if he sells not,' is a familiar idiom for 'he would have starved if he had not sold,' 'esuriisset nisi vendidisset.' Jahn has 'vendit,' for which he quotes the authority of P. and three other MSS. The rest have 'vendat,' which is right. [Ribbeck has 'vendit.']

88. *Ille et militiae*] He goes on to say, that Paris used his influence with Domitian to get advancement for the poets. Ruperti says "salse haec dicta." It appears to me to be kindly said and kindly meant towards Paris, whose conduct is contrasted with that of the 'proceres.' The military offices Juvenal says he got conferred upon poets were those of 'praefecti' and 'tribuni militares.' The number of these 'tribuni' in each 'legio' at the time when Horace held the office in Brutus' army was six. This part of the satire will be sufficiently intelligible with the help of the following remarks from Lipsius, De Militia Romana, l. ii. dial. 9. He says (from Suetonius, c. 38) that Augustus allowed the sons of senators from the time they assumed the 'toga virilis' to wear the broad 'clavus' (or stripe on the tunic); and when they first entered the army, he not only made them tribunes, but praefects of the 'alae' (allied troops). From this arose a distinction of tribunes, some being called Laticlavii and others Angusticlavii; those being of the senatorial order, these of the equestrian. Both classes were much sought, and in order to gratify more applicants the office was made half-yearly (semestri) as Pliny says (Epp. iv. 4): "Hunc ego rogo semestri tribunatu splendidiorem et avunculo suo et sibi facias." Lipsius quotes this passage of Juvenal, who does well to say 'semestri auro,' because the 'tribuni' wore a gold ring; and confirms his explanation by the words of the writer of Juvenal's life attributed to Suetonius, who speaks of "paucorum versuum satira non absurde composita in Paridem pantomimum poetamque ejus semestribus militiolis tumentem."

This passage is associated with the principal event recorded of Juvenal's life, and the reader is referred to the memoir at the beginning of the volume.

There is no conjunction between the two parts of the sentence, and it is not wanted. 'Ille et' means he does more for the poets than buy their plays; he gets them military honours, he puts gold rings on their fingers: the one explains the other. Heinrich would read (but it is not in his text) 'semestris' to agree with 'militiae,' and 'moestis' instead of 'multis,' comparing 'moesta paupertas' above (v. 60). [Ribbeck omits 88, 89.]

90. *tu Camerinos Et Bareas,*] Camerinus was the name of a branch of the patrician gens Sulpicia. It was much distinguished in the time of the republic. One of the Bareae has been mentioned before

Praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.
Haud tamen invideas vati, quem pulpita pascunt.
Quis tibi Maecenas? quis nunc erit aut Proculeius
Aut Fabius? quis Cotta iterum? quis Lentulus alter?
Tunc par ingenio pretium; tunc utile multis
Pallere et vinum toto nescire Decembri.

(S. iii. 116: "Stoicus occidit Baream, delator amicum").

92. *Praefectos Pelopea facit,*] He says plays make praefects and tribunes, as explained above (see also note on v. 12). 'Pelopea' may be any subject connected with the house of Pelops (v. 73). 'Pulpitum' corresponded to that part of the stage which the Greeks called λογεῖον, where the actors spoke. He says the man who gets his bread by the stage is not to be envied.

94. *aut Proculeius Aut Fabius?*] The first of these was the person whose liberality to his brethren or relations is mentioned by Horace (C. ii. 2. 5):

"Vivet extento Proculeius aevo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni;
Illum aget penna metuente solvi
Fama superstes."

He was connected by marriage and contemporary with Maecenas, whom he imitated in his patronage of men of letters (see Intr. and note on the above ode).

The Fabius here more particularly alluded to the commentators generally suppose to be Fabius Maximus, to whom Ovid wrote several of his letters Ex Ponto (i. 2. 5. 9; ii. 3; iii. 3. 8). Ovid writes to him in language of the highest admiration, and professes to have received much kindness from him. He is generally supposed to be the person who accompanied Augustus on his visit to Agrippa, and who report said lost his life in connexion with that visit (Tac. Ann. i. 5. Pliny, H. N. vii. 45). Ovid suspects himself of having been the innocent cause of his death (Ex Pont. iv. 6. 11, sq.). He is alluded to by Quintilian (Inst. l. vi. c. 3).

Cotta was a cognomen of the Aurelia gens, into which was adopted Messallinus, a son of the celebrated orator Messalla Corvinus, frequently mentioned by Horace. After his adoption he was called M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus, as the Scholiast says (on Persius, S. ii. 72: "Messallae lippa propago"). Ovid wrote several of his epistles in his exile to this Cotta (ii. 8; iii. 2. 5). In the last of those epistles he says (v. 41, sq.):

"Te tamen in turba non ausim, Cotta, silere,
Pieridum lumen praesidiumque fori."

In the time of Augustus he may have borne this character, or he may have been kind to Ovid. But afterwards, in the reign of Tiberius, he is spoken of by Tacitus as "saevissimae cujusque sententiae auctor" (Ann. vi. 5). The Scholiast above referred to says he was "multis deditus vitiis;" and Pliny, H. N. x. 22, refers to him incidentally as an eater of geese's webs and cocks' combs roasted and spiced. He was fond of good living. Another Cotta is mentioned above, S. v. 109.

By Lentulus Juvenal is generally supposed to mean P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, who was consul A.U.C. 697, and the author of Cicero's recall from banishment in that year. The first nine in the collection of Cicero's letters to his friends are addressed to Lentulus. He says of him, "Deum ac parentem statuo fortunae ac nominis mei et fratris rerumque nostrarum" (Pro P. Sest. c. 69); which sort of language is used in the speech sometimes attributed to Cicero, Quum Senatui, &c. c. 4, "P. Lentulus parens ac Deus nostrae vitae, fortunae, memoriae, nominis." If this be the man Juvenal means, he has gone out of his way. His support of Cicero was that of a partisan, not of a patron. He owed all his honours to Caesar, and when he had got the highest he turned against him.

97. *vinum toto nescire Decembri.*] He says in those days it was of some use to study, and give up the enjoyments of the Saturnalia, which took place in December. So Horace represents Damasippus scolding him for not writing, when he had retired from the bustle of the Saturnalia to his country house for the purpose with all his books (S. ii. 3. 4, where see note):

"—— Quid fiet? At ipsis
Saturnalibus huc fugisti. Sobrius ergo
Dic aliquid dignum promissis: incipe."

The whole month of December was sacred to Saturnus, and it was a month of feasting, the Saturnalia and its attendant festi-

Vester porro labor fecundior, historiarum
Scriptores? petit hic plus temporis atque olei plus:
Namque oblīta modi millesima pagina surgit
Omnibus et multā crescit damnosa papyro.
Sic ingens rerum numerus jubet atque operum lex.
Quae tamen inde seges? terrae quis fructus apertae?
Quis dabit historico quantum daret acta legenti?
"Sed genus ignavum quod lecto gaudet et umbra."
Dic igitur quid causidicis civilia praestent
Officia et magno comites in fasce libelli.

vals (see vi. 153, n.) occupying seven days. For this reason Juvenal says 'toto Decembri.' [Ribbeck has 'somnum' in place of 'vinum.']

98. *Vester porro labor*] 'Porro' means 'in the next place,' 'to proceed.' He goes on to speak of historians, and says ('per ironiam,' as the Scholiast observes) their labours are of course more profitable as they require more time and study. 'Pagina,' from which our word 'page' is derived, was a sheet of the papyrus as prepared for writing on; several layers of the rind of the plant (liber) were pressed upon one another, and from this the name is derived: it contains the root 'pag-' of 'pango,' to fasten. One sheet was tacked on to the end of the other, and so the roll was made as long as they pleased. Juvenal says these people's histories, like some in our own time, forgot all bounds and went on to the thousandth sheet. As to 'surgit' the commentators quote Ovid, Am. i. 1. 17: "Cum bene surrexit versu nova pagina primo." He also says in the same elegy (v. 27), "Sex mihi surgat opus numeris, in quinque residat:" it begins with six feet and ends with five. 'Grows' is the meaning of it here, like the springing of things sown; not as Mr. Mayor says, "the pile of sheets rises higher and higher." 'Damnosa' is used as Vibidius uses 'damnose' (Hor. S. ii. 8. 34): "Nos nisi damnose bibimus, moriemur inulti." It means 'costly.' The cost of the paper alone is such that they ought to be well paid. 'Operum lex' is the conditions to which they are bound by the nature of their works. These must vary according to what notions men have of history; and the 'numerus rerum' is 'ingens' or otherwise, according as the writer deals in history or gossip. Servius on Virgil, Aen. iv. 98, and the Scholiast on Lucan, i. 334, quote this verse with a variation, which Jahn follows from P., "Nullo quippe modo millesima pagina surgit." [Ribbeck has the same.] M. has a foolish reading 'modis.'

103. *terrae quis fructus apertae?*] When the soil is thus ploughed and sown, what fruit does it bear? what does the man get for his pains? As to 'acta' see S. ii. 136, n. Juvenal says people would not give as much to a writer of history as to a reader of the news. He does not say that "the 'actuarius' who copied out the 'acta' read them aloud to amuse the company at table," as Mr. Mayor supposes; nor does he or any one else tell us that there were persons who read the papers for the entertainment of the public. He says the man would find that more profitable than to write a history. People would rather hear the events of the day than read the events of former days. 'Actuarii' were reporters and short-hand writers.

105. *Sed genus ignavum*] But, say the world, they are an idle set, who care only to lie in bed and live in the shade, that is, in retirement. M. and many MSS. have 'tecto' for 'lecto,' and Ruperti says it is not bad. 'Lecto' is better. 'Tuto' is the reading of some MSS., corrupted probably from 'tecto.' 'At,' not 'sed,' is the particle generally used to introduce an objection.

106. *Dic igitur quid causidicis*] 'Igitur' means if they say this of the historians they cannot say it of the lawyers. How then are they paid for their services (officia)? As to 'causidici' see S. i. 32, n. 'Libelli' are documents in the case, which the lawyer takes with him in a great bundle into court. Nearly all the MSS. have 'praestant.' The editors have almost all taken the right form, which is 'praestent.'

Ipsi magna sonant, sed tunc quum creditor audit
Praecipue, vel si tetigit latus acrior illo
Qui venit ad dubium grandi cum codice nomen.
Tunc immensa cavi spirant mendacia folles
Conspuiturque sinus. Veram deprendere messem
Si libet, hinc centum patrimonia causidicorum,
Parte alia solum russati pone Lacernae.
Consedere Duces: surgis tu pallidus Ajax

108. *Ipsi magna sonant,*] They talk very big of their own accord (ipsi), but still more if the creditor is listening for whom they are acting; or louder still if the client is eager and nudges his 'causidicus,' being afraid of losing his money. 'Dubium nomen' is a doubtful debt. See note on Horace, Epp. ii. 1. 105: "Cautos nominibus rectis." This creditor, who the Scholiast says is an 'argentarius,' a banker, brings his books to prove the debt. 'Codex' (or 'caudex') is properly something of wood, and was first applied to wooden tablets, but afterwards was used for any written document or book, and particularly for bankers' books. This is in substance the Scholiast's explanation, "Cautionem habens multorum temporum (that is, a debt of long standing, see note on Hor. l. c.), creditorem argentarium significat qui instantius debitum petit si debitor ei coeperit esse suspectus." The other interpretations that have been given I believe to be wrong. Madvig, whom Mr. Mayor follows, makes the creditor who is listening the lawyer's creditor, but the man who nudges him a 'dives litigator' come to employ him. Heinrich thinks 'acrior illo' is not clear, and prefers 'acrior ille.' I think 'ille' is better, but there is no MSS. authority for it. [Ribbeck has 'aegrior' instead of 'acrior.']

111. *spirant mendacia folles*] The bellows are his cheeks. Compare Persius, v. 10, sqq., "Tu neque anhelanti coquitur dum massa camino Folle premis ventos," &c.; and Horace, whom Persius imitates,

"At tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras
Usque laborantes dum ferrum molliat ignis
Ut mavis imitare." (S. i. 4. 19, sqq.)

The Scholiast says on 'conspuitur sinus,' "Propter fascinum verborum ter sibi in sinus spuunt et videntur fascinum arcere ut Persius de matertera (S. ii. 31). Vel incipiunt multa sibi promittentes in sinum spuere vel a loquendo multum spuunt." The first of these explanations Madvig adopts, that he spits to avert the bad consequences of his lying, and Mr. Mayor follows him. As far as I know they stand alone. In this sense 'despuere' would be used. 'Conspuitur' means that he splutters his froth all over the folds of his 'toga.' There is no 'fascinum' or omen or any thing else to avert.

112. *Veram deprendere messem*] If you want to know the real amount of his harvest, put on one side the fortunes of a hundred lawyers, and on the other that of Lacerna, who was a driver in the Circus, and they may be equal. Servius on Virgil (Georg. iv. 231, "duo tempora messis") quotes this line. The drivers were divided into four parties, called 'factiones,' and distinguished by the colour of their dress; there was the white (alba), red (russata), dark green (prasina), and light green (veneta). See below, S. xi. 198: "eventum viridis quo colligo panni." 'Pone' is not 'put them in scales,' as Ruperti says. Ascensius' reading 'verum' is bad, though Ruperti says 'non male' to it. Many of the MSS. writers were puzzled by the words 'russati pone Lacernae,' probably from not knowing that Lacerna was a proper name, which is stated by the Scholiast: "*Lacernae:* nomen aurigae abjecti, ex colore RUSSATUS. LACERNA sub Domitiano auriga fuit." 'Rus satipone' is a common reading, and one Scholium quoted by Jahn says gravely 'satipone' is the name of a country house.

115. *Consedere Duces:*] What follows is a parody of the contest between Ajax and Ulysses for Achilles' armour in Ovid (Met. xiii. 1, sqq.), beginning

"Consedere duces; et vulgi stante corona
Surgit ad hos clipei dominus septemplicis Ajax."

Ruperti informs us that those who are going to speak rise up, and while they are speaking they stand; but the 'judices' and 'praetor' sit and listen.

Dicturus dubia pro libertate bubulco
Judice. Rumpe miser tensum jecur, ut tibi lasso
Figantur virides scalarum gloria palmae.
Quod vocis pretium? siccus petasunculus et vas
Pelamydum, aut veteres Afrorum epimenia bulbi,
Aut vinum Tiberi devectum, quinque lagenae,
Si quater egisti. Si contigit aureus unus,
Inde cadunt partes ex foedere pragmaticorum.

116. *bubulco Judice.*] He means that ignorant rude people were likely to be among the 'judices.' They were chosen from among the senators and 'equites,' both of which orders included during the empire persons of low birth. The 'causidicus' is supposed to be defending one whose freedom is at stake, who is claimed as a slave. Heinrich thinks 'bubulco' may be a proper name. It was a cognomen of the Junia gens, and the only two on record who bore it were also called Brutus. If it be a proper name, it can here only be a play upon the word it is derived from.

118. *scalarum gloria palmae.*] Grangaeus quotes Martial (vii. 28):

"Sic fora mirentur, sic te Palatia laudent,
Excolat et geminas plurima palma fores,"

with Lucan, Claudian, Ausonius, to show that these lawyers used to hang palm-branches over their doors when they gained an important cause. Juvenal means by 'scalarum,' that the man lived upstairs in a 'coenaculum,' a poor man's lodging. See above, S. iii. 166, 199; and Martial, i. 118, "scalis habito tribus sed altis."

119. *Quod vocis pretium?*] He asks what the man is to get for the use of his lungs; and adds, a small dry flitch of bacon, or a pot of little fish, or some old roots, such as the black slaves got for their rations (epimenia), or a few jars, less than half a dozen, of bad wine, and that only after he has given his services four times. 'Petasunculus' is a small 'petaso,' which Forcellini describes as "ea pars suis quae ab alis incipit et costas comprehendit," which is a flitch. Pliny (ix. 15), speaking of the thunny fish, says that in the spring they go from the Mediterranean into the Euxine and there spawn; that the name of the young fish is 'cordyla,' but when they come with the grown fish back to the Mediterranean in the autumn they are called 'pelamides' till they are a year old, following Aristotle (Hist. An. vi. 17): Pliny gets the name from πηλός, mud. The allowance of grain or other food to slaves was served to them sometimes daily and sometimes monthly; in the former case it was called 'diaria,' and in the latter 'menstrua,' or, after the Greek, 'epimenia.' See Horace, Epp. i. 14. 40: "Cum servis urbana diaria rodere mavis." The black slaves of Mauritania have been mentioned before, S. v. 52. The wine of the north, which he means by 'vinum Tiberi devectum,' was not good. The 'lagena' was the same as the 'testa,' 'cadus,' 'amphora.' [Ribbeck and Jahn have 'Maurorum epimenia.']

122. *Si contigit aureus unus,*] If he happens to meet with an unusually liberal client, and gets an 'aureus,' part of that goes to the 'pragmatici' by agreement. An 'aureus' of this time was of the value of 25 denarii, or 17*s.* 8½*d.*, if the value of the denarius be taken at 8½*d.* It is usual to place it at 7½*d.* after the time of Augustus, but the other is perhaps right. (See Dict. Ant. 'Aurum,' 'Denarius.') In B.C. 204 a 'plebiscitum' was passed, prohibiting any person from taking a fee for pleading a cause. This was called Cincia lex, after M. Cincius Alimentus, who was 'tribunus plebis' that year. This was confirmed by a 'senatusconsultum' in the time of Augustus; but was relaxed in that of Claudius, after which time a man might take 10 sestertia for a fee, which would be nearly 90*l.* (See Dict. Ant. 'Cincia Lex.') 'Pragmatici' were persons who helped the advocates with legal information in court. The name was taken from the Greeks, who employed that sort of practitioner: 'apud Graecos infimi homines mercedula adducti ministros se praebent in judiciis oratoribus,' as Cicero says (De Or. i. 45). See also Quintilian (Inst. xii. 3). The Romans did not hold them in much estimation. They were called 'tabelliones' from the tablets they carried.

Aemilio dabitur quantum libet, et melius nos
Egimus: hujus enim stat currus aeneus, alti
Quadrijuges in vestibulis, atque ipse feroci
Bellatore sedens curvatum hastile minatur
Eminus et statuā meditatur proelia lusca.
Sic Pedo conturbat, Matho deficit; exitus hic est
Tongilli, magno cum rhinocerote lavari
Qui solet et vexat lutulentā balnea turba
Perque forum juvenes longo premit assere Medos,
Empturus pueros, argentum, murrina, villas;

124. *Aemilio dabitur quantum libet,*] He says that if the 'patronus' be a man of family, he will get as high a fee as he pleases. The legal limitation is mentioned in the last note, and if the reading of the text is right, the statement may be taken with a qualification, or he means the law would not be enforced against such a person. The MSS. vary between 'petit,' 'petet,' 'licet,' and 'libet.' The last reading appears in one Paris and a Vatican MS. Heinrich thought it the best word, but in his text 'petet' appears, which is in most of the old editions. 'Licet' appears in P. and some other MSS. of good character, and is explained by the state of the law about fees. Ruperti, Jahn [and Ribbeck] have 'licet.' I prefer 'libet.' He calls the man Aemilius because the Aemilia was one of the oldest of the patrician families. 'Et melius' is, 'and yet we conduct our cases better than he does.' (See S. xiii. 91: "Hic putat esse deos et pejerat.") He puts himself in the place of one of these 'causidici.'

125. *stat currus aeneus,*] This man had a triumphal chariot in his house, which had been handed down from one of his great ancestors, and an equestrian statue of himself as a stout soldier with a lance in his hand. See S. viii. 3: "stantes in curribus Aemilianos." The commentators quote Martial (ix. 69) to show that successful lawyers had statues given them by their clients:

"Tam grave percussis incudibus aera resultant,
Causidicum medio cum faber aptat equo."

Such a thing may have happened. 'Lusca' seems to mean here no more than blind. It is usually 'one-eyed,' and some explain it as if one of the statue's eyes were shut in the act of taking aim. I do not think a statue was ever seen with one eye shut. As to 'vestibulum' see i. 132, n. 'Hastile minatur' is, 'he poises his lance threateningly.' 'Minari' is not used elsewhere exactly in this way. The lance bends as a long weapon with a light shaft would.

129. *Sic Pedo conturbat,*] Such being the case, Pedo and these other 'causidici,' men of low birth and no means, thought to get fees by pretending to be somebody, and the consequence was they became bankrupt. 'Conturbare' is an elliptical expression, 'rationes' being understood. It implies a fraudulent bankruptcy, a confusing of accounts. (See Forcellini.) 'Deficere' is to fail, as we say. Pedo is unknown. Matho has been mentioned before (S. i. 32, n.). Martial has an epigram upon one Tongilius (ii. 40), who was a glutton, and ordered bathing for his health; but there is no reason to suppose the same man is meant. 'Rhinocerote' means a horn vessel of oil. Martial has an epigram of two lines on such a vessel, 'Guttus corneus' (xiv. 52):

"Gestavit modo fronte me juvencus.
Verum rhinocerota me putabis."

See iii. 263, n.: "pleno componit lintea gutto." This man, to show his consequence, goes to bathe with a crowd of clients, and goes through the forum in his 'lectica' with a long pole, making fine purchases. The bearers are Easterns, as in vi. 351: "Quam quae longorum vehitur cervice Syrorum." See note there and on S. i. 64, "sexta cervice feratur," and S. iii. 240, "ingenti curret super ora Liburno." Slaves from Moesia are spoken of as bearers below (ix. 143), and Lipsius thinks Moesos is the reading here (Epp. Quaest. iv. 25), because the Parthians (or Medes) were not under the power of the Romans. But their name had long been taken for all Easterns. See Hor. C. i. 2. 21, n. As to 'murrina' see vi. 155, n. [In v. 128 Ribbeck has

Spondet enim Tyrio stlataria purpura filo.
Et tamen est illis hoc utile: purpura vendit
Causidicum, vendunt amethystina: convenit illis
Et strepitu et facie majoris vivere census.
Sed finem impensae non servat prodiga Roma.
Fidimus eloquio? Ciceroni nemo ducentos
Nunc dederit nummos nisi fulserit annulus ingens.
Respicit haec primum qui litigat, an tibi servi
Octo, decem comites, an post te sella, togati
Ante pedes. Ideo conducta Paullus agebat
Sardonyche, atque ideo pluris quam Cossus agebat,
Quam Basilus. Rara in tenui facundia panno.
Quando licet Basilo flentem producere matrem?
Quis bene dicentem Basilum ferat? Accipiat te
Gallia vel potius nutricula causidicorum
Africa, si placuit mercedem imponere linguae.

'Maedos.' The Maedi were a mountain tribe about the upper waters of the rivers Axius and Margus, and north of Macedonia.]

134. *Spondet enim Tyrio*] He says the man's purple cloak gets him credit. The meaning of 'stlataria' is very doubtful. 'Stlata' is said to be a small piratical craft, and from that Forcellini explains 'stlataria' as foreign, brought over the sea in ships. The Scholiast says it means 'illecebrosa,' and he quotes from Ennius, "Et melior navis quam quae stlataria portat." Heinrich, in a long note on this Scholium, adopts and supports the Scholiast's explanation.

136. *amethystina:*] These are other cloaks of violet colour. Martial mentions them (i. 97): "Amethystinasque mulierum vocat vestes." 'Vendit' means 'gets him his price.'

138. *Sed finem impensae*] Heinrich considers this verse to be spurious [and Ribbeck]. It certainly is out of place. Two hundred sestertii were about a guinea and a half. As to 'annulus' see i. 28, n.

141. *an tibi servi Octo,*] These 'servi' are connected with 'sella,' as 'comites' belong to 'togati.' The clients must know whether the lawyer has a chair behind him when he goes out and humble companions walking before him ('deducentes,' see note on Hor. S. i. 9. 59), and whether his chair is carried by the largest number of bearers, which was eight. So I believe doctors who keep their carriage are counted cleverer than those who do not, and they who drive two horses better than those who drive one. As to 'togati' see S. i. 96; viii. 49: and as to 'sella' see i. 64, n.

143. *Paullus agebat Sardonyche,*] He hired a valuable ring to plead in, to get himself the reputation of being rich. And he succeeded, it appears, while the more honest men did not. The names are unknown. P. and some MSS. and old editions have Gallus for Cossus. Jahn has that name. There is a Basilus below, x. 222. Mothers, wives, sisters, and children used to be brought forward as a means of softening the hearts of the 'judices.' (See Cic. pro Flacco, c. 42, Long's note.) The custom was common among the Greeks, and persons so introduced into court were called παράκλητοι. Most MSS. have 'deducere,' but 'producere' is the only right word. P. has it.

148. *Gallia vel potius*] Juvenal says if he thinks himself eloquent, he had better go to Gaul, or to Africa the nursing mother of lawyers, if he has put a price upon his tongue, that is, if he wants to make money. Juvenal says in another place, "Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos" (xv. 111). The commentators say that the provinces Gallia and Africa (Libya) were prone to litigation. If so, it was probably through the introduction of these lawyers that they became so, as the natives of India have become more litigious since the supreme courts were established. Two of the most celebrated orators of the imperial

Declamare doces? O ferrea pectora Vetti,
Quum perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos!
Nam quaecunque sedens modo legerat haec eadem stans
Perferet atque eadem cantabit versibus isdem.
Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.
Quis color et quod sit causae genus atque ubi summa
Quaestio, quae veniant diversa parte sagittae,
Nosse velint omnes, mercedem solvere nemo.
"Mercedem appellas? quid enim scio?" "Culpa docentis
Scilicet arguitur quod laeva in parte mamillae

times, Domitius Afer and Julius Africanus, were natives of Gaul. ['Ponere linguae,' P. and Ribbeck.]

150. *Declamare doces?*] He speaks of those who taught rhetoric, one of the usual elements of a Roman's education, and admires the patience and iron nerves of these teachers in listening to the declamations of their classes. Vettius Valens was celebrated as a physician, as one of the paramours of the Empress Messalina, and the founder of a new school of rhetoricians. (Pliny, H. N. xxix. 1.) This may be the man whose name is taken for the class. The destruction of tyrants and the praises of those who had killed them appear to have been common subjects for declamation.

152. *Nam quaecunque sedens*] The class read their declamations sitting, and standing up repeat them again from beginning to end. This is the meaning of 'perferet,' as in S. vi. 392: "dictataque verba Pertulit, ut mos est." They learnt to read as well as to declaim, and made a drawling business of both. 'Versus' applies to the lines in prose as well as poetry (see Forcell.).

154. *crambe repetita*] κράμβη is cabbage; and to be helped twice to cabbage, according to a proverb given by the Scholiast, was fatal: δὶς κράμβη θάνατος.

155. *Quis color et quod sit*] He says all want to learn the art of rhetoric, but no one wants to pay the teacher. 'Color' means the arguments or oratorical tricks used to give a colouring to a bad case. The word is used above, vi. 280: "Dic aliquem sodes hic, Quintiliane, colorem." 'Causae genus' means the class to which the case belongs. Aristotle (Rhet. i. 3, init.) distinguishes speeches by three forms (εἴδη), according to the quality of the hearers, for, says he, the τέλος (or end) of the speech is the hearer; and the hearer must be either a mere auditor or a judge, and judges sit either in a judicial or a deliberative character. Hence he calls the three kinds of speeches συμβουλευτικόν (deliberative), δικανικόν (forensic), and ἐπιδεικτικόν (for display). Cicero adopted this distinction and the grounds of it. He says in his dialogue de Partitione Oratoria, c. 3: "Quid habes igitur de causa dicere? Auditorum eam genere distingui. Nam aut auscultator est modo qui audit, aut disceptator, id est rei sententiaeque moderator, ita ut aut delectetur aut statuat aliquid. Statuit autem de praeteritis ut judex; aut de futuris ut senatus. Sic tria sunt genera, judicii, deliberationis, exornationis, quae quia in laudationes maxime confertur proprium habet jam ex eo nomen." The third class came to be called by the Romans 'encomiastic' or 'laudatory.' V. Quint. iii. 3: "Partes enim rhetorices esse dicebant laudativam, deliberativam, judicialem; quae si partes sunt, materiae sunt potius quam artis. Itaque quidam genera tria rhetorices dicere maluerunt: optime autem ii quos secutus est Cicero [qui] *genera causarum*." 'Summa quaestio' is the principal question at issue. 'Sagittae' are the adversary's arguments. The MSS. have 'volunt,' except P., which has 'velunt,' from which the editor of that MS. (Pithoeus) got the true reading 'velint.' [Ribbeck has 'diversae forte sagittae.']

158. *Mercedem appellas? quid enim scio?*] The pupil says this. "Do you ask for your pay? why, what have I learnt?" 'Appellare' is a technical word for demanding payment. When Cicero uses the word it is with the debtor as the object, as in his speech Pro P. Quintio (c. 11): "Quem nunc interficere nefarie cupis, eum tum pudenter appellare nolebas" (see Long's note).

159. *laeva in parte mamillae*] That is, in his heart, which the Romans, as it seems, held to be the seat of the understanding. Juvenal says, of course it is laid to the fault of the teacher that the blockhead has no wit in him. The Ar-

Nil salit Arcadio juveni, cujus mihi sexta
Quaque die miserum dirus caput Hannibal implet;
Quidquid id est de quo deliberat, an petat Urbem
A Cannis, an post nimbos et fulmina cautus
Circumagat madidas a tempestate cohortes.
Quantum vis stipulare et protinus accipe quod do
Ut toties illum pater audiat." Haec alii sex
Vel plures uno conclamant ore Sophistae,

cadians were like the Boeotians, proverbially dull (see Persius, iii. 9). Persius has "Cor tibi rite salit?" (iii. 111.) Mr. Mayor says, "*Culpa*, &c.] The reply of Vettius." Juvenal says it is the reply of many (166), and it is so to this day and always will be. ['Laeva parte,' Jahn, Ribbeck.]

160. *sexta Quaque die*] Casaubon quotes these lines in a note on Suetonius, vit. Tiberii, c. 32, where he says that Diogenes, a grammarian of Rhodes, being wont to hold disputations every seventh day (disputare Sabbatis solitus) would not admit Tiberius out of the regular order, "ac per servulum suum in septimum diem distulerat." On the same passage Casaubon says that the Greeks, especially the Asiatics, commonly observed the Jewish distinction of weeks, and every seventh day the boys in schools had a holiday. Josephus (c. Apionem, ii. c. 40) says that in his time there was not a nation under the sun that did not celebrate the Jewish Sabbath, an assertion which it is strange Casaubon should have quoted as if it were true. (See note on Horace, S. i. 9. 69.) Suetonius (de Illust. Gramm. c. 7) says of M. Antonius Gnipho, "docuit autem et rhetoricam ita ut quotidie praecepta eloquentiae traderet, declamaret vero non nisi nundinis." This Arcadian youth, as the man calls him, came but one day in six, and that was enough for his poor teacher.

161. *dirus caput Hannibal implet;*] Horace uses this epithet for Hannibal three times (C. ii. 12. 2; iii. 6. 36; iv. 4. 42), and the boys were always repeating it. The master uses it in a double sense. Hannibal's name was a bugbear with which nurses frightened children, and the Romans to the latest times held it in respect. His exploits were constant themes for declamation. See x. 166:

"—— I, demens, et saevas curre per Alpes
Ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias."

Livy says, that, after the battle of Cannae, Maherbal, the commander of Hannibal's cavalry, advised him to push on, and in four days he might sup in the Capitol; that Hannibal applauded his general's spirit, but took time to consider, and that the day so lost was the salvation of Rome (xxii. 51). When Hannibal marched an army from Capua to Rome (see above, vi. 290), he offered battle to the consuls, Livy says (xxvi. 11), but on each of two consecutive days the armies were prevented from engaging by a violent storm, which subsided as soon as they had returned to their camps. The poet Silius takes up the same fable and says (Pun. xii. 661, sqq.):

"Invadit Notus, ac piceam cum grandine multa
Intorquens nubem cunctantem et vana minantem
Circumagit, castrisque ducem succedere cogit."

It seems as if Juvenal had borrowed his word 'circumagit,' 'wheels about.'

165. *Quantum vis stipulare*] In the form of contract which was called 'obligatio verbis,' the parties contracted by question and answer. "Dari spondes? Spondeo. Dabis? Dabo," &c. The person who asked the questions was said 'stipulari,' and was called 'stipulator:' the other was called 'promissor,' and was said 'spondere.' (See Long's article 'Obligationes' in Smith's Dict. Ant.) The teacher offers to make a bargain with any one that pleases, to give him any amount if he will get the dunce's father to listen to him as often as his teacher had done. He makes the other man 'stipulator' and himself 'promissor.' Persius speaks of his father going with a party of friends to hear his son's nonsense (iii. 47). Jahn has "Quantum vis stipulare, et protinus accipe, quid do," which Mr. Mayor tries to explain, but he is not successful. There is no meaning in it. The MSS. nearly all have 'quod.' [Ribbeck has 'protinus accipe, qui do: Ut' &c.]

166. *Haec alii sex Vel plures*] Half a

Et veras agitant lites raptore relicto;
Fusa venena silent, malus ingratusque maritus,
Et quae jam veteres sanant mortaria caecos.
Ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem si nostra movebunt
Consilia, et vitae diversum iter ingredietur,
Ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra,
Summula ne pereat qua vilis tessera venit
Frumenti: quippe haec merces lautissima. Tempta

dozen or more teachers besides. This means plenty more. 'Sophista' was a name commonly given to the rhetoricians and grammarians of this time, as it had been originally to all who were masters of their art, and particularly to the rhetorical and other teachers who gained so much ascendancy over the younger Athenians in the fifth century B.C. The derivation of the word (from σοφίζεσθαι, to practise σοφία) is enough to show that its original sense was good. Herodotus applies it to Solon (i. 29) and to Pythagoras (iv. 95). Σοφιστὴς came to be used in a bad sense through the abuse of science by the later professors, who were despised for taking money from their scholars. It then was used to mean not only a professor but a trader in wisdom, and from that a mere pretender: ἔστι γὰρ ἡ σοφιστικὴ φαινομένη σοφία οὖσα δ' οὔ, καὶ ὁ σοφιστὴς χρηματιστὴς ἀπὸ φαινομένης σοφίας ἀλλ' οὐκ οὔσης (Aristot. Soph. Elench. c. 1). From this Cicero took his definition (Academ. Prior. ii. 23): "At quis est hic? num Sophistes? sic enim appellabantur ii qui ostentationis aut quaestus causa philosophabantur." And yet he calls Theophrastus, Aristotle, Xenophon, and Plato 'sophistae' (Orat. 19). The men Juvenal refers to would be classed with the man Gellius speaks of (xvii. 5): "rhetoricus quidam sophista utriusque linguae callens, haud sane ignobilis ex illis acutulis et minutis doctoribus qui τεχνικοὶ appellantur, atque in disserendo tamen non impiger." 'Antisophistae' was a word used for disputants in the rhetorical schools. See Suet. vit. Tib. c. 11: "moto inter antisophistas graviore jurgio." Also de Ill. Gram. c. 9, where he says Orbilius, Horace's fiery schoolmaster, was "naturae acerbae in antisophistas."

168. *Et veras agitant lites*] He means they give up teaching and go and practise in the courts. He expresses this by saying they leave behind them ravishers and poisonings and bad husbands and drugs to cure blind old men. The history of Medea furnished topics for discussion and declamation; here the bad husband may be Jason, and the blind old man Pelias, for whose story see Ovid, Met. vii. 297, sqq. Heinrich follows Britannicus, Grangaeus, and other old commentators in supposing these to be 'controversiae scholasticae,' 'causae fictae,' fictitious legal cases such as are found in the Declamations attributed to Quintilian. 'Venenum effusum' is the theme of Declam. xvii. I incline to take it the other way, as Ruperti does. As to 'veteres caecos' see S. viii. 49, n.

171. *Ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem*] As to 'rudem' see vi. 113. Horace has the same way of speaking, Epp. i. 1. 2:

"Spectatum satis et donatum jam rude quaeris,
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo,"

where it is explained that 'rudis' was a wooden sword or cudgel with which a gladiator was presented when he got his discharge. He says the rhetoricians leave their schools and betake themselves to the courts that they may make a trifle, which is the most they will get. But he advises them to change their line altogether, and follow some other. 'Pugnam' is the same as 'veras lites' above (v. 168). 'Umbra' is here a school. Horace uses it for a barber's shop ("vacua tonsoris in umbra," Epp. i. 7. 50), and it is used for other private dwellings. (See Forcellini.) Ruperti (on v. 8) says it is "a vita obscura et scholastica quae formae et celebritatis expers est," which is quite wrong. Heinrich thinks 'descendit' should be 'descendat,' and that the sense is 'ita ut descendat;' as below (v. 178) 'in qua gestetur dominus' means that the master may have a place to ride in. The cases are not the same, and I do not think Heinrich is right.

174. *vilis tessera*] 'Tesserae frumentariae' were tickets given to the poor on the public account, in exchange for which they got a small quantity of corn. This

Chrysogonus quanti doceat vel Pollio quanti
Lautorum pueros, artem scindens Theodori.
Balnea sexcentis et pluris porticus in qua
Gestetur dominus quoties pluit. Anne serenum
Exspectet spargatque luto jumenta recenti?
Hic potius, namque hic mundae nitet ungula mulae.
Parte alia longis Numidarum fulta columnis
Surgat et algentem rapiat coenatio solem.
Quanticunque domus, veniet qui fercula docte
Componat, veniet qui pulmentaria condat.
Hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano

gratuitous distribution was called 'frumentatio.' In the time of Augustus it was given monthly, and was a thing expected (Suet. vit. Aug. 40). It was an easy way of securing the lower sort of people. The quantity was not much, and the value of the 'tessera,' if a man sold it, as he might, was small. Ruperti takes 'vilis' with 'frumenti.' It belongs to 'tessera.'

176. *Chrysogonus quanti*] Chrysogonus and Pollio were music masters. They were mentioned in the last satire (v. 74 and v. 387). Theodorus was a rhetorician. Ruperti's note is a jumble of explanations after his fashion. He gives the true meaning, and then says "quidam putant" something else; and finishes with "sed verum forte h. l. sensum cepit Ach. cujus nota est:" and Achaintre's note, which he says is "forte vera," gives an obscene turn to the sense, quite foreign to Juvenal's meaning and to Ruperti's own view of it. 'Scindens' is here but nowhere else used in the sense of cutting up, as we sometimes say. 'Proscindere' is used in that sense. (See Forcell.) He tells them to go and see what sums of money these music masters charge the boys of the rich, while they laugh at Theodorus' trade. Jahn has changed the MSS. reading 'scindens' into 'scindes' [which Ribbeck also has], and Mr. Mayor explains thus: "Make but a trial of the gains of music masters, and you will tear up your elements of rhetoric." I do not think that is the meaning of 'artem' here or in vi. 452, "volvitque Palaemonis artem."

178. *Balnea sexcentis*] These rich teachers build themselves baths for an enormous sum, 600,000 sestertii (about 5000*l.* sterling), and covered drives for still more (see iv. 5, n.). Here they drive in wet weather. Are they to wait till it is fine, and then get their horses splashed all over with mud? Heinrich thinks v. 181 is a piece of late patchwork [and Ribbeck omits it]. It does not increase the strength of the satire. The verse before says enough.

182. *Parte alia longis*] His baths here, his drives there, his dining-room elsewhere with tall pillars of yellow marble from Numidia. See note on Hor. C. ii. 18. 3: "Non trabes Hymettiae Premunt columnas ultima recisas Africa." It is so constructed as to catch the winter's sun. But whatever the house costs, the establishment will be in proportion. The person referred to in v. 184 is the 'structor' mentioned S. v. 120, where see note. 'Pulmentaria' are savoury dishes, or sauces (see note on Horace, Epp. i. 18. 48), and the reading which Lachmann has invented and Jahn adopted, 'condiat,' is quite out of place. 'Condat' is here to make up. The reading of most MSS. is 'condit,' and some have 'componit' to correspond. But the subjunctive is wanted [Ribbeck has 'condit']. There will be a man to arrange the courses and make up the savoury messes.

186. *Quintiliano*] See vi. 75, 280. Two sestertia would be about seventeen guineas, a small sum for the whole course, and that to the first rhetorician of the age: but he says it is a large sum compared with what is usual. Quintilian was rich, it seems, among poor men, and poor among the rich. When his daughter was going to be married, Pliny the Younger sent him a present of 50,000 sestertii (between 400*l.* and 500*l.*) as a small contribution towards her outfit. He says (Epp. vi. 32), "te porro animo beatissimum modicum facultatibus scio, itaque partem oneris tui mihi vindico," and that he would have sent more, but that he could only hope to induce the declaimer to

Ut multum duo sufficient: res nulla minoris
Constabit patri quam filius. "Unde igitur tot
Quintilianus habet saltus?" Exempla novorum
Fatorum transi. Felix et pulcher et acer,
Felix et sapiens et nobilis et generosus
Appositam nigrae lunam subtexit alutae;
Felix orator quoque maximus et jaculator;
Et si perfrixit, cantat bene. Distat enim quae
Sidera te excipiant modo primos incipientem
Edere vagitus et adhuc a matre rubentem.
Si Fortuna volet, fies de rhetore Consul;
Si volet haec eadem, fies de Consule rhetor.
Ventidius quid enim? quid Tullius? anne aliud quam

accept any thing by the smallness of his offering, "nisi sola a mediocritate munusculi impetrare posse confiderem ne recusares." The man to whom this could be said must be a rich man, though Pliny was much richer. By 'saltus' are meant pasture lands in the forests on the hills (Cic. Orat. pro Quintio, c. 6, Long's note). That Quintilian had many of these may be an exaggeration. Pliny the younger was Quintilian's pupil, and so were many of the leading men in politics and literature. He also taught the two grand-nephews of Domitian (Inst. 1. iv. prooem.), who invested him with the title of consul, though he never bore the office. This is what Juvenal means below, v. 197: "Si Fortuna volet, fies de rhetore Consul." Though he respected Quintilian (see above, l. c.) he rather sneers at him here as a lucky man, 'Fortunae filius,' an example 'novorum fatorum,' of strange destinies, and when a man is lucky he is every thing that is fair and great, like the Stoics' sage, "Si dives qui sapiens est Et sutor bonus et solus formosus et est rex" (Hor. S. i. 3. 124). Quintilian, it appears, received a pension of 100,000 sesterces (between 800*l.* and 900*l.*) out of the emperor's treasury. Suetonius says that Vespasian was the first who gave an allowance to rhetoricians, and that the above was the amount: "Primus e fisco Latinis Graecisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit" (Vesp. c. 18).

192. *lunam subtexit alutae;*] 'Aluta' is a shoe, and 'luna' was some sort of ornament of crescent shape sewn on to it to distinguish the wearer as a senator. See note on Hor. S. i. 6. 27: "nigris medium impediit crus Pellibus."

194. *Et si perfrixit, cantat bene.*] And though he has a cold he recites well. Though he is hoarse people will say his voice is very fine. 'Jaculator' is explained on vi. 449. Ruperti says if the man is hoarse he will be commended, "forte ob vocem muliebrem quae asperior facta auribus gratior est," "perhaps because he has a woman's voice, which becomes rougher and so more pleasing to the ear" by means of his cold!

197. *Si Fortuna volet,*] So he speaks elsewhere of men whom

"—— ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
Extollit quoties voluit Fortuna jocari."
(iii. 39.)

199. *Ventidius quid enim? quid Tullius?*] What were Ventidius and Tullius? were they any thing but the creatures of their star and the wonderful power of a secret destiny? were they any thing but what their star and some hidden destiny made them? P. Ventidius Bassus was a native of Picenum, and in the Social War, according to one story, being at the time a child in arms, he was carried captive with his mother to Rome, and appeared in the triumphal procession of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, B.C. 89. When he grew up he gained his livelihood by letting out mules and carriages. He became acquainted with C. Julius Caesar, who took him into Gaul and employed him for the remainder of his career in important offices. He rose to be tribunus plebis, then praetor, then pontifex, and lastly consul, B.C. 43. The people were indignant at his rise, and A. Gellius, who gives the above particulars of his life (Noct. Att. xv. 4), has preserved the following lines, which were stuck up about the streets:

Sidus et occulti miranda potentia fati?
Servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphos.
Felix ille tamen corvo quoque rarior albo.
Poenituit multos vanae sterilisque cathedrae,
Sicut Thrasymachi probat exitus atque Secundi
Carinatis: et hunc inopem vidistis, Athenae,
Nil praeter gelidas ausae conferre cicutas.
Di majorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram

"Concurrite omnes augures, haruspices;
Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens,
Nam mulos qui fricabat consul factus est."

Ventidius greatly distinguished himself as the 'legatus' of M. Antonius against the Parthians, and defeated and slew their most redoubtable leaders Labienus and Pacorus, B.C. 39, 38. (See Horace, C. iii. 6. 9, n.) Ventidius had a triumph B.C. 38, fifty-one years after he had himself followed in Pompeius' procession as a prisoner (Dion Cass. 43. 51, and Dict. Biog.).

By Tullius he means the king Servius Tullius, whose mother Ocrisia, according to the story, was a prisoner of war and a slave. To him the following words 'Servis regna dabunt' refer, and 'captivis fata triumphos' to Ventidius. See viii. 259: "Ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini."

202. *corvo quoque rarior albo.*] See note on vi. 165: "nigroque simillima cygno." He says, though Fortune does play these tricks sometimes, still Quintilian must be looked upon as a lucky man, and one of a small number.

203. *Poenituit multos*] Many have got tired of the vain and profitless chair, that is, the professor's chair. He instances Thrasymachus and Secundus Carinas. The first was one of the sophists who came to Athens about the middle of the fifth century B.C. He taught rhetoric in particular, and had a high reputation. He was a native of Chalcedon. His end, which Juvenal alludes to, is not known on any other authority than that of the Scholiast on this place, who says he hanged himself. The cause is not stated. Secundus Carinas (or Carrinas) was a rhetorician of whom Dion Cassius (59. 20) says that Caligula sent him into exile, because he declaimed in his school against tyrants, which he gives as an instance of the malignant and suspicious temper of that tyrant. If the student follows Ruperti's note, he will suppose that Dion says Carinas went to Athens, but he does not, nor does Juvenal. 'Hunc' means Socrates, the person obviously alluded to in the following line. His poverty was proverbial. The demonstrative pronoun, where the context makes the meaning plain, has more force than the name, and Socrates' name was not convenient. We might have expected 'illum' instead of 'hunc,' or after 'hunc' a clause with the relative; and accordingly Heinrich thinks a verse is lost after 205. This is not unlikely; but there is no doubt whom Juvenal means. Ruperti takes 'hunc' for Carinas, and Mr. Mayor for some one later than he, "who when banished retired to Athens, and there, as no one would venture to employ him, put an end to his life by taking poison." Juvenal speaks of Socrates again as

"—— senex vicinus Hymetto
Qui partem acceptae saeva inter vincla cicutae
Accusatori nollet dare." (S. xiii. 185.)

207. *Di majorum umbris*] He prays the gods that the earth may lie light on the ashes of the men of old, and flowers bloom in perpetual spring over their tombs, because they looked upon the teacher as holding the place of a father to his pupils, and paid him reverence accordingly. He contrasts the respect Achilles showed to his tutor, Chiron the Centaur, with the treatment of modern teachers of rhetoric by their pupils; and yet he says there might have been some excuse even in those days for laughing at the old music master with his horse's tail hanging behind him. According to Homer Chiron taught Achilles medicine. Other traditions add music and other accomplishments. Juvenal says he remained in subjection to his teacher till he was come to man's stature. One tradition makes out that he was taken to Troy at nine years of age, which is absurd. Chiron lived on Mount Pelion in Thessaly.

Spirantesque crocos et in urna perpetuum ver,
Qui praeceptorem sancti voluere parentis
Esse loco. Metuens virgae jam grandis Achilles
Cantabat patriis in montibus; et cui non tunc
Eliceret risum citharoedi cauda magistri?
Sed Rufum atque alios caedit sua quemque juventus,
Rufum qui toties Ciceronem Allobroga dixit.
  Quis gremio Enceladi doctique Palaemonis affert
Quantum grammaticus meruit labor? et tamen ex hoc
Quodcunque est (minus est autem quam rhetoris aera)
Discipuli custos praemordet Acoenonetus
Et qui dispensat frangit sibi. Cede, Palaemon,
Et patere inde aliquid decrescere, non aliter quam

Ovid has these lines on Achilles and his teacher:

"Phillyrides puerum cithara perfecit Achillem
  Atque animos placida contudit arte feros.
Qui toties socios, toties exterruit hostes
  Creditur annosum pertimuisse senem.
Quas Hector sensurus erat poscente magistro
  Verberibus jussas praebuit ille manus."
(A. A. i. 11, sqq.)

Jahn has a comma at 'montibus' and a full stop at 'magistri,' and Mr. Mayor has the following explanation of his meaning: "Afraid of the rod, *and* not then venturesome enough to laugh, &c.; *tunc*, in that age of respect for teachers." And he adds, "*now* Rufus and others are struck by their own pupils." I have no doubt of the right punctuation or of Juvenal's meaning. [Ribbeck has 'magistri.']

213. *Sed Rufum*] Rufus the Scholiast says was a Gaul, and very eloquent. Juvenal says he called Cicero an Allobrox, in other words, a barbarian. He meant probably in comparison with himself; but his pupils beat him notwithstanding. The Allobroges were a Gallic tribe on the left bank of the Rhone, reaching from the southern shore of the Lake of Geneva along that river to its junction with the Saone. Cicero had a good deal to do with them in the detection of Catiline's conspiracy (see note on Horace, Epod. xvi. 6: "Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox"). In Plautus a 'paedagogus' describes the insolence of boys to their masters and the support they got from their fathers very amusingly (Bacchides, Act. iii. sc. 3. v. 34, sqq.). The passage is too long for quotation here. [Ribbeck has 'sua quaeque juventus,' and in the next line 'quem' in place of 'qui.']

215. *Quis gremio Enceladi*] He leaves speaking of the rhetoric masters and turns to the teachers of grammar. Palaemon has been mentioned before (vi. 452). He had been dead some time. He lived in the time of Tiberius, and was rich and profligate according to Suetonius (de Ill. Gr. 23). Enceladus or Celadus (for the MSS. vary) is unknown. He asks, Who ever brings and pours into the teacher's lap as much as his labour deserves? And even of the small fee the boy's 'paedagogus' gets a bit before it reaches the master. Horace twice uses 'custos' for the 'paedagogus,' whom Juvenal calls 'pappas' in the sixth satire (v. 633): "Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes Circum doctores aderat" (S. i. 6. 81); and "Imberbus juvenis tandem custode remoto Gaudet equis canibusque" (A. P. 161). Acoenonetus seems, as Grangaeus says, to be a proper name invented for this gentleman, who takes as much and gives as little as he can. The Greek ἀκοινώνητος is exactly copied. Heinrich so understands it. Jahn prints the Greek word; and Mr. Mayor, who follows his text, translates it 'selfish.' The Scholiast says it is a 'paedagogus' who wants common sense. He therefore had the reading ἀκοινονόητος, which is one of the variants in the MSS. and is in P. Others are 'acoenetus,' 'acoenetus ipse,' which is in M. and most MSS. The same variation occurs in the MSS. of Gellius (xii. 12), where Gronovius edits "atque inter ridendum ἀκοινονόητοι inquit homines estis," &c. Farnabius supposes the name

Institor hibernae tegetis niveique cadurci,
Dummodo non pereat mediae quod noctis ab hora
Sedisti qua nemo faber, qua nemo sederet
Qui docet obliquo lanam deducere ferro;
Dummodo non pereat totidem olfecisse lucernas
Quot stabant pueri, quum totus decolor esset
Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.
Rara tamen merces quae cognitione tribuni
Non egeat. Sed vos saevas imponite leges,
Ut praeceptori verborum regula constet,
Ut legat historias, auctores noverit omnes,
Tanquam ungues digitosque suos; ut forte rogatus,
Dum petit aut thermas aut Phoebi balnea, dicat

is a parody of Anicetus, Nero's 'paedagogus,' a man of the worst character. The 'paedagogus' here acts as 'dispensator,' paymaster (see i. 91, n.). 'Aera' is used for the teacher's fee by Horace, "Ibant octonis referentes Idibus aera" (S. i. 6. 75, n.). The MSS. vary between 'frangit,' 'franget,' and 'frangat' [Ribbeck has 'frangat'].

221. *Institor hibernae tegetis*] He advises Palaemon to let the man take a slice off his fee, rather than lose the whole of what he has sat up night after night to earn. 'Institor' is a shopman "qui tabernae locove ad emendum vendendumve praeponitur, quique sine loco ad eundem actum praeponitur" (Dig. 14. 3. 18. See note on Hor. C. iii. 6. 30: "seu vocat institor"). As to 'tegetis' see S. vi. 117, n. 'Cadurcum' is also a quilt, but of linen, the name being derived as is probable from the Cadurci, a people of Gallia, who wove linen cloth. The word is used above, vi. 537.

222. *Dummodo non pereat*] Provided only you lose not altogether the trifle for which you sit from midnight in such an atmosphere as no blacksmith or weaver would stay in. 'Sedisti' has the force of the aorist, and means 'are wont to sit.' 'Obliquo ferro' is the carding instrument, consisting of crooked bits of iron fastened in a board. 'Deducere,' 'trahere' are usual words for this process. See S. ii. 54, n.

225. *olfecisse lucernas*]. Boys going to school at night carried lanterns with them; and he says the master had to bear the smell of as many lamps as there were boys, and their books were black with the smoke. The works of Horace came to be a class book, as he foretold they would (Epp. i. 20. 17):

"Hoc quoque te manet ut pueros elementa docentem
Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus."

228. *quae cognitione tribuni*] He says the man cannot get his fee, except on rare occasions, without summoning the father before the tribunus. What authority for the administration of justice the tribunus plebis had under the empire I do not know. Under the republic he had none, directly at least. There seems to have been an appeal from the praetor to the tribuni in some cases (see Cic. pro Quint. c. 7; pro Tullio, c. 38).

229. *Sed vos saevas imponite leges,*] He says to all fathers that they ought to make the strictest conditions with teachers that they should speak grammatically, and have history at their fingers' end, so that at any unexpected moment they may be able to tell who was Anchises' nurse and so forth.

230. *verborum regula constet,*] This means that his constructions should be correct ("Servata semper lege et ratione loquendi," S. vi. 453). 'Omnes' belongs to 'historias' as well as 'auctores.'

233. *Phoebi balnea,*] The Scholiast says these were 'privatae balneae,' and no more can be said. The historical questions these poor teachers are to answer are not unparalleled in some modern examinations. The Scholiast thought he knew the name of Anchises' nurse, and says it was Tisiphone; perhaps he jested. There was an Archemorus also named Opheltes. His mother's name was Eurydice, and his

Nutricem Anchisae, nomen patriamque novercae
Archemori, dicat quot Acestes vixerit annos,
Quot Siculus Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas.
Exigite ut mores teneros ceu pollice ducat,
Ut si quis cera vultum facit; exigite ut sit
Et pater ipsius coetus, ne turpia ludant,
Ne faciant vicibus. "Non est leve tot puerorum
Observare manus oculosque in fine trementes."
"Haec," inquit, "cures et quum se verterit annus
Accipe victori populus quod postulat aurum."

father's Lycurgus. He was king of Nemea, and in honour of his son the Nemean Games were instituted (Apollod. iii. 6. § 4). But Virgil, Aen. x. 389, speaks of another. He was son of an Italian prince Rhoetus, who married a second wife named Casperia, and her stepson committed incest with her, according to Servius, who gives the name Anchemolus: and a few MSS. and many old editions have Anchemoli here. Ruperti, Jahn [and Ribbeck] have that name. P. and most MSS. have Archemori. As to Acestes, the Sicilian king who twice received Aeneas hospitably, see Aen. i. 195:

"Vina bonus quae deinde cadis onerarat Acestes
Littore Trinacrio dederatque abeuntibus heros
Dividit."

Virgil speaks of him as an old man, "aevi maturus Acestes" (v. 73). The 'cadus' was the same as the 'amphora,' and the 'amphora' was equal to two 'urnae,' or nearly six gallons (see vi. 426, n.). [Ribbeck and Jahn have 'annis,' v. 235, and 'Siculi,' v. 236.]

237. *Exigite ut mores*] Make it a point that he shall mould the boy's morals as he would a figure of wax; that he watch over the whole flock like a father, to keep them from filthy practices. The master answers it is not a very easy matter to keep a watch over so many. But the father is not supposed to listen to him. 'Haec cures' refers to all that has gone before from v. 229. The poet has put as ironical advice to fathers what they do without his advice; and the requirements contained in vv. 229—240 are what the man means when he says 'haec cures,' as if he had been recounting them to him. 'Inquit,' 'says he,' means any father who has a boy in the school. If the master attends to all these things, then at the end of the year he will get paid his fee, which amounts to as much as a prizefighter or such like gets in the circus or amphitheatre. This the father tells him with much impudence, as if that ought to satisfy him. Whether it was usual to pay the teacher's fee annually or not I do not know. Horace speaks of its being paid monthly on the Ides (S. i. 6. 75). But the practice must have varied in different places. Juvenal speaks above (v. 186) of two sestertia as Quintilian's fee; that would be perhaps for a whole year, or a course. The sum of five 'aurei' was allowed to be given to a successful gladiator. As to 'aureus' see above, v. 122, n. [Ribbeck has v. 241 'oculosque infame trementes;' and v. 242, 'cura' for 'cures.']

SATIRA VIII.

INTRODUCTION.

The vice of aristocratic pretension is here represented with moderation and good sense. There is no idle declamation against hereditary honours, but the blindness of men belonging to an exclusive class, whose claims to distinction were founded upon the merits of the great and good of former generations and unsupported by any personal merits of their own, is shown in language which no one can object to, and reasoning which admits of no answer. The nobility of a man's ancestors, he says, only holds a torch up to his shame if he live unworthily of them. The more exalted is the guilty, the more conspicuous is his guilt. The only true nobility is virtue, and the virtuous nobleman is a nobleman indeed. The race-horse, if he show no signs of his descent, is set to grind or draw a cart. Among the despised plebeians there are those who have great gifts and virtues, and have rendered great services to the nobility and to their country. These aré the commonplaces of the Satire, which also exposes some of the particular vices among the patricians of the day, among which were gambling, keeping low company at taverns, a passion for driving and for the stables, acting in public, hiring themselves for gladiators; but above all gross maladministration in the provinces, against which Juvenal takes pains to caution his friend, Ponticus, to whom the Satire is addressed in the form of an Epistle. He is one of the class against whose degenerate members the Satire is directed; and we may suppose he was a young man with what we should call good prospects. I think a real person must have been meant, and that the poem is not a mere declamation. Heinrich inquires whether the subject was suggested by real life or the rhetorical schools, and thinks the poem was drawn from both sources. There was enough in real life to suggest it, as there would be still and perhaps more; and we need not, I think, go to the schools for its inspiration. The pride of birth and the degeneracy of inherited nobility were not new features of society in Juvenal's time, and they have not grown so old in ours but that generations to come will complain as he did, and pour contempt, as he did not, on the inheritance of noble names, however virtuous their possessors may be.

There are some severe lines on the Emperor Nero (211—226), and the Satire was written after his time, as the context shows; but how long it is impossible to say.

ARGUMENT.

What use are pedigrees, ancestral blood, statues and images, and noble names, if in the face of our great ancestors we live amiss—gambling all night and going to bed at dawn, when they were up and marching? What joy has Fabius of the Allobroges' victor, of the great altar, of his descent from Hercules, if he be covetous a fool, effeminate, if he bring shame on his rough ancestors, turn poisoner, and disgrace his house? Line your whole house with images, yet still virtue alone is true nobility. Be Paullus, Cossus, Drusus in your morals, and give them place before your images, ay, and your own lictors too. First I claim the goodness of your heart: be holy, just, in word and deed, and then I count you noble. Hail, Gaetulicus, or whatsoever stock you come from, your country may be proud of you, and all may cry as they do who have found Osiris. What man is generous if he be unworthy of his race, illustrious only for his name? We call a dwarf an Atlas, an Aethiop a swan,

a crooked girl Europa, a mangy dog a pard, a tiger, or a lion. So you had better not affect great names.

V. 39. This is for you, Rubellius Plautus, swelling with your descent from Drusus, as if it were a merit of your own that you were born not of a poor weaver but of the great Iulus' blood. "Low wretches (say you), ye who cannot tell your father's birthplace. I am a son of Cecrops!" Long may you live to enjoy your birth! But in that low rabble you will find a man of eloquence, who shall defend some noble blockhead, or solve the riddles of the law; and some brave soldiers too; while you are all Cecropian, as useless as a Hermes; the only difference is his head's of marble, yours has life in it. Tell me, O Trojan, who counts animals noble except they're brave? We praise a horse for speed who has won many races easily. Wherever he was reared we call him noble who beats the rest, while a mere herd to be put up and sold are the best bred if they but seldom win. There we have no respect for ancestry: they sell for little and go to draw a cart or grind a mill. So tell me something of your own to engrave upon your bust, besides the honours that we freely give to those to whom you owe all that you have.

V. 71. Enough for him, who lacking common sense (rare in that state of life) is puffed with his relationship to Nero. But you, my friend, I would not have you valued upon the merits of your family, and you yourself do nothing for future time to praise. 'Tis poor to rest upon another's fame; remove the pillar and the roof falls in; robbed of its elm the vine comes to the ground. Be a good soldier, honest guardian, upright judge, witness inflexible, count not your life before your character, your life before the cause for which you live. That man deserves to die, though he fare sumptuously and smell of all perfumes.

V. 87. When you have got the province that you look for, put reins upon your temper and desires; pity the poor natives; the princes you will see have all the marrow sucked from out their bones. Think of the laws, the trust committed to you, the honours that await the good, the fate of those who were condemned for robbing the Cilicians. Not that such condemnation is worth much, when one takes what another leaves. Go, get an auctioneer to sell your clothes, Chaerippus, and straight say nothing; it were mere madness to throw away your fare besides. Those people suffered less when they were beaten first: riches were left them still, shawls and dresses, pictures and statues, and chased silver vessels; then came your governors and carried off more spoils from peace than ever graced a triumph. Now the little that they have they'll lose it all. You may despise perhaps the Rhodians and Corinth too; but take good care of Spain, of Gaul, Illyricum, the Africans who send us corn to feed our idleness. Besides they've nothing to repay you, Marius has robbed them. Take care you do no great wrong to the brave and poor: take all they have, you still will leave them arms.

V. 125. This is no saw; believe the Sibyl speaks. Be your attendants righteous, no favourite sell your judgments, your wife no harpy, then you may trace your birth to Picus and the Titan brood, and claim Prometheus for your ancestor. But if ambition, lust, and cruelty carry you headlong, then your ancestors only hold up the torch to expose your shame. The sin is greatest in the greatest sinner. Why boast yourself to me, you who forge wills in temples which your grandsire built, before your father's statue, and steal by night to an adulterous bed?

V. 147. Fat consul Lateranus drives his coach right past the ashes of his sires by night, but the moon and stars look on, and when his consulship is done he'll do it in broad day and meet his aged friend without a blush. He'll do grooms' work, and when he goes to sacrifice to Jove he'll swear by Epona and stable gods. And when he goes to taverns the greasy host comes out to meet him, and with an air salutes his lordship; while the officious hostess brings the wine.

V. 163. "But we all did the same when we were young." Yes; but we've left it off. Such faults should be cut off with our first beard. Children may be excused; but he is old enough for the wars. Send him to foreign parts, O Caesar, but seek your legate in the eating-house: you'll find him there with cut-throats, sailors, thieves, runaway slaves and executioners and drunken priests and undertakers, all pot-fellows together. What would you do with a slave such as this? Of course you'd send him to the fields. But you excuse yourselves, ye Trojan-born. Brutus may do what would disgrace a cobbler.

V. 183. Bad though this be, yet worse remains behind. His money spent, Damasippus goes upon the stage, and Lentulus too exerts himself and acts Laureolus not badly, deserving, as I think, a real cross. The people are to blame to sit and see patrician buffooneries. What price they sell their lives at matters not. No tyrant forces them, and yet they gladly sell themselves to the Praetor for his shows. And even if the choice were that or death, which should they choose? Does any one fear death so much that he should act with Thymele and Corinthus? But noble mimes are not astonishing while a musician is our emperor. After all this, what shall we have but shows? This too doth shame the town; Gracchus with face uncovered casts his net, and failing flies the arena round in sight of all the theatre. We know him by his tunic and his cap. More shame it is than any wound for him who's set to fight a priest.

V. 211. Were but the people free, who but would choose a Seneca before a Nero? The death of many parricides was due to him. His crime was like Orestes', but it differed in the cause. One bid by gods avenged his father's murder, but he slew not his sister or his wife: he poisoned no relations, never acted, never wrote a Trojan War. What greater crime had Galba, Vindex, and Verginius to punish? What crime so great did Nero in all his tyranny? These are the practices of a noble prince, who loved to sing in foreign theatres and earn the parsley crown from Greeks. Hang up your dresses and your masks and harp before the statues of your ancestors.

V. 230. Catilina and Cethegus were high-born, and yet they would have fired the city, like savages, fit to be punished with the shirt of pitch. But our consul was awake; a new man and ignoble guarded the town and all the neighbourhood, and got more fame in peace than all Octavius won at Actium or Philippi. Rome was then free, and called our Cicero his country's Father. His townsman too followed the plough for hire, and bore the stick in the ranks. But he stood single-handed, and withstood the Cimbri and delivered Rome, and when the fight was over he was crowned before his colleague. The Decii were plebeians, yet were their lives offering enough for all the host; they were worth more than all the men they saved. A slave's son wore the crown of Romulus, and was our last good king. The consul's sons would have betrayed the city, a slave betrayed their purpose: he worthy to be wept by matrons, they deserved to die, the first condemned by righteous laws.

V. 269. You'd better be Thersites' son and like Achilles, than like Thersites and Achilles' son. But go as far back as you will, you still come to the asylum, and whosoe'er was founder of your line a shepherd must have been or something worse.

STEMMATA quid faciunt? quid prodest, Pontice, longo

1. *Stemmata quid faciunt?*] This word 'stemma' seems not to have been used familiarly till the time of the empire. Pliny (xxxv. 2) explains it. He says the Romans had in their 'atria' waxen busts of their ancestors, which were carried in all funeral processions of the family. They had also tables of their pedigree, in which

Sanguine censeri pictosque ostendere vultus
Majorum, et stantes in curribus Aemilianos,
Et Curios jam dimidios, humeroque minorem
Corvinum, et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem?
Quis fructus generis tabula jactare capaci
Corvinum, posthac multa contingere virga

there were portraits with wreaths twined about them: "Stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas." On these were inscribed the names and offices of the persons represented. Seneca (de Benef. iii. 28) speaks of those "qui imagines in atrio exponunt et nomina familiae suae longo ordine ac multis stemmatum illigata flexuris in parte prima aedium collocant:" and he further says these persons are "noti magis quam nobiles," more known than worth knowing. The table itself came to be called 'stemma' from these wreaths. Suetonius says of Galba (vit. Galb. c. 2) that he was "haud dubie nobilissimus ut qui statuarum titulis *Pronepotem* se *Q. Catuli* Capitolini semper adscripserit; imperator vero etiam stemma in atrio proposuerit quo paternam originem ad Jovem, maternam ad Pasiphaen Minois uxorem referret." In Nero's reign Suetonius says (vit. Ner. c. 37) Cassius Longinus was put to death "quod in vetere gentili stemmate C. Cassii, percussoris Caesaris, imagines retinuisset" (see x. 16, n.). Martial says (iv. 40), "Atria Pisonum stabant cum stemmate toto" for their whole pedigree. See note on Persius, iii. 28: "Stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis." 'Pictos vultus' are the portraits on these genealogical trees, and correspond to the 'imagines pictas' of Pliny (l. c.) which are not to be confused with the 'imagines cereae' he also mentions.

2. *Sanguine censeri*] This construction of 'censere' with the ablative is not found in the writers before the empire. It is the ablative of value, and 'longo sanguine censeri' is to be valued at the worth of a long line of ancestors. Some MSS. have 'pictos' without the conjunction. Jahn has it so [and Ribbeck].

3. *stantes in curribus*] See S. vii. 125, n.; x. 59. The only historical Aemilianus when this was written was the younger Scipio, who was born of the Aemilia gens, an old patrician family (S. vii. 124). His father was L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, but he was adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of the elder Scipio Africanus. The full name of the younger after his adoption was P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, to which Africanus was afterwards added as an agnomen. The Curii were a plebeian family, of whom M. Curius Dentatus was the first distinguished member (see S. ii. 3, n.). Corvinus was a cognomen of the Valeria gens, a very old family (Hor. S. i. 6. 12, n.), among whom Horace's friend and patron, Messalla Corvinus, was the most illustrious (C. iii. 21). The Galbae belonged to the Sulpicia gens, which was patrician and of great antiquity (see note on v. 1). 'Jam dimidios' means that they are broken in half, as 'vultus dimidios' (xv. 56). Most MSS. have 'nasumque minorem Corvini.' P. and a Nürnberg MS. have 'umeros.' A Dresden MS. has 'humero,' which I think is right. The bust, which is of wax, is supposed to have lost an arm or to have a piece out of the shoulder. The editors have 'humeros.' [Ribbeck places vv. 4—8 at the bottom of his page as a clumsy interpolation.]

6. *generis tabula*] A great roll of his ancestors that the man is supposed to keep. The next line appears in P. and many Paris MSS. of Achaintre. It is noticed by the Scholiast, and is contained in one Nürnberg MS. and two quoted by Lipsius, who first introduced it, with so much confidence "ut scelus sit dubitare de germanitate; neque enim de trivio versus est et ad rem nimis aptus" (Epist. Quaest. iv. 15). The Scholiast and he take 'virga' for the 'fasces,' and so does Forcellini. The commentators now are generally agreed in rejecting the verse. Heinrich, who does so, supposes by 'virga' the interpolator meant a broom to keep the busts clean, as in Ovid, Fast. iv. 736: "Unda prius spargat virgaque verrat humum." 'Contingere' may have a little more meaning with this interpretation of 'virga,' but that word is very doubtful. Jahn (V. L.) mentions a reading 'deducere,' but in this case 'deducere' does not appear to give any sense. 'Post hunc' was, I think, the original reading, whether the verse be genuine or not, and I do not think it is; not, however, "because the

Fumosos Equitum cum Dictatore magistros,
Si coram Lepidis male vivitur? effigies quo
Tot bellatorum, si luditur alea pernox
Ante Numantinos; si dormire incipis ortu
Luciferi, quo signa duces et castra movebant?
Cur Allobrogicis et magna gaudeat ara
Natus in Herculeo Fabius Lare, si cupidus, si
Vanus et Euganea quantumvis mollior agna;

tablet need not be *capax* to contain a single name," as Mr. Mayor says, for Corvinus is only mentioned as one among many. The abbreviation *hc* after 'post' would account for 'posthac.'

8. *Fumosos Equitum*] P. has this reading, but the great majority of MSS. have 'famosos.' No doubt 'fumosos' is right. In the middle of the 'atrium' was a 'focus' round which were the images of the Lares. The family chart would soon get smoked. A Dictator was in early times called 'magister populi,' as being elected by the 'populus' or 'curiae.' With the Dictator was always appointed another officer subordinate to him, who was called 'magister equitum,' for what reason is not certain. Niebuhr thinks it may have been "that he was elected by the centuries of plebeian equites, and that he was their protector" (v. i. p. 570). If so elected formerly, it was commonly left to the Dictator to choose his own colleague.

9. *Si coram Lepidis*] The Lepidi were a branch of the Aemilia gens (v. 3), a great number of whom held the first offices of the state, as may be seen by the Stemma Lepidorum given in the Dict. Biog. As to 'quo,' 'to what purpose,' see note on Hor. Epp. i. 5. 12, "Quo mihi fortunam si non conceditur uti?" and below, v. 142. As to 'alea' see S. i. 88, n., "alea quando hos animos?" Numantinus was an agnomen given to Scipio Africanus the Younger after the capture of Numantia, B.C. 133. The plural (in 11 and 13) is used as in S. ii. 3, "Qui Curios simulant" (where see note). There is a good example in Cic. pro P. Sestio, c. 68: "Quare imitemur nostros Brutos, Camillos," &c.

13. *Cur Allobrogicis*] Q. Fabius Maximus was surnamed Allobrogicus from his victory over the Gallic tribe Allobroges in the year of his consulship, B.C. 121. The Fabia gens were said to be descendants of Hercules: *Νυμφῶν μίας λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας Ἡρακλεῖ μιγείσης περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν ποταμὸν γενέσθαι Φάβιον, ἄνδρα πολὺ καὶ δοκιμὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ Φαβίων γένος ἀφ' αὑτοῦ παρασχόντα* (Plutarch, vit. Fabii, c. i.). Ovid (Fast. ii. 237) calls them 'Herculea gens' ("natus in Herculeo Lare"); and writing to Fabius Maximus, his patron (Ex Ponto iii. 3. 99), he says:

"Conveniens animo genus est tibi, nobile namque
Pectus et Herculeae simplicitatis habes."

The Ara Maxima, an altar near the Forum Boarium, was said to be that which Hercules built after he had killed Cacus. See Ovid (Fast. i. 581):

"Constituitque sibi, quae Maxima dicitur, aram,
Hic ubi pars urbis de bove nomen habet."

Other traditions made Evander the builder of it. See Livy i. 7; ix. 29. Virg. viii. 271. Tac. Ann. xii. 24: "igitur a foro boario sulcus designandi oppidi coeptus ut magnam Herculis aram amplecteretur." Tacitus says it was burnt down in Nero's great fire (Ann. xv. 41). Juvenal says, Why should any degenerate Fabius pride himself on his ancestor Allobrogicus and the altar of Hercules (in which he was especially interested as a descendant of Hercules) if he was avaricious, silly, soft-hearted, effeminate, a murderer?

15. *Euganea quantumvis mollior agna;*] The Euganei were originally the occupiers of all the country which the Veneti afterwards possessed and gave their name to (Livy i. 1). The Euganei were driven further west and south to the Athesis (Adige), and beyond that river between the lakes Benacus (Lago di Garda) and Sebinus (Lago d'Iseo). We do not hear elsewhere of their flocks, but all that region was famous for its pastures; "pinguia Gallicis Crescunt vellera pascuis" (Hor. C. iii. 16. 35). But Juvenal probably uses the name widely, and may have had in mind the wool of Altinum (a Vene-

Si tenerum attritus Catinensi pumice lumbum
Squalentes traducit avos, emptorque veneni
Frangenda miseram funestat imagine gentem?
Tota licet veteres exornent undique cerae
Atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.
Paullus vel Cossus vel Drusus moribus esto;
Hos ante effigies majorum pone tuorum;
Praecedant ipsas illi te Consule virgas.
Prima mihi debes animi bona: sanctus haberi
Justitiaeque tenax factis dictisque mereris,
Agnosco procerem. Salve, Gaetulice, seu tu
Silanus, quocunque alio de sanguine, rarus
Civis et egregius patriae contingis ovanti.
Exclamare libet populus quod clamat Osiri
Invento. Quis enim generosum dixerit hunc qui

tian town) which was celebrated. 'Quantumvis' is 'ever so much,' as we say.

16. *attritus Catinensi pumice*] The town of Catina (Catania) was situated at the foot of Aetna, and the rough stones thrown up by that volcano were abundant in the neighbourhood. They were used for rubbing the skin by the effeminate (see ix. 95).

17. *Squalentes traducit avos,*] 'Squalentes' means 'rough,' 'rugged,' and is opposed to the fine soft skin this degenerate Fabius cultivates. 'Traducit' seems to be 'exposes to contempt.' Forcellini gives examples of this meaning. The next line is, 'If he buy poison and disgrace his house by having his bust broken, as if he were convicted of murder it would be, either by the public executioner or by the populace.' 'Funestare' is properly to defile by blood (see Forcellini).

19. *exornent undique cerae Atria,*] See vv. 1 and 8, n.

21. *Paullus vel Cossus vel Drusus*] These were cognomens of the Aemilia, Cornelia, and Claudia gentes. There were more than one whom Juvenal may have had in mind. The Cossus he thought of appears from v. 26 to have been Cossus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, who got that name for defeating the Gaetuli, who had invaded the dominions of Juba (A.D. 6). 'Hos' refers to 'moribus.' As to 'virgas' see 7, n.

26. *Agnosco procerem.*] 'I recognize the nobleman.' He is speaking throughout of this class; and though virtue in any class is true nobility, he is here speaking of virtue in the privileged class, as it is called. 'First let me see your virtues,' he says to them, 'and then I shall see your nobility; otherwise I shall allow you no nobility at all.'

27. *Silanus,*] A 'stemma' of the Junii Silani will be found in Smith's Dict. Biog. Some of the later members of the family were related by marriage to the Caesars.

29. *populus quod clamat*] Pliny (H. N. viii. 46) describes the custom here referred to: "Bos in Aegypto etiam numinis vice colitur, Apim vocant—Non est fas eum certos vitae excedere annos, mersumque in sacerdotum fonte enecant, quaesituri luctu alium quem substituant; et donec invenerint moerent, derasis etiam capitibus; nec tamen unquam diu quaeritur. Inventus deducitur Memphim a sacerdotibus." The exclamation raised when the bull was found was (in Greek) εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρωμεν. The Egyptians were rejoicing on such an occasion when Cambyses invaded the country (Herod. iii. 27). Osiris was worshipped under the form of Apis at Memphis and of Mnevis at Heliopolis; both were bulls. On the subject of Bull Worship in Egypt and the East see Long's Egyptian Antiquities, v. ii. 288, sqq.

30. *generosum dixerit*] 'Generosus,' as its derivation shows, belongs properly to descent. But, like εὐγενής, it came to have a wider sense (vv. 57. 224). A man might be 'nobilis' without being 'generosus,' the former being nobility of personal distinction, the latter of patrician blood.

Indignus genere et praeclaro nomine tantum
Insignis? Nanum cujusdam Atlanta vocamus,
Aethiopem cygnum, pravam extortamque puellam
Europen; canibus pigris scabieque vetusta
Levibus et siccae lambentibus ora lucernae
Nomen erit pardus, tigris, leo, si quid adhuc est
Quod fremat in terris violentius. Ergo cavebis,
Et metues ne tu sis Creticus aut Camerinus.
His ego quem monui? tecum est mihi sermo, Rubelli
Plaute. Tumes alto Drusorum stemmate, tanquam
Feceris ipse aliquid propter quod nobilis esses,

One was properly called 'nobilis' if any of his ancestors had served in a curule office; but no one, according to Juvenal's definition and common usage, could be called 'generosus' who was 'indignus genere;' or if he were it would be like calling a dwarf Atlas, an Aethiop a swan, a deformed girl Europa, or a lazy, mangy dog a noble beast of the forest (see below, v. 57).

32. *Nanum cujusdam*] In the later times of the republic and afterwards it was the fashion for rich persons to have idiots, dwarfs, and other deformities in their houses to amuse them. The former were called 'moriones' or 'fatui,' the latter 'nani,' 'pumiliones,' or 'pumili.' They were of either sex. Propertius iv. 8. 41:

"Nanus et ipse suos breviter concretus in artus
Jactabat truncas ad cava buxa manus."

Suetonius tells us of Augustus that he shrunk from this sort of people: "Pumilos atque distortos et omnes generis ejusdem ut ludibria naturae malique ominis abhorrebat" (c. 83, where see Casaubon's note). Tiberius and Domitian (c. 4) each, according to Suetonius, had a person of this sort to attend upon them, and they were able to do serious mischief. The practice has been continued to very late times, and is not unknown now, especially in the East. 'Pravam' is 'crooked,' and 'extortam' is 'twisted out of shape,' so there is not much difference, which led probably to the substitution of 'parvam,' which is in most MSS. Jahn has it, and Ruperti meant to have it, it would seem by his notes. But 'parvam' is feeble. He means a deformity, a 'nana.'

38. *ne tu sis Creticus aut Camerinus.*] Creticus was an agnomen of the Caecilii Metelli first given to Q. Caecilius Metellus, who conducted and brought to a successful conclusion the war with Crete, B.C. 68—66, for which he triumphed B.C. 62. The Caecilia gens was plebeian, but much distinguished. The name of Creticus has been used before (S. ii. 67). Camerinus was the name of a good old family of the patrician gens Sulpicia. Juvenal, after saying that things are called by their opposites, advises his friend not to be called a Creticus or Camerinus, for the inference would be that he was something very low. Two conjectures have been offered for the purpose of mending the text, which does not, I think, want mending. 'Ne tu sic Creticus' is that of H. Junius, adopted by Jahn and stamped with Ruperti's frequent "non male." [Ribbeck also has 'sic.'] It does not require much taste to see that Juvenal did not write 'sic.' Heinrich thinks some alteration necessary, and reads 'ne hic tu sis,' which, I think, is not much better than the other. He explains it "ne talis sis, ne hoc sensu sis Creticus," and compares Horace (Epp. i. 6. 40), "Ne fueris hic tu," and (Epp. i. 15. 42) "Nimirum hic ego sum;" in both which places I take 'hic' to be an adverb, and the construction to be like the Greek ἐνταῦθ' εἰμί; but whether that be so or not 'hic' is out of place here and clumsy. All that Juvenal means is that the man had better decline than affect these fine names, whatever others might do, for there is emphasis in 'tu.'

39. *Rubelli Plaute.*] C. Rubellius Plautus was descended through his mother Julia from Tiberius, whose son Drusus was Julia's father. He incurred the jealousy of Nero, who caused him to be put to death, A.D. 62. Juvenal says he was inflated with his pedigree, but Tacitus gives

Ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget Iuli,
Non quae ventoso conducta sub aggere texit.
"Vos humiles," inquis, "vulgi pars ultima nostri,
Quorum nemo queat patriam monstrare parentis:
Ast ego Cecropides!" Vivas et originis hujus
Gaudia longa feras: tamen ima plebe Quiritem
Facundum invenies; solet hic defendere causas
Nobilis indocti; veniet de plebe togata
Qui juris nodos et legum aenigmata solvat.
Hic petit Euphraten juvenis domitique Batavi

him a good character. When people were speculating upon a successor to Nero, Rubellius was fixed upon. Tacitus says: "Omnium ore Rubellius Plautus celebratur, cui nobilitas per matrem ex Julia familia. Ipse placita majorum colebat, habitu severo, casta et secreta domo, quantoque metu occultior tanto plus famae adeptus" (Ann. xiv. 22). When he was urged by his friends to resist the sentence of death and raise a rebellion he refused; perhaps, Tacitus thinks (ib. 59), through affection for his wife and children, who he thought would meet with more mercy if he submitted quietly. Juvenal makes use of his name probably without thinking much about accuracy, and though the man had been dead some years he speaks of him as still alive (v. 46). But he means in fact any body. As to 'stemmate' see note on v. 1. Nearly all the MSS. have 'Blande' instead of 'Plaute.' Plautus was the son of Blandus, who was the husband of Julia. He cannot therefore be the person here meant. Lipsius (on Tac. xiii. 19) shows that sons did not take their fathers' names, and that the son of Blandus was Plautus. Mr. Mayor says it is a son of Plautus, "who appears to have assumed his grandfather's *cognomen* (as was usual), and in Juvenal's time to have been notorious for his pride of birth." To get rid of the difficulty in v. 42, he says "Rubellius Plautus the father is here confounded with his son;" which is not very likely if the son was a contemporary of Juvenal. There is a variant 'Plance,' which is a combination apparently of the two other names. M. has 'Plance,' with 'Blande' in the margin.

42. *Ut te conciperet*] Heinrich conjectures with great probability that Juvenal wrote 'et.' 'Ut' is out of place here; but the MSS. and editions do not vary. He says the man is as proud as if he had done something to deserve nobility, and to be born of a noble mother rather than of a poor woman working for daily pay at the loom by the 'agger' of Tullius, respecting which see note on S. v. 153. 'Ut' must mean 'so that,' if it be genuine.

46. *Ast ego Cecropides!*] εὐγένεια Κέκροπος was a proverb. The man means he is of royal blood, that is all.

49. *Nobilis indocti;*] 'Nobilis' is not used as a substantive, and 'indocti' does not agree with it as an adjective with a noun. It is, 'the nobleman who is unlearned,' as 'jam veteres caecos' in vii. 170 is 'blind men who are quite old,' and 'insipiens fortunatus' (Cic. Lael. c. 15) is 'a fool if he be fortunate.' (See below, ix. 16, n.) Mr. Mayor is mistaken here. 'Quiritem' is emphatic; he is not only a man but a Roman citizen, and worthy of being so. Horace says (C. ii. 7. 3) to his friend Pompeius:

"Quis te redonavit Quiritem
Dîs patriis Italoque caelo?"

As to 'plebe togata' see S. i. 96. The poorer sort of people may have been so called by the rich from their frequent appearance before them in the 'toga,' without which it was not respectful to go into the presence of their patrons. But Heinrich prefers reading 'togatus' in the sense of 'advocatus,' quoting Cicero (De Or. i. 24): "Unus e togatorum numero atque ex forensi usu homo mediocris."

50. *Qui juris nodos*] More has been put upon these words than they will bear. 'Solvere' is supposed to allude to a name (λύται) which was given, it appears, later to students of law. The meaning is quite clear and the language common. [As to 'jus' see S. ii. 72, n.]

51. *Hic petit Euphraten*] He says this plebeian goes to the wars like a good soldier, while the Cecropides stays at home

Custodes aquilas, armis industrius: at tu
Nil nisi Cecropides truncoque simillimus Hermae.
Nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine quam quod
Illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.
Dic mihi, Teucrorum proles, animalia muta
Quis generosa putet nisi fortia? nempe volucrem
Sic laudamus equum facili cui plurima palma
Fervet et exsultat rauco victoria Circo.
Nobilis hic, quocunque venit de gramine, cujus
Clara fuga ante alios et primus in aequore pulvis:
Sed venale pecus Corythae posteritas et
Hirpini si rara jugo Victoria sedit.
Nil ibi majorum respectus, gratia nulla
Umbrarum: dominos pretiis mutare jubentur

and does nothing. 'Juvenis' is a man of fighting age, and here it is used emphatically for a brave soldier. The Persians have the same word for a soldier and a youth, and it has a close resemblance to 'juvenis,' جوان (juwān). The state of the East required the presence of a standing army to keep down rebellion in Armenia, which was reduced to a Roman province by Trajan, and to check the Parthians. The Batavi, who inhabited the country between the Mosa (Maas) and the Rhine from the junction of those rivers by the Vahalis (Waal) to the sea, were a brave people, and were never strictly tributary to the Romans. In the years A.D. 69, 70 they carried on a sharp struggle for independence under a native chief Civilis. They were at last put down (Tac. Hist. iv. v.). The satire, therefore, was written after this war. 'Aquilas' is put for the army left after the outbreak to prevent a recurrence of it.

53. *truncoque simillimus Hermae.*] This seems to have been proverbial. 'Hermae' were busts; properly but not necessarily of Hermes or Mercurius, which, like the Greeks, the Romans used to ornament gardens, to mark boundaries, and for other purposes. 'Trunco' only means that it had no legs. It ended in a square column. [Ribbeck omits vv. 54, 55, as poor stuff, and not like the style of Juvenal, for if the satirist had intended to mark emphatically the small difference between marble and a living blockhead, we should find instead of 'tua vivit imago' something more cutting and contemptuous. Many persons may think with Ribbeck that these two verses are superfluous and weak; but whether we can certainly conclude that they are not Juvenal's because we don't like them is a matter worth the consideration of those who aspire to be masters of the art critical.]

56. *Teucrorum proles,*] See note on i. 100, 'Ipsos Trojugenas.' As to 'generosa' see above, v. 30. 'Sic' is 'on these conditions,' and 'cui' is equivalent to 'si illi' or 'ut illi.' See v. 75.

62. *Corythae*] This name, though it appears in nearly all the MSS., is probably corrupt. The Scholiast appears to have had 'Coryphaei,' which Heinrich thinks is right except the gender. Racing animals were usually mares. He would therefore read 'Coryphaeae.' [Ribbeck has 'Coryphaei.']

63. *Hirpini*] This horse is mentioned by Martial (iii. 63), who says of a conceited fellow who thought that he knew every thing, "Hirpini veteres qui bene novit avos;" on which Lipsius (Epist. Cent. iii. 26) observes that the factions (see above, vii. 114, n.) were particular in preserving the pedigrees of their best horses. He quotes Statius (Silv. v. 2. 21, sqq.):

"—— Romulei qualis per munera Circi
Cum pulcher visu, titulis generosus avitis
Exspectatur equus, cujus de stemmate longo
Felix emeritos habet admissura parentes."

Lipsius also gives an inscription which he says he saw and copied at Rome, by which it appears that Hirpinus was the son of Aquilo, a celebrated racer. The stone Lipsius describes was a curious one. It had

Exiguis, trito ducunt epiredia collo
Segnipedes dignique molam versare Nepotis.
Ergo ut miremur te non tua, primum aliquid da
Quod possim titulis incidere, praeter honores
Quos illis damus et dedimus quibus omnia debes.
Haec satis ad juvenem quem nobis fama superbum
Tradit et inflatum plenumque Nerone propinquo:
Rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa
Fortuna. Sed te censeri laude tuorum,

the figure of a man of the Red faction standing in the middle, with a stick in his right hand and some hay in the left, and two horses jumping upon him, one on each side: these are the sire Aquilo and the son Hirpinus. The inscription on one side is AQUILO N. AQUILONIS VICIT CXXX. SECUND. TULIT LXXXVIII. TER. TULIT XXXVII. On the other is HIRPINUS N. AQUILONIS VICIT CXIIII. SECUNDAS TULIT LVI. TERT. TUL. XXXVI.

66. *trito ducunt epiredia collo*] They are put to draw with galled neck 'epiredia,' which were carts or harness, it seems uncertain which. The Scholiast says they are "ornamenta rhedarum aut plaustra;" Forcellini says it is the harness. The word is noticed by Quintilian (Inst. i. 5. 68) as compounded of a Greek and a barbarian word, 'rheda' being a Gallic name. 'Nepos' is the name of a baker. There were hand-mills and mills turned by horses, or more commonly asses, which is the origin of the term *μύλος ὀνικός*, which occurs twice in the New Testament (Matt. xviii. 6. Luke xvii. 2, where our translation omits *ὀνικός*). The MSS. vary between 'trahunt' and 'ducunt,' some having the conjunction, others not. Most have 'ducunt:' many have 'tritoque ducunt,' the 'que' being supposed necessary and the quantity of less importance. 'Trahunt,' I think, arose out of the 'que,' which is not wanted. Ruperti has 'tritoque trahunt.' Jahn and Heinrich 'trito ducunt.' [Pbfg and Ribbeck have 'nepotes' for 'Nepotis.']

68. *primum aliquid da*] 'Da' means 'tell me,' as in Horace (S. ii. 8. 4, where see note). "Da, si grave non est, Quae prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca;" and Virgil, Ecl. i. 19, "sed tamen iste Deus qui sit da, Tityre, nobis." Heinrich says it means 'fac.' Jahn has adopted an alteration of Salmasius, 'privum;' [and Ribbeck.] The reading of the MSS. is no doubt right. 'Damus et dedimus' is a redundancy of speech, Heinrich says; 'we give and have always given:' it expresses the heartiness with which such honour is given where it is due.

71. *quem nobis fama superbum Tradit*] 'Whose nobility gives him to us proud, puffed up, and full of his relationship to Nero.' Horace uses 'fama' in the same way (S. i. 6. 15, sq.):

"Judice quo nosti populo, qui stultus honores
Saepe dat indignis, qui famae servit ineptus,
Et stupet in titulis et imaginibus."

73. *sensus communis*] This means a sense held in common with others. See note on Horace, S. i. 3. 66, "communi sensu plane caret," where Bentley has a useful note referring to most of the places where the expression occurs. That sense which is common property would naturally escape the exclusives. It implies a sympathy with mankind which the pride of birth in the nature of the case prevents, and also a knowledge of character and of the value of things only to be got through the experience of common life and intercourse with practical minds. In Horace's instance this common sense is what the French call 'tact.' The man there might be a worthy man, but he had a way of doing things out of time and place and annoying people by want of consideration. Here the want of common sense is shown in a silly ignorance of self, and of the worth of that which all the rest of the world knows is worth nothing to him. The phrase 'communis sensus' has a variety of applications which are easily made. The commentators refer to the Greek expression for it used by Marcus Antoninus, *κοινονοημοσύνη*, Salmasius' explanation of which Heinrich refers to, and it is given at length in Gifford's note. [See Gataker's note on Antoninus, i. 16. The word there means that the Empero

Pontice, noluerim sic ut nihil ipse futurae
Laudis agas. Miserum est aliorum incumbere famae,
Ne collapsa ruant subductis tecta columnis.
Stratus humi palmes viduas desiderat ulmos.
Esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem
Integer; ambiguae si quando citabere testis
Incertaeque rei, Phalaris licet imperet ut sis
Falsus et admoto dictet perjuria tauro,
Summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.
Dignus morte perit, coenet licet ostrea centum
Gaurana et Cosmi toto mergatur aeno.

Antoninus Pius considered himself as no more than any other citizen.] Gifford's translation, 'a sense of modesty,' is not exactly the meaning. In Juvenal's instance it is a combined want of common perception and common feeling, that is to say, perception and feeling in common with others. 'Fortuna' is here used like 'sorte,' 'in that condition.'

75. *sic ut nihil*] See above, v. 58. He says he would not have him valued for the merits of his forefathers, with the understanding that he is not bound to do something himself to secure the praise of posterity.

78. *Stratus humi palmes*] Ruperti says, "As the roof requires pillars and the vine requires an elm, so nobility requires personal merit to support it." Juvenal does not say this. What he says is that the honours of a man's ancestors are a poor support for his character, which, if it has nothing better to rest upon, will come to the ground; so the pillars and the elm are nobility, not virtue; and a poor support it makes for those who, like the roof and the vine, have nothing else to support them. Juvenal has 'ulmosque Falernas' above (vi. 150); and Horace repeatedly refers to this practice of training the vine to trees, C. ii. 15. 4, "platanusque caelebs Evincet ulmos," where the vine is implied; C. iv. 5. 30, "Et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores," where 'viduas' is used as here, meaning that the elm without the vine is as a husband who has no wife. The same idea is contained in the other passage, where the bachelor plane is opposed to the elm; and in Epod. ii. 9,

"Ergo aut adulta vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos,"

where the husband is not the elm but the poplar.

79. *tutor bonus,*] 'Tutor' was the guardian of a minor's property, and the minor was his 'pupillus.' As to the distinction between 'arbiter' and 'judex,' see Long's note on Cic. pro Roscio Comoedo, c. 4, Vol. II.: "Judicium est pecuniae certae, arbitrium incertae."

81. *Phalaris licet imperet*] The story of Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, and his bull is sufficiently well known. He is one of the Sicilian tyrants alluded to proverbially in S. vi. 486, and the passage of Horace there referred to. Horace says, like Juvenal:

"Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida." (C. iii. 3.)

85. *Dignus morte perit,*] "That man deserves death, and is dead already." The subject is implied in what goes before, the man who prefers his life to his honour, and for life's sake throws away that for which he lives (the maintaining of his honour). 'Pudor' in this sense is not found earlier than Juvenal. Pliny (Epp. ii. 4) has "famam defuncti pudoremque suscipere," and (v. 1) "aderat alius qui defunctae pudorem tueretur." Forcellini also refers to various passages in the law writers. 'Perit' is the perfect tense. See note on vi. 559: "magnus civis obit."

86. *Gaurana et Cosmi*] Mons Gaurus (Monte Barbaro) was close to the Lacus Lucrinus ("Lucrinas qua vergit Gaurus in undas," Sidon. Apoll. Carm. v. 345), which was famous for its oyster beds. See note on Hor. S. ii. 4. 32: "Murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris, Ostrea Circeiis." Cosmus is the name of a perfumer often

Exspectata diu tandem provincia quum te
Rectorem accipiet, pone irae fraena modumque,
Pone et avaritiae, miserere inopum sociorum;
Ossa vides regum vacuis exsucta medullis.
Respice quid moneant leges, quid curia mandet,
Praemia quanta bonos maneant, quam fulmine justo
Et Capito et Numitor ruerint damnante Senatu,
Piratae Cilicum. Sed quid damnatio confert,
Quum Pansa eripiat quidquid tibi Natta reliquit?
Praeconem, Chaerippe, tuis circumspice pannis,
Jamque tace: furor est post omnia perdere naulum.
Non idem gemitus olim neque vulnus erat par
Damnorum sociis florentibus et modo victis.
Plena domus tunc omnis, et ingens stabat acervus
Nummorum, Spartana chlamys, conchylia Coa,

referred to by Martial. 'Aeno' is the vessel in which he prepared his perfumes. 'Toto mergatur aeno' is the same as 'totus mergatur,' 'though he be plunged head over ears in Cosmus' copper.' The commentators and translators talk of a perfumed hip-bath.

89. *miserere inopum sociorum;*] The term 'socii' was applied to all the subjects and tributaries of Rome, natives of countries beyond the limits of Italy. All other foreign nations were 'exterae nationes.' See Long's notes on Cic. in Verr. Act. ii. lib. 4. c. 11, "apud socios et exteras nationes;" and on Divin. in Q. Caecilium, c. 3, Vol. I., "Populatae, vexatae, funditus eversae provinciae: socii stipendiariique populi Romani afflicti." By 'regum' he means native princes, who were allowed to retain the title with no power, and whom the Roman governors drained, leaving them without authority or money, like bones with the marrow extracted. There have been many such 'reges' in India since the British rule has been established there. Heinrich says 'socii' are not the 'provinciales;' but he is clearly wrong. 'Exsucta' or 'exucta' is not the reading of many MSS.; but it is that of the best. Others are either false copies or glosses.

91. *quid curia mandet,*] The governors of the senatorial provinces, like those of the imperial, received their instructions from the emperor by 'rescripta.' But their appointment was nominally in the senate, whose authority they were supposed to represent. Cossutianus Capito was appointed governor of Cilicia in the year A.D. 56. Next year he was charged by the provincials with extortion and degraded. But he recovered his senatorial rank through the influence of Tigellinus (i. 155, n.), his father-in-law (Tac. Ann. xi. 6, &c.). Numitor is unknown. One of that name is mentioned above, vii. 74. He may have been quaestor to Capito. He calls them pirates of the Cilicians, perhaps because those people had been themselves notorious pirates. He says the condemnation of these governors was of no use (they were 'damnati inani judicio,' i. 47) if as soon as one robber goes another comes. The names Pansa and Natta as governors of provinces are unknown. 'Tibi' means any provincial; Chaerippus, for instance, whom he advises to look out for a 'praeco' to sell his tattered clothes (all he has left), and then hold his tongue, and not think of wasting his money by coming to Rome to complain, which he expresses by saying it is mere madness, after all he has lost, to throw away the cost of a voyage. 'Naulum,' which is borrowed from the Greek (ναῦλον), is found in the law writers. It is the fare.

95. *Quum Pansa, &c.*] [Jahn and Ribbeck place a note of interrogation after 'confert,' and put v. 96 before v. 95.]

98. *Non idem gemitus*] He says the provincials suffered less from conquest than they suffered afterwards from their governors. The conquerors left them their money and other property. The 'chlamys' was a light shawl worn by the Greeks, and

Et cum Parrhasii tabulis signisque Myronis
Phidiacum vivebat ebur; nec non Polycleti
Multus ubique labor; rarae sine Mentore mensae.
Inde Dolabella est atque hinc Antonius, inde
Sacrilegus Verres: referebant navibus altis
Occulta spolia et plures de pace triumphos.
Nunc sociis juga pauca boum, grex parvus equarum
Et pater armenti capto eripietur agello;
Ipsi deinde Lares, si quod spectabile signum,
Si quis in aedicula deus unicus. Haec etenim sunt
Pro summis, nam sunt haec maxima. Despicias tu

occasionally by Romans under the empire. The Laconian was a purple dye. Horace says:

"Nec Laconicas mihi
Trahunt honestae purpuras clientae."
(C. ii. 18. 7.)

Pliny mentions the Tyrian, Gaetulian, and Laconian as the three best purples (H. N. ix. 36; xxxv. 6). As to the Coan dresses see notes on S. ii. 66, "quum tu multicia sumas;" and vi. 259, "tenui sudant in cyclade." 'Conchylia' were shell fish from which a purple was extracted. It was not exactly the same as the 'purpura,' though not usually distinguished; see S. iii. 81, "Horum ego non fugiam conchylia." The painter Parrhasius of Ephesus flourished at Athens during the latter part of the Peloponnesian War; about the beginning of which flourished Myron, the great sculptor, who is the reputed artist of the δισκοβόλος, of which casts and copies may be seen. 'Phidiacum ebur' refers to the chryselephantine statues of Phidias, the most celebrated of which were the statue of Athene in the Parthenon, and of Zeus at Olympia. Phidias was the oldest of the artists here mentioned, but nearly the same age with Polycletus of Argos (S. iii. 215), who also executed a celebrated statue in ivory and gold of Hera for her temple near Argos. 'Vivebat' expresses the life-like character of the statues. Mentor was a celebrated artist in silver about the middle of the fourth century B.C. His cups and other works, or works which passed for his, were highly esteemed by the Romans (see Cic. in Verr. Act. ii. 4. c. 18, Long's note).

105. *Inde Dolabella*] Cn. Dolabella was praetor of Cilicia B.C. 80, 79, and on his return to Rome was prosecuted for 'repetundae,' extortion, and was convicted chiefly on the evidence of C. Verres, his proquaestor, who himself afterwards became so notorious as the plunderer of Sicily. See Long's Intr. to Cic. in Verr. p. 2, and note on Act. i. c. 4. Dolabella was sent into exile; and Verres went into voluntary banishment rather than abide the result of Cicero's famous prosecution. C. Antonius, uncle of the triumvir M. Antonius, was proconsul of Macedonia, and on his return to Rome was, like the others, prosecuted for plundering the province; and though Cicero, whose colleague he had been in the consulship, defended him, he was convicted and went into exile B.C. 59. Jahn [and Ribbeck have] adopted a bad suggestion of Ruperti's, 'inde Dolabellae atque,' because 'est' is wanting in a few MSS., and there were two other Dolabellae who plundered provinces. [Ribbeck has also 'dehinc.']

107. *plures de pace triumphos.*] He says they got more triumphs out of peace than conquerors got from war, that is, more spoils such as were carried in triumphal processions. But now the 'socii' have but little left, and that little they are robbed of. 'Lares' is not to be taken strictly, for he is not speaking of Romans; but other nations had their heroes and tutelary gods, of whom they kept images in their houses. 'Aedicula' is a small recess set apart for the reception of these images: "Stabat in exigua ligneus aede deus" (Tibullus i. 10. 20). 'Signum' is the word for any figure carved or cast: 'statua' is confined to full-length figures. (See Long's note on Cic. in Verr. Act. ii. 4. c. 7.)

111. *Haec etenim sunt*] Heinrich calls this (haec—maxima) "a hideous bungling of a noble piece of poetry: two wretched glosses jammed into the text." He says 'unicus' should be 'unus.' Heinecke had

Forsitan imbelles Rhodios unctamque Corinthum:
Despicias merito. Quid resinata juventus
Cruraque totius facient tibi levia gentis?
Horrida vitanda est Hispania, Gallicus axis
Illyricumque latus: parce et messoribus illis,
Qui saturant Urbem Circo scenaeque vacantem.
Quanta autem inde feres tam dirae praemia culpae,
Quum tenues nuper Marius discinxerit Afros?
Curandum imprimis ne magna injuria fiat
Fortibus et miseris: tollas licet omne quod usquam est
Auri atque argenti, scutum gladiumque relinques
Et jacula et galeam: spoliatis arma supersunt.
  Quod modo proposui non est sententia: verum

written to the same effect before. Manso judged vv. 110, 111 to be spurious. Ruperti agrees with him, and Jahn encloses these verses in brackets. They are not wanting in any MSS. or old editions. The tautology is not like Juvenal; and the part that Heinrich objects to, or 'nam sunt haec maxima,' may be spurious, but it is not as bad as he makes it. [Ribbeck omits vv. 111—126 as spurious.]

113. *Forsitan imbelles Rhodios*] The luxurious and vicious character of the Corinthians is well known. See note on Horace, Epp. i. 17. 36, "Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum." Juvenal gives the Rhodians the epithet Horace applies to the Tarentines (Epp. i. 7. 45). They were good seamen however. Stephanus Byzantius explains Κορινθιάζεσθαι as τὸ ἑταιρεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἑταιρῶν ἢ τὸ μαστροπεύειν (to act the bawd), and he refers to Aristophanes' lost play, Κώκαλος.

114. *Quid resinata juventus*] Resin was used for smoothing the skin as the rough stone mentioned above (v. 16). He says these effeminate nations may be despised and plundered, for what can such as they do to revenge or defend themselves? But the man who looks for plunder had better not go to Hispania, Gallia, Illyricum, Libya, for there he will find a different sort of people. 'Axis' is not uncommonly put for a region of the sky, and then for a country (see Forcell.). 'Latus' is used for the sea-coast, as in Ovid (Her. x. 61): "Omne latus terrae cingit mare."

118. *Qui saturant Urbem*] He is speaking of the Africans, who supplied the greater part of the corn imported into Rome. 'Qui saturant Urbem' means that they fill the bellies of the citizens, whom he describes as wasting their time in the circus and theatre, as to which see note on S. iii. 223: "Si potes avelli Circensibus." He says, "Besides, if you did oppress these poor people, what return could you expect to get from them now that Marius has stripped them so effectually?" 'Autem' may here be rendered 'besides.' As to Marius see S. i. 47, n. 'Discinxerit' is used as we use the word 'strip.' Forcellini gives three interpretations out of which we may choose: (1) he compelled the Africans to lay down their arms; (2) he robbed them to their very clothes; (3) he robbed them of every thing but their purse (which was commonly carried in the girdle). This is idle.

122. *Fortibus et miseris:*] He means that it is not well to do any great wrong to those who are at once brave and poor (miseris), for if you take their money they will use their arms. We know that while people have any thing to lose they will bear a great deal of injustice. Jahn pronounces v. 124 spurious. We might stop at 'relinques,' and the inference would be as clear as it is now, but there is not sufficient reason for rejecting the verse. P. and other MSS. and Heinrich have 'relinquens.'

125. *non est sententia:*] He means it is not what we call a saw, a commonplace. Quintilian says: "Proprie sententiae vocantur quas Graeci γνώμας appellant, utrumque autem nomen ex eo acceperunt quod similes sunt consiliis aut decretis" (Inst. Or. viii. 5, init., where there is much more about 'sententiae'). Seneca (Controv. lib. i. Praef. sub fin.) speaks of 'translatitiae,'

Credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllae.
Si tibi sancta cohors comitum, si nemo tribunal
Vendit Acersecomes, si nullum in conjuge crimen,
Nec per conventus et cuncta per oppida curvis
Unguibus ire parat nummos raptura Celaeno;

or commonplaces, "quas proprie *sententias* dicimus quae nihil habent cum ipsa controversia implicitum, sed satis apte et alio transferuntur; tanquam quae de fortuna, de crudelitate, de saeculo, de divitiis dicuntur." He adds that his friend Latro "hoc genus sententiarum supellectilem vocabat," by which he meant the garnishing of a speech, as Cicero says (Orat. c. 24): "Supellex est quodammodo nostra, quae est in ornamentis alia rerum alia verborum." Ruperti gives three meanings for 'sententia,' one right and two wrong, and prefers one of the wrong, floundering about (says Heinrich) as usual. But he does not adopt, as Jahn does, the very bad reading of P. and three other MSS., 'verum est,' as if 'sententia' was something not 'verum.' [The reader may consult Ribbeck's remarks on vv. 125, 126; and on the whole passage vv. 111—126.]

126. *folium recitare Sibyllae.*] The 'Sibyllini libri' were writings of a prophetic or oracular character, originally of great antiquity. The old books were kept in the Capitol, and destroyed with the temple by fire B.C. 83, during Sulla's invasion of Italy. A collection was afterwards made from various parts of the Roman dominions of writings professing to be taken from the Sibylline books, and this new collection was deposited in the same temple when it was rebuilt. These sacred books were placed by Augustus in the Palatine temple of Apollo. Of these writings Varro (quoted by Servius on Aen. vi. 74) says, "In foliis palmae interdum notis, interdum scribebat sermonibus;" which agrees with Virgil's description of the Sibyl "quae rupe sub ima Fata canit foliisque notas et nomina mandat" (iii. 443), and his account of the leaves flying about the Sibyl's cave (vi. 75). In consulting the books a leaf appears to have been taken at random, which explains the text. (See note on Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 26: "annosa volumina vatum.")

127. *Si tibi sancta cohors comitum,*] Juvenal says, 'If you have about you an honest body of officers, and no favourites to pervert the course of justice, if your wife does no wrong, and is not like a harpy going about with you in your progresses through the province, then you may trace your descent to whom you will.' 'Cohors' and 'comites' were used for the personal staff of a governor. See note on Horace, S. i. 7. 23: "laudat Brutum laudatque cohortem." 'Tribunal vendit' means 'sells your judgments.' It is like 'suffragia vendimus' (x. 78). 'Acersecomes' (with hair unshorn) is Homer's epithet for Apollo (Il. xx. 39), and here means a favourite boy kept for bad purposes.

128. *si nullum in conjuge crimen,*] In the time of the republic governors were not allowed to take their wives abroad with them: "Hic est Flaminius qui exiturus in provinciam uxorem a porta dimisit" (Seneca, Controv. 25, init.). Augustus was very strict about this. Suetonius says of him (c. 24): "Ne legatorum quidem cuiquam nisi gravate hibernisque demum mensibus permisit uxorem intervisere." But he himself took Livia with him on more than one tour. Afterwards the practice became common. We know from the Evangelist St. Matthew that Pilate's wife was with him at Jerusalem. In the year A.D. 21 Severus Caecina moved in the senate that the old law should be enforced, saying that whenever governors were charged with extortion most of the blame lay with their wives, that the worst of the provincials attached themselves to the women, and more to the same effect. His opinion was overruled, and the old practice pronounced barbarous (Tac. Ann. iii. 33, 34). Three years afterwards Messalinus Cotta proposed a senatus consultum to the effect that governors should be punished for any faults of their wives committed in their provinces (Ann. iv. 20).

129. *Nec per conventus*] Every province was divided into districts, in each of which there was a town where the governor going round his province stopped and received all Roman citizens of that district who came for justice or other business. These meetings were called 'conventus,' and so also were the districts. See Long's notes on Cic. in Verr. ii. 2. 13, "selecti e conventu;" and ii. 5. 11, "conventum agere solent." Celaeno was one of the

Tunc licet a Pico numeres genus, altaque si te
Nomina delectant, omnem Titanida pugnam
Inter majores ipsumque Promethea ponas:
De quocunque voles proavum tibi sumito libro.
Quod si praecipitem rapit ambitio atque libido,
Si frangis virgas sociorum in sanguine, si te
Delectant hebetes lasso lictore secures,
Incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
Nobilitas claramque facem praeferre pudendis.
Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur.
Quo mihi te solitum falsas signare tabellas
In templis quae fecit avus statuamque parentis
Ante triumphalem? quo si nocturnus adulter
Tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo?
    Praeter majorum cineres atque ossa volucri

harpies, and 'curvis unguibus' represents the Greek γαμψώνυξ. Here the wife is meant.

131. *Tunc licet a Pico*] Picus was a son of Saturnus, and an early mythical king of Italy. 'Omnem Titanida pugnam' is the same as 'omnes Titanas pugnatores.' They were sons of Earth, and Prometheus was one of them. The force of 'ipsum,' Prometheus himself, is that he was reputed to have been the creator of man. 'Avus,' 'proavus,' 'abavus,' 'atavus,' 'tritavus' is the ascending scale, but each of these words is used generically for ancestors. 'Quocunque libro' is any story book. Most MSS. have 'tunc' or 'tum' in v. 131, which is wanted after 'si.' Jahn [and Ribbeck] have 'tu,' from P. and others. The Scholiast had 'tu.' [Ribbeck omits v. 134 from his text.]

136. *Si frangis virgas*] Scourging was practised only on those who were not Roman citizens. There was a Lex Porcia which forbade any citizen to be scourged. "Facinus est vincire civem Romanum; scelus verberare; prope parricidium necare; quid dicam in crucem tollere? verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest" (Cic. in Verr. ii. 5. 66). Of this enormity Verres was guilty. The usual way of putting to death was by beheading. The cross was confined to slaves and the lowest malefactors. 'Lasso lictore' is like 'lassis caedentibus' in vi. 484. [Ribbeck omits vv. 140, 141 as expressing only the same thing as the two vigorous preceding verses, and expressing it in a dry general sententious manner. It may be that Juvenal did not think as the critic does; though most men of taste would probably say that this passage weakens the satire. See v. 53, note.]

142. *Quo mihi te*] After 'quo,' 'to what purpose,' an ellipse is commonly found (see above, v. 9). Here we may understand 'jactas' or 'ostentas.' He says, 'What is the use of your boasting of yourself to me, if you are in the habit of forging wills in the temples your ancestor built, and in the face of your father's statue?' Wills were sometimes executed and kept in the temples. As to the triumphal statue see above, v. 3. We have 'signator falso' in S. i. 67.

145. *Santonico*] The Santones were a Gallic people north of the Garonne. Their name remains in the town of Saintes. They made woollen manufactures. See Martial xiv. 128: "Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo." As to 'cucullus' see S. vi. 117. Another woollen dress from Gaul is mentioned in iii. 103, 'accipit endromidem.'

146. *Praeter majorum cineres*] This is explained on S. i. last line. 'Carpentum' was a covered carriage on two wheels, as may be seen by the woodcuts in Smith's Dict. Ant. As to the various names of coaches see note on Hor. Epp. i. 11. 28. Juvenal is speaking of the way in which men of family degrade themselves as coachmen (see S. i. 59, n.), and says that actually a consul may be seen putting a big drag on

Carpento rapitur pinguis Lateranus, et ipse,
Ipse rotam adstringit multo sufflamine Consul;
Nocte quidem, sed luna videt, sed sidera testes
Intendunt oculos. Finitum tempus honoris
Quum fuerit, clara Lateranus luce flagellum
Sumet et occursum nunquam trepidabit amici
Jam senis, ac virga prior annuet atque maniplos
Solvet et infundet jumentis hordea lassis.
Interea dum lanatas torvumque juvencum
More Numae caedit Jovis ante altaria, jurat
Solam Eponam et facies olida ad praesepia pictas.
Sed quum pervigiles placet instaurare popinas,

his wheel with his own hands. 'Sufflamen' is a drag to lock the wheel. The word is used in a derived sense in S. xvi. 50. The only other place where it occurs is an inscription quoted by Forcellini. The verbal adjective 'sufflaminandus' is used by Seneca, also in a metaphorical sense (Contr. iv. Praefat.). No doubt the word was in common use, and the note of F. Didot quoted by Ruperti, that perhaps Juvenal coined it from 'sub' and 'flare,' from whence the French made their 'souffler,' and that it represents very satirically and well the panting and blowing of the man as he locked the wheel, is ridiculous.

147. *pinguis Lateranus,*] Most MSS. have here and in 151 Damasippus. The Scholiast had Lateranus, which is also in P. Damasippus is mentioned as a variant by the Scholiast on v. 167. Lateranus was a cognomen of the Claudia gens, of the Sextia, and Plautia (see Dict. Biog.). Juvenal speaks of 'egregias Lateranorum aedes' below (x. 17). Damasippus is the only reading in v. 185, where a different person is referred to.

153. *Jam senis,*] 'Jam' is only emphatic, like ἤδη. The coachman is not ashamed to meet his friend, though quite an old man, whom he ought to have blushed to meet. He recognizes him first and salutes him with his whip, as we see drivers do now, turning up the butt end as they pass an acquaintance. Dion Cassius (77. 10) says of the Emperor Caracalla, who was given, among his idle and profligate habits, to driving, *προσεκύνει αὐτοὺς κάτωθεν τῇ μάστιγι*, meaning by *αὐτούς* the spectators. Like Juvenal's ex-consul, he was not ashamed to drive 'clara luce:' *καὶ ἔλεγε κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον τῇ ἁρματηλασίᾳ χρῆσθαι καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ἐπ' αὐτῇ.* 'Maniplos' are the bands of hay. He goes through all the dirty work of a groom.

155. *Interea dum lanatas*] All this time whenever he goes to offer sacrifice to Jove, he only swears by Epona, the muledrivers' goddess, the Scholiast says, and other divinities patronized and invented by the same sort of people, who hung daubs of them about the stables. Plutarch says Epona was the offspring of a man and a mare, and that she looked after horses (Parall. Graec. et Rom. c. 29). 'More Numae' is 'after the institution of Numa;' not 'like a pious man,' as Ruperti says: nor is it necessary to suppose, as some persons do (so Achaintre says, and Ruperti quotes him again without correction or remark), that Juvenal means satirically to touch Numa because he was a hypocrite, as the Christian writers describe him. Lipsius (Epist. Quaest. ii. 9) supposes Juvenal had in his eye the oath of Phidippides and his father's answer, in Aristophanes (Nubes 83):

νὴ τὸν Ποσειδῶ τουτονὶ τὸν ἵππιον.
Μή 'μοί γε τοῦτον μηδαμῶς τὸν ἵππιον.

The Scholiast gives an outlandish word, 'robum,' for 'torvum' in 155, and explains it 'robustum, rufum.' Jahn [and Ribbeck] adopt it; and Mr. Mayor says "the word is archaic (*more Numae*)."

158. *Sed quum pervigiles*] 'But when he chooses to visit the eating-houses,' which are called 'pervigiles' because they were kept open all night for the benefit of such people. Horace has in the same sense "vigiles lucernas Perfer in lucem" (C. iii. 8. 14). In S. xv. 43 we have "Pervigilique toro, quem nocte ac luce jacentem Septimus interdum sol invenit." See above, iii. 275: "Nocte patent vigiles te praetereunte fenestrae." 'Instaurare' is

Obvius assiduo Syrophoenix udus amomo
Currit, Idumaeae Syrophoenix incola portae,
Hospitis affectu dominum regemque salutat,
Et cum venali Cyane succincta lagena.
  Defensor culpae dicet mihi, "Fecimus et nos
Haec juvenes." Esto. Desisti nempe, nec ultra
Fovisti errorem. Breve sit, quod turpiter audes;
Quaedam cum prima resecentur crimina barba;
Indulge veniam pueris. Lateranus ad illos
Thermarum calices inscriptaque lintea vadit

'to repeat.' Here it is to visit again and again (see Forcell.). As to 'popinae' see note on Hor. S. ii. 4. 62, where he calls them 'immundae,' and elsewhere 'unctae,' Epp. i. 14. 21. They were frequented chiefly by the lowest classes, so the host here puts on his best airs when the gentleman pays him a visit. All this about the genteel coachman and his low company is familiar to most of us.

159. *Syrophoenix udus amomo*] The host always runs out to meet him with a box of ointment such as the luxurious commonly put on their hair when they sat down to meals. The people of Coelesyria and Phoenice were called Syrophoenicians. They contained among them remnants of the earliest inhabitants. The woman who is called a Syrophoenician by the Evangelist St. Mark (vii. 26), is called by St. Matthew a Canaanite (xv. 22). This Syrophoenician is said to be an inhabitant of a town of Idumaea, which is perhaps here meant for Judaea. 'Porta' is used for a place through which traffic passes, as in xi. 124, "porta Syenes." But I doubt if this verse is genuine. It seems to me frigid and useless. It is wanting only in one MS.; while some others compound the two verses, omitting 'udus—Syrophoenix,' which gives no sense. Idumaea properly is the equivalent for Edom, and therefore included only the country inhabited by the Edomites, which was from the southern border of Canaan to Mount Horeb in Arabia. In later times Idumaea extended to Hebron on the north. The chief town was Petra, a place of great traffic with Rome and other countries. [Ribbeck has

'—— amomo
Currit Idumaeo, Syrophoenix &c.']

161. *Hospitis affectu*] With all the air of a host he salutes his customer as My Lord and King, and the hostess bustles in with wine. 'Lagena' and 'amphora' are the same vessel. 'Venali' only means he must pay for it, and a good price too perhaps. The innkeepers knew how to charge in those days as in these. The rich it would seem liked the title of 'reges,' which was given them with some contempt in Horace's time. As to 'succincta' see S. iv. 24. It means that the woman is officious when the great man comes.

163. *dicet*] [Ribbeck has 'dicat.']

164. *Desisti nempe,*] 'But of course you have left them off.' 'Nempe' is formed from 'nam' and 'pe' (which is the same as 'que' probably), as 'quippe' from 'quia,' and they mean 'surely,' 'of course' (v. 180).

166. *barba;*] See vi. 214, n.

167. *Lateranus*] Most MSS. have Damasippus, which the Scholiast mentions as a variant. P. has Lateranus. See 147, n.

168. *Thermarum calices*] 'Thermae' here is the same as 'thermopolium.' Hot wine and water was a favourite drink with the Romans, and it was sold at these 'popinae,' where the food and drink were consumed on the premises, not supplied to be taken home, as from 'cauponae.' Lipsius (Elect. i. 4) has a chapter on these warm drinks and the shops where they were sold. Both he and Becker (Gallus, Exc. on the Inns) suppose the 'popinae' and 'thermopolia' to be identical. We have 'calidae popinae' in S. xi. 81. 'Thermopolium' is only found in Plautus, who uses it several times, and he also uses 'thermopotare' (Trin. iv. 3. 7). 'Inscripta lintea' has been variously explained. The Scholiast explains it by 'vela popinae,' 'the curtain of the tavern;' and Casaubon on Suetonius, vit. Neronis, c. 27, explains it so, quoting Dion Cassius (79. 13), who, describing the profligate vagaries of the Emperor Elagabalus, says he had a room in the palace at the door of which he stood naked like the prostitutes,

Maturus bello, Armeniae Syriaeque tuendis
Amnibus et Rheno atque Istro. Praestare Neronem
Securum valet haec aetas. Mitte ostia, Caesar,
Mitte, sed in magna legatum quaere popina;
Invenies aliquo cum percussore jacentem,
Permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitivis,
Inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum
Et resupinati cessantia tympana Galli.
Aequa ibi libertas, communia pocula, lectus
Non alius cuiquam, nec mensa remotior ulli.
Quid facias talem sortitus, Pontice, servum?
Nempe in Lucanos aut Tusca ergastula mittas.
At vos, Trojugenae, vobis ignoscitis, et quae
Turpia cerdoni Volesos Brutumque decebunt.
  Quid, si numquam adeo foedis adeoque pudendis
Utimur exemplis ut non pejora supersint?
Consumptis opibus vocem, Damasippe, locasti

τὸ σινδόνιον χρυσοῖς κρίκοις ἐξηρτημένον διασείων, shaking the curtain that was fitted with gold rings, and attracting the attention of the passers by. Heinrich thinks this is the meaning. It is more likely a curtain before the shop to keep the sun off. The shops were open then, as they commonly are now. (See note on Hor. Epp. i. 7. 50.) The 'linteum' had a sign or a name on it (inscripta). 'Inscripta' is the same as 'picta,' 'embroidered.' It is not so used elsewhere.

169. *Armeniae Syriaeque*] See above, v. 51, 'Hic petit Euphraten,' and the note. The Germans on the Rhine and the Scythian tribes on the Danube were perpetual sources of trouble to the Romans. He says at the age when this man is wasting his life he might be serving in the army and protecting the empire. He uses Nero's name generically for the emperor of the day, whoever he was. The date of the satire is uncertain. [Jahn and Ribbeck point thus:

Maturus bello Armeniae Syriaeque, tuendis
Amnibus et Rheno atque Istro;

but it is a mistake. The rivers of Syria and Armenia are the Euphrates and Tigris.]

171. *Mitte ostia, Caesar,*] 'Ostia' is here taken for the mouth of the Tiber, where he would have to embark for foreign service, or for the mouths of the above-named rivers, which he would have to defend. The first is better. 'Ostia' standing alone would be intelligible in that sense, but not in the other. 'But,' says he, 'you must seek your legatus in the cookshop before you can send him.' 'Percussor' is a 'cut-throat.' 'Jacentem' means 'lying at table.' As to 'carnifices' see vi. 480: "sunt quae tortoribus annua praestent." 'Sandapilae' were common biers, on which poor people were carried out to burial. See note on Hor. S. i. 8. 9: "vili portanda locabat in arca." As to the Galli and their drums see S. ii. 111, n. This priest is lying drunk on his back and his drum by his side. The vulgar group and their familiarity are well represented here, and the scene, as Heinrich says, is one Hogarth might have drawn. The obscene sense given to 'resupinati' is out of place here.

180. *Nempe in Lucanos*] He asks his friend what he would do if he had a slave as bad as this. Of course he would send him into the country to work. After Lucanos 'agros' must be supplied. As to 'ergastula' see vi. 151, n. As to Trojugenae see i. 100, n.; and in this satire, vv. 42. 56. Volesus was the father of Valerius Poplicola, who was associated with Brutus in the first consulship after the expulsion of the Tarquins.

185. *Consumptis opibus*] Under the name of Damasippus, which Horace also takes for a bankrupt man of fortune (S. ii. 3), he

Sipario, clamosum ageres ut Phasma Catulli:
Laureolum velox etiam bene Lentulus egit,
Judice me dignus vera cruce. Nec tamen ipsi
Ignoscas populo: populi frons durior hujus,
Qui sedet et spectat triscurria patriciorum,
Planipedes audit Fabios, ridere potest qui
Mamercorum alapas. Quanti sua funera vendant

means any person of good family who was reduced to acting on the stage in a low farce of Catullus (see S. xiii. 111, n.). 'Siparium' is properly a stage curtain: here it stands for the theatre. The name of the 'mimus' is the Ghost, and it was probably full of coarse, noisy fun. 'Infamia' was a consequence of appearing on a public stage as an actor. Laureolus was the title of another 'mimus' by the same author, and Lentulus is another patrician. The name belonged to the Cornelia gens. This play was celebrated. Laureolus, the principal character, was crucified for some delinquency. Josephus says he was a robber (Ant. xix. 1). Juvenal says the man who acted him, vigorously and even well, ought to have been hanged in reality. Martial speaks of a parricide who was condemned to act Laureolus, and was torn in pieces by a bear as he hung on the cross:

"Nuda Caledonio sic pectora praebuit urso
Non falsa pendens in cruce Laureolus."
(Spect. vii.)

Suetonius speaks of this play as acted before Caligula (Calig. c. 57).

190. *triscurria patriciorum,*] This word 'triscurria' is not found elsewhere. The Scholiast, whose note is corrupt, has been mended in various ways. According to Heinrich's reading it is "*triscurria patriciorum*: jocos, tres cursus nobilium fabulas agentium: dictum quia tres simul exeunt quamvis aliquid quaerentes." "Quamvis pro valde, cupide," says Heinrich, but perhaps it should be 'quasi,' as Schopen suggests. This interpretation derives the word from 'curro,' as if the men in the play ran off the stage and on again, backwards and forwards, for nothing. But the more likely derivation, according to which the Scholiast's note has been altered from 'tres cursus' to 'tres scurras,' is from 'scurra,' and 'triscurria' are buffooneries of the lowest kind, 'tri' having, as in several other words, an intensive meaning (see Forcell.). Britannicus quotes Plautus (Rudens, iii. 4. 29): "Tune, trifurcifer, mihi audes inclementer dicere?" and again (Bacch. iv. 6. 15), "ut pergraecetur tecum, triveneflce." If the word were compounded of 'curro,' it would be 'tricurria,' for 'tris' is Greek, as Heinrich observes. All the old commentators take it this way, except one or two, who alter and spoil the text.

191. *Planipedes audit Fabios,*] As to the Fabii see v. 14. 'Planipedes' were actors in 'mimi,' so called because they wore nothing on their feet. The Mamerci were a family of the Aemilia gens, patricians. As to 'alapas,' see S. v. 171: "pulsandum vertice raso Praebebis quandoque caput," and note.

192. *Quanti sua funera vendant*] "How much they sell their lives for, what matter? They sell them compelled by no tyrant, nay, they sell them without hesitation at the exalted praetor's games." Lipsius (Saturn. ii. 3) shows from various sources how patricians and equites hired themselves as gladiators, and that is what Juvenal is now come to (S. ii. 143). Freemen who sold their services for this purpose were called 'auctorati' (see note on Hor. S. ii. 7. 59: "auctoratus eas"). For 'funera' Dobree suggests 'munera' (Adv. ii. p. 387); [and Ribbeck accepts it.] 'Munera' is never used in that sense. 'Munus edere' is said of the person who gives the show. Madvig (followed by Mr. Mayor) has a strange explanation for 'sua funera:' they sell not themselves, for they (the nobility) are extinct through their own misconduct, but the dead remains of their order. Manilius (lib. iv. quoted by Lipsius l. c.) says of these 'auctorati,' "Nunc caput in mortem vendunt et funus arenae," and Lactantius (lib. v. c. 9) complains of the wickedness of priests (see note on 207), "qui nec vitae quidem suae parcant, sed extinguendas publice animas vendant." It would seem impossible to mistake Juvenal's meaning. Seneca says, "Aspice illos juvenes quos ex nobilissimis domibus in arenam luxuria conjecit!" extravagance drove them to it. In the time of the republic most

Quid refert? Vendunt nullo cogente Nerone,
Nec dubitant celsi Praetoris vendere ludis.
Finge tamen gladios inde, atque hinc pulpita pone:
Quid satius? Mortem sic quisquam exhorruit ut sit
Zelotypus Thymeles, stupidi collega Corinthi?
Res haud mira tamen citharoedo Principe mimus
Nobilis. Haec ultra quid erit nisi ludus? Et illud

of the 'ludi publici' were under the management of the aediles. Under the empire the aediles had inferior functions, and the office fell into disrepute. The public games and theatrical representations were thenceforward managed by the praetors. The praetor sat on his curule chair, raised above the other seats, and he is therefore called 'celsi.' Below (x. 36) Juvenal speaks of the praetor as "curribus altis Exstantem, et medio sublimem in pulvere Circi." Many editions have Celsi as if it were a proper name, and so the Scholiast understood it. In vi. 380 the singer was spoken of as 'vocem vendentis praetoribus.' See S. xiv. 257: "Nulla aequare queas praetoris pulpita lauti." According to Dion, Augustus caused a law to be passed forbidding senators to become gladiators or actors, but he allowed equites to go into the arena. (See also Sueton. August. c. 43.) Nero (Sueton. Nero, c. 12) "exhibuit ad ferrum etiam quadringentos senatores sexcentosque equites Romanos et quosdam fortunae atque existimationis integrae: ex iisdem ordinibus confectores quoque ferarum et varia arenae ministeria:" where the numbers may be corrupt. This is what Juvenal refers to in 'nullo cogente Nerone.' [Ribbeck omits v. 194.]

195. *Finge tamen gladios*] He says, suppose this choice were given you of the sword or the stage, who would hesitate between death and degradation? As to 'pulpita' see iii. 174, n. Jahn has 'poni' from P. Ruperti conjectured the same; [and Ribbeck has it.] 'Pone' is better. Thymele the 'mima' has been mentioned before, with her partner Latinus (i. 36). Zelotypus (S. v. 45, n.) is the jealous husband in the play, as 'stupidus' is the blockhead who got knocked about. Corinthus seems to have been famous in this part. Nothing more is known of him. Nero's pride in his musical attainments is well known from Tacitus, Suetonius, Dion Cassius, and other authors. 'Mimus' and 'planipes' (v. 191) are the same. Unlike the Greeks, from whom the word is borrowed, the Romans gave the name to the actor as well as to the play, as to the nature of which see note on Horace, S. i. 10. 6: "Et Laberi mimos ut pulcra poemata mirer."

198. *mimus*] Nearly all the MSS. have 'natus' and many of the old editions. It is hard to make sense of it, and 'mimus' is the true reading. It is in P., and the Scholiast had it, as his explanation shows: "Non est turpe nobilem mimum agere cum ipse imperator citharoedus sit et in scena cantaverit."

199. *Haec ultra quid erit nisi ludus?*] He says, 'After this (if we go on in this way) what shall we have at Rome but shows?' 'Ludus' or 'res ludicrae' included theatrical and gladiatorial and all other shows. 'Illud' refers to what follows, which is an instance. 'Et' is used in this way, introducing an illustration. "And here you have a disgrace to the town." Most MSS. have 'illic;' [and Ribbeck has it.] But 'illud' is better, though 'illic' would do, not in the sense Ruperti gives it, 'in arena,' which he says "durius est," but 'in this too.' Gracchus with a 'fuscina' (or trident) and tunic as a 'retiarius' has been mentioned before (ii. 143, where see note). The especial disgrace of the person referred to under this name is, that he preferred fighting as a 'retiarius' whose arms and dress gave him no disguise, since he wore no helmet or shield, and nothing but a cap (galerum, v. 208) and short tunic, so that every body could see and recognize his face. The 'mirmillones' were also called Galli, being armed like the Gauls with a helmet, short sword, and oblong shield covering the greater part of their body. The Samnites (so called after the people of that name, whose armour they wore) were armed like the 'mirmillones,' the only difference being in the shape of the helmet. The Thraces also had shields, helmets, and swords, but the shields were round. Representations of these may be seen in Smith's Dict. Ant., 'Gladiatores' (see note on vi. 255). 'Falce' means a 'short sword;' and 'supina,' 'upturned.' Heinrich says it is 'incurva.' I am not

Dedecus Urbis habes; nec mirmillonis in armis,
Nec clipeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce supina,
(Damnat enim tales habitus; et damnat et odit)
Nec galea faciem abscondit; movet ecce tridentem;
Postquam librata pendentia retia dextra
Nequidquam effudit, nudum ad spectacula vultum
Erigit et tota fugit agnoscendus arena.
Credamus tunicae, de faucibus aurea quum se
Porrigat et longo jactetur spira galero.
Ergo ignominiam graviorem pertulit omni
Vulnere cum Graccho jussus pugnare secutor.
  Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
Perditus ut dubitet Senecam praeferre Neroni?
Cujus supplicio non debuit una parari

sure about this. The swords of the gladiators in the woodcuts referred to are straight. The 'retiarius' threw his net, and if he failed to entangle his adversary, caught it up and ran round the Circus, pursued by the other, till he could get another opportunity of throwing it. 'Spectacula' means the 'spectatores.' When a gladiator was beaten he commonly held up his hand to the spectators to plead for his life, which depended upon their caprice. V. 202 any body may see is an interpolation. [Ribbeck omits

"et damnat et odit
Nec galea faciem abscondit."]

207. *Credamus tunicae,*] We may know it is Gracchus by his tunic, and the strings (spira) of his cap, which, as well as the tunic, were embroidered with gold. We are therefore to suppose this Gracchus to be the man who married himself as a woman to a trumpeter (ii. 117), for he was one of the Salii (ii. 124, n.), who wore tunics embroidered in this way. Livy (i. 20) says they wore a corslet of bronze. 'Secutor' was another kind of gladiator who was usually matched with the 'retiarius.' 'Ergo' means, since then he is well known to be but a priest, the 'secutor' will only be disgraced by such an adversary.

212. *Senecam praeferre Neroni?*] Tacitus (Ann. xv. 65) says that in the conspiracy against Nero headed by Piso (A.D. 65), some of the principal conspirators agreed that, after the tyrant was killed, Piso should also be put out of the way, and the empire offered to Seneca, who had been tutor to Nero, but had fallen under his suspicion. The conspiracy was discovered, and Seneca was charged with being a party to it, and put to death with several others. Tiberius, two years after he became emperor, put an end to the little influence for elections that Augustus left the comitia of the centuries. "Tum primum e Campo comitia ad Patres translata sunt; nam ad eam diem etsi potissima arbitrio Principis quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. Neque populus ademptum jus questus est nisi inani rumore." (Tac. Ann. i. 15.)

213. *Cujus supplicio*] The punishment for 'parricidium' from very early times was that the criminal be scourged, and sewn up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a snake, and a monkey, and thrown into the sea (xiii. 155). See also Cic. pro Rosc. Am. c. 25, and Long's notes and Introduction. Juvenal says he deserved this many times over. He put to death his mother Agrippina at the instigation of his mistress Poppaea Sabina, A.D. 59. Three years afterwards he divorced, banished, and murdered his wife Octavia, and having married Poppaea killed her in a fit of rage. He also caused to be put to death, because she would not marry him, Antonia, his sister by adoption, being the daughter of Claudius, who adopted Nero and made him his heir, to the exclusion of his own son Britannicus, whose death Nero effected by the hands of Locusta (S. i. 71), having before been a party to the murder of his father Claudius, contrived by his mother Agrippina. All this he says was worse than any thing Orestes did. He put his mother Clytem-

Simia, nec serpens unus, nec culeus unus.
Par Agamemnonidae crimen; sed causa facit rem
Dissimilem; quippe ille deis auctoribus ultor
Patris erat caesi media inter pocula, sed nec
Electrae jugulo se polluit aut Spartani
Sanguine conjugii; nullis aconita propinquis
Miscuit, in scena nunquam cantavit Orestes;
Troica non scripsit. Quid enim Verginius armis
Debuit ulcisci magis, aut cum Vindice Galba?
Quid Nero tam saeva crudaque tyrannide fecit?
Haec opera atque hae sunt generosi Principis artes,

nestra to death, but he did it by the order of Apollo, to revenge his father's murder. He did not murder his sister Electra, nor his wife Hermione (daughter of Menelaus and Helen), nor poison his relations. Besides Britannicus Nero poisoned his father's sister Domitia for her money.

217. *media inter pocula,*] The place and manner of Agamemnon's murder by his wife, as well as her motives, are differently stated. Juvenal follows a story which says she killed him over his wine. So Agamemnon's ghost tells Ulysses in Hades (Hom. Odyss. xi. 408):

ἀλλά μοι Αἴγισθος τεύξας θάνατόν τε μόρον τε,
ἔκτα σὺν οὐλομένῃ ἀλόχῳ, οἰκόνδε καλέσσας,
δειπνίσσας, ὥς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ.

219. *Sanguine conjugii;*] This is used for 'conjugis,' like "remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Ulixei" (Hor. Epp. i. 6. 63) and other words which are common enough. Suetonius (c. 20) tells us Nero went upon the stage first at Naples, where he appeared several times. Servius on Aen. v. 370 refers to Nero's poem on the taking of Troy, and the Scholiast on Lucan iii. 261 quotes three verses, which he says are Nero's, and which are supposed to be part of that poem. They are not worth repeating. Dion Cassius (62. 29) mentions the poem, which Suetonius says Nero recited while Rome was burning, looking out from a tower and admiring the beauty of the flames (c. 38; Tacit. Ann. xv. 39).

221. *Quid enim Verginius armis*] He asks which of all Nero's crimes so called for punishment as his having written this dull poem. Ruperti, by way of getting rid of the point, says Juvenal does not mean the dulness of the poem so much as the wickedness of Nero in causing Rome to be burnt that he might see what Troy looked like in flames. L. Verginius Rufus, Julius Vindex, and Galba, were governors of Upper Germany, Gallia, and Hispania Tarraconensis under Nero. Vindex rebelled, and offered to get the empire for Galba, but lost his life in a battle with Verginius, who was sent against him, but who afterwards was mainly instrumental in establishing Galba, though he never took up arms directly against Nero. Juvenal speaks of them all as if they were leagued against Nero, and it is true that Verginius and Vindex were in communication just before the battle in which the latter lost his life. In v. 223 Jahn has adopted Madvig's conjecture 'quod,' joining the verse on with the one before. [Ribbeck has the same.] 'What is there that Nero did which so deserved punishment at the hands of Verginius, Vindex, and Galba?' All the MSS. have 'quid,' and I think it may stand, though the sentence is not complete. V. 223 is supplemental to the sentence before: 'What is there that Verginius should rather have punished? What that Nero did in all his reign so savage and bloody?'

223. *tam saeva crudaque tyrannide*] The reign of Nero was from A.D. 54–68. It began in murder, and was brought to an abrupt end through the hatred created by his savage conduct. The praetorian troops were induced by their commander Nymphidius Sabinus to revolt in favour of Galba, and Nero being entirely deserted by soldiers and friends destroyed himself.

224. *generosi Principis*] 'Generosi' is used ironically. See note on v. 30.

Gaudentis foedo peregrina ad pulpita cantu
Prostitui Graiaeque apium meruisse coronae.
Majorum effigies habeant insignia vocis:
Ante pedes Domiti longum tu pone Thyestae
Syrma vel Antigones, tu personam Menalippes,
Et de marmoreo citharam suspende colosso.
Quid, Catilina, tuis natalibus atque Cethegi
Inveniet quisquam sublimius? Arma tamen vos
Nocturna et flammas domibus templisque parastis,
Ut Braccatorum pueri Senonumque minores,

225. *peregrina ad pulpita*] Besides Naples (v. 219, n.) Suetonius says he went through Achaia, and various parts of Greece, reciting in the theatres and contending for the prizes at the Olympic games. He was highly delighted with the flattery of the Achaeans, who sent him all the crowns of the musicians as if he were Apollo and the guardian of the Muses (says Casaubon). He declared therefore that the Greeks were the only persons who had ears, and were worthy of him and his genius. 'Cantu,' 'cantare' (v. 220) mean only recitation. See Salmasius' note on Suetonius (Nero 21, Burmann's edition): "Inter caetera cantavit *Canacem parturientem, Orestem matricidam, Oedipodem excaecatum, Herculem insanum.*"

226. *apium meruisse coronae.*] Parsley was used for crowning the head at feasts, as we see repeatedly in Horace, as C. ii. 7. 24:

"——— Quis udo
Deproperare apio coronas
Curatve myrto?"

iv. 11. 3: "est in horto, Phylli, nectendis apium coronis." It was used for the crown of the victors in the Isthmian and Nemean games, wherefore Pindar calls it Dorian and Corinthian, θάλησε Κορινθίοις σελίνοις (Nem. iv. 88, Böckh), Δωρίων στεφάνωμα σελίνων (Isth. ii. 16). See also Olymp. xiii. 32, and Isth. vii. 64. The Olympic crown was of olive, and the Pythian of laurel. Pliny speaking of parsley says, "honos ipsi in Achaia coronare victores sacri certaminis Nemeae" (H. N. xix. 8).

228. *Ante pedes Domiti*] Nero's name before his adoption by his stepfather Claudius was L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and in that branch of the Domitia gens there were many distinguished persons (see Smith's Biog. Dict.) whose busts were in his palace. The poet tells him to hang up by their images his stage dresses and harp, as soldiers hung their armour and spoils. 'Syrma' was a train attached to the 'palla,' worn by tragic actors, from σύρειν, to sweep. Horace refers to it, A. P. 215: "traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem" (where see note); and see below xv. 30, "quanquam omnia syrmata volvas." Varius' tragedy of Thyestes is referred to by Horace, C. i. 6. 8, "saevam Pelopis domum." Ennius and Accius each wrote a tragedy on Menalippe the daughter of Aeolus, after two tragedies of Euripides, of which fragments still exist. [Ribbeck has 'seu personam Melanippi.'] By 'marmoreo colosso' he means a colossal statue of one of his ancestors. Suetonius says that he ordered a harp (or a crown, for the readings vary) awarded him on some occasion as a prize to be taken and placed by a statue of Augustus (Nero, c. 12), and for this reason some commentators think the statue here is that of Augustus, but that is against the context. Nero had a statue of himself in his palace called the golden house (Sueton. Nero, c. 31), which statue was 120 feet high, but it was of bronze [as Pliny states (H. N. 34. c. 7), and the work of Zenodorus. Nero was also so silly as to have a colossal painting made of himself on canvas, 120 feet high. Fortunately the ugly thing was soon burnt. (Pliny, H. N. 35. c. 7)].

231. *Quid, Catilina, tuis*] Catilina was of the Sergia gens, one of the oldest patrician families; and Cethegus, his chief companion in his conspiracy, was of the Cornelia gens. A very complete account of the conspirators and their designs will be found in Mr. Long's Introduction to Cicero's orations against Catilina (Vol. III.). [In v. 233 Ribbeck has 'paratis.']

234. *Ut Braccatorum pueri*] As sons of the Braccati or descendants of the Se-

Ausi quod liceat tunica punire molesta.
Sed vigilat Consul vexillaque vestra coercet.
Hic novus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romae
Municipalis Eques, galeatum ponit ubique
Praesidium attonitis et in omni gente laborat.
Tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi
Nominis et tituli, quantum non Leucade, quantum
Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo
Caedibus assiduis gladio. Sed Roma parentem,

nones. 'Minores' is used in this sense before (S. i. 146). Before the formation of the separate province Gallia Narbonensis, it appears the Romans gave the inhabitants the name 'Braccati' (as they called themselves 'togati') from their wearing, like nearly all other nations not Greek or Roman, 'braccae,' 'breeches,' which has been mentioned before (ii. 169, n.). See Pliny, H.N. iii. 4. The Senones were an ancient Gallic tribe on the Seine. (See Long's note on Caesar, B. G. ii. 2, and Intr. p. 22, and art. 'Senones,' Dict. Geog.) They were among the Gauls who invaded Italy in the time of the Tarquins, according to Livy (v. 33, 34), and they remained in Umbria till the Romans destroyed them all B.C. 283. Juvenal says the conspirators were like descendants of these savages, who only came to ravage and destroy.

235. *tunica punire molesta.*] This has been alluded to above (i. 155), where the Scholiast says: "Nero maleficos homines teda et papiro et cera supervestiebat et sic ad ignem admoveri jubebat ut arderent." This is repeated in the Scholium here: "Vestis ex charta facta, pice illita in qua ignibus poenae addicti ardere solent." Seneca (Epp. xiv.) speaks of "illam tunicam alimentis ignium et illitam et intextam." The familiar name for this seems to have been 'tunica molesta;' Martial uses it (x. 25).

237. *Hic novus Arpinas,*] Arpinum (Arpino) was a town of Latium and a municipium, and there Cicero was born, B.C. 106. He was the first of his gens (Tullia) that had curule honours, and was therefore 'novus homo' and 'ignobilis.' After him his family became 'nobilis.' He was consul B.C. 63, and in that year the conspiracy of Catilina was formed. Cicero often alludes to his own connexion with the equestrian order. See particularly his letter ad Q. Fr. i. 1. 'Modo' but the other day (as we say), he was only a municipal eques living at Rome. 'Galeatum,' with their helmets on ready for action, as in i. 169, "Galeatum sero duelli Poenitet." 'Attonitis' refers to the people, who knew nothing of the reasons for such measures. 'In omni gente laborat' means 'he cares for all people.' 'Gentes,' for the people about Rome, is opposed to the inhabitants of the city by Horace (C. i. 2. 5): "Terruit Urbem, Terruit gentes." (See below, xv. 10.) [Ribbeck has 'monte' for 'gente.']

240. *toga contulit illi*] 'Toga' is equivalent to peace, as is common. 'Nominis et tituli' is a common way of speaking, where a general term is put first and a particular form of it follows. The title was 'pater patriae' (v. 243), respecting which see note on Horace, C. i. 2. 50: "Hic ames dici pater atque princeps." Cicero was honoured by Catulus and Cato addressing him as 'parens patriae.' 'And at that time,' Juvenal adds, 'they were free.' He means that afterwards, when they gave it to Augustus and to other emperors after him, they were not free. Ruperti says it means they were freed from danger, which destroys one of the chief points of the contrast Juvenal is drawing between Cicero and Octavius. By Leucade he means the battle of Actium, which place was about thirty miles north of the island of Leucas or Leucadia. The other battle referred to is Philippi, which was in Thrace, but was included in the province of Macedonia. 'Thessaliae campis' therefore is an inaccuracy. The original name of Augustus was C. Octavius; but he dropped this at his great uncle's death, and then he became C. Julius Caesar Octavianus, to which the title of Augustus was added B.C. 27. [In v. 241 Ribbeck has 'vix Leucade.']

242. *Octavius abstulit*] The 'non' which belongs to this clause must be supplied from the preceding.

Roma Patrem Patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.
Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
Poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro;
Nodosam post haec frangebat vertice vitem,
Si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra.
Hic tamen et Cimbros et summa pericula rerum
Excipit, et solus trepidantem protegit Urbem;
Atque ideo, postquam ad Cimbros stragemque volabant
Qui nunquam attigerant majora cadavera corvi,
Nobilis ornatur lauro collega secunda.

245. *Arpinas alius*] This was C. Marius, who was also born at Arpinum of poor parents, who Plutarch says got their living by the labour of their hands. Juvenal says, "solebat Poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro:" he worked at the plough as a hired labourer; but all this declamation has no historical value. Marius was in fact a country lad, the son of a poor peasant who cultivated his bit of land, and he would work with his father until he was summoned by the conscription to join the Roman armies. He served in the cavalry at the siege of Numantia under Scipio Africanus Minor. His military abilities raised him to high estate, and he married a great lady, Julia, the aunt of him who was afterwards the Dictator C. Caesar. The vine switch was commonly used for military floggings; and he says Marius had the switch broken over his head if he did his work lazily, which he was not likely to do. See note on vi. 479, "hic frangit ferulas," where the way of speaking is the same.

248. *muniret castra dolabra.*] Although a body of 'fabri,' 'engineers,' was attached to every Roman army, each ordinary foot soldier carried a hatchet, an axe, a saw, a basket, a mattock, a knife, a leather strap, a chain (see note on Hor. C. ii. 13. 18: "catenas Parthus et Italum Robur"), besides a stake for intrenchments and three days' provision, so that as Josephus, who gives these particulars (Bell. Jud. iii. 5), observes, the infantry were almost like baggage mules. 'Securis,' the hatchet, was a distinct thing from 'dolabra,' which was a hatchet on one side, but had a pick on the other. "Forma est securis sed unica et simplici acie; parte altera in mucronem acuminata, quae serviebat maxime muris dirnendis ut prior illa vallo et lignis caedendis." This is what Lipsius says (Poliorc. i. 9, fin.), and he adds that there are many representations of the 'dolabra' on Trajan's column, with which the soldiers are cutting wood for intrenching. Josephus in the above chapter speaks of the great severity of the military discipline: *οἵ τε γὰρ νόμοι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐ λειποταξίας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥᾳστώνης ὀλίγης θανατικοί, οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ τῶν νόμων φοβερώτεροι.*

249. *Hic tamen et Cimbros*] For about six years the Romans were kept in a state of great alarm by barbarian tribes from the north, among whom the Cimbri were the most important. Marius was recalled from Africa to oppose them. In B.C. 102, in his fourth consulship, he defeated and utterly destroyed the army of the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae (Aix, near Marseille); and in the following year, being again consul, he and Q. Lutatius Catulus defeated the Cimbri on a plain called Campi Raudii, near Vercellae in Gallia Cisalpina. Plutarch records that there was more credit given to Marius than to Catulus, though the soldiers of Catulus had done more to get the victory. He adds that the soldiers were prepared to prevent his triumph, if Catulus were not allowed to share it (Marius, c. 27). Marius had the title of third founder of Rome given him on this occasion. See x. 280, n.

251. *postquam ad Cimbros*] This is only a way of saying after the battle. Plutarch's description of the slaughter is very painful. The greater part of the army was cut to pieces on the field. Those who fled to their camp were massacred by their women, who strangled their own children and then hanged themselves; and many of the men did the same, or tied themselves to the horns of oxen and then goaded the beasts till they trampled them to death. About 120,000 fell and 60,000 were made prisoners; but probably there is great exaggeration in the numbers.

Plebeiae Deciorum animae, plebeia fuerunt
Nomina: pro totis legionibus hi tamen et pro
Omnibus auxiliis atque omni pube Latina
Sufficiunt dis infernis Terraeque parenti;
Pluris enim Decii quam quae servantur ab illis.
Ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini
Et fasces meruit, regum ultimus ille bonorum.
Prodita laxabant portarum claustra tyrannis

254. *Plebeiae Deciorum animae,*] The Decii were, as Juvenal says, a plebeian family, but a very old one, for at the secession of the plebs, B.C. 494, M. Decius was one of the deputies sent by them to treat with the senate. P. Decius Mus was the first consul of the family, B.C. 380; in that year he commanded the Roman forces, in conjunction with his colleague, T. Manlius Torquatus, in the Latin War. How and why he devoted himself to death in battle, and how he thereby secured the victory to the Romans, are told by Livy, viii. 9, who there gives the formula of devotion. His son, who had the same name, acted as his father had done, when he was consul for the fourth time, B.C. 295, at the battle of Sentinum against the Gauls (Liv. x. 28). His son also was consul B.C. 279, and commanded in the war against Pyrrhus. At the battle of Asculum it was given out that he meant to devote himself as the others had done; and to prevent a panic in his own army Pyrrhus gave orders that he should be taken alive. Cicero says he did devote himself, but that is generally believed to be a mistake (Quaest. Tusc. i. 37; de Fin. ii. 19).

255. *pro totis legionibus*] The formula of devotion, after calling on the Dii Magni and others, finished with these words: "Pro re publica Quiritium, exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum diis Manibus Tellurique devoveo." Juvenal says though they were plebeians they were enough for all the army and allies, and were worth more than those they saved. In the formula 'auxiliis' included all the auxiliaries. When Juvenal says 'auxiliis atque omni pube Latina,' he means by 'auxiliis' the Italian auxiliaries, who were not strictly called 'auxilia' but 'socii,' until the Social War, B.C. 90, when by the extension of the Roman 'civitas' to those states they ceased to be 'socii' and became a constituent part of the Roman people. Previously to this the Latini were always distinguished from the other 'socii' (as here), the collective formula being 'socii et Latini,' or its equivalent 'socii Latini,' where 'et' is understood, as in 'Romani Quiritium,' 'Patres conscripti.' The common reading 'plebe Latina' is not so good as 'pube,' which is in P., the Schol., and some other MSS. [In v. 258 Ribbeck has 'quam qui.']

259. *Ancilla natus*] This is Servius Tullius, of whom he says (S. vii. 201) "Servis regna dabunt (fata)." The 'trabea' was a white toga with waving stripes of purple embroidered on it. It differed from the 'praetexta,' which had only a single border of purple round the edges. It was supposed to have been worn by the kings. Pliny (H. N. ix. 39) says, "Purpurae usum Romae semper fuisse video, sed Romulo in trabea." 'Diadema' was a band, originally no doubt of plain materials, which was worn by the kings of Rome, and is found on busts of Bacchus commonly. It was afterwards highly ornamented with gold and precious stones. Tullius was succeeded by Tarquinius Superbus, and so is not called the last king, but the last good king, as Livy says "cum illo simul justa ac legitima regna occiderunt" (i. 48). Tullius is said to have earned the throne, that is by his bravery and the virtues he showed while exercising the power given him by his father-in-law Tarquinius Priscus during his lifetime. Livy gives him a high character as a young man: "Juvenis evasit vere indolis regiae" (i. 40). He relates the stratagem by which Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, secured the succession for her son-in-law (i. 41).

261. *Prodita laxabant*] He refers to Titus and Tiberius Junius Brutus, sons of Brutus the first consul, who were in the conspiracy for restoring Tarquinius Superbus, and who were scourged and put to death by the sentence and under the eyes of their own father. The conspirators met at supper and their conversation was betrayed by one of the slaves to the consuls. Juvenal says they ought to have

Exsulibus juvenes ipsius Consulis et quos
Magnum aliquid dubia pro libertate deceret,
Quod miraretur cum Coclite Mucius et quae
Imperii fines Tiberinum virgo natavit.
Occulta ad Patres produxit crimina servus
Matronis lugendus: at illos verbera justis
Afficiunt poenis et legum prima securis.
  Malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
Aeacidae similis Vulcaniaque arma capessas,
Quam te Thersitae similem producat Achilles.
Et tamen, ut longe repetas longeque revolvas
Nomen, ab infami gentem deducis asylo.
Majorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nolo.

been distinguishing themselves in the strengthening of liberty only partially established, and exciting the admiration of such men as Horatius Cocles (who defended the bridge), Mucius Scaevola (who put his hand in the fire before King Porsena, having vowed with 300 others to kill him), and Cloelia who, being a prisoner with other women in Porsena's camp, swam across the Tiber, and escaped. Juvenal seems to have had Livy's narrative in his mind (ii. 5), for he describes the people as gazing in wonder at these youths, "illos eo potissimum anno, patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Junia, Patres, plebem, quicquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum ut superbo quondam regi tum infesto exsuli proderent." The force of the imperfect 'laxabant' must be attended to.

265. *Imperii fines Tiberinum*] Before the attack of Porsena the Romans had some land on the north bank of the Tiber which Romulus (according to the story) had taken from the Veientes. They had also possession of the hill Janiculum. Porsena drove them across the river, and when the war was finished by the defeat of the Romans, peace was given on the condition that the Veientes should have back their land. Livy (ii. 13) puts the case favourably for Rome, "de agro Veientibus restituendo impetratum;" on which Niebuhr remarks that "one cannot read such arrogant language without indignation" (i. 546).

267. *Matronis lugendus:*] Livy says of Brutus, who fell in battle against the Tarquinii, that his funeral was celebrated with much pomp; but that which graced it most was the public mourning, "eo ante omnia insignis quia matronae annum ut parentem eum luxērunt, quod tam acer ultor violatae pudicitiae fuisset." Taking his word from this Juvenal says the slave deserved to be mourned after his death by matrons, while the young men were justly punished with stripes and the axe. The contrast throughout is between the slave and the aristocrats. What Juvenal says about the scourge or axe is put into prose by Heinrich thus: "at illos prima lex justis poenis affecit per verbera et securim." This gives the meaning. Juvenal says the blows and the axe were the first ordered by the 'leges,' which name therefore he refuses to the king's laws. Under the republic 'leges' properly were only such laws as were passed at the 'comitia centuriata' or 'tributa.' Hor. Epp. i. 16. 41, n..

270. *Vulcaniaque arma capessas,*] 'And handle the armour of Vulcan as he did.' As Heinrich says, 'similiter' may be supplied from 'similis.' As to this armour which Hephaestus made for Achilles at the instance of Thetis, see Il. xviii. 369, sqq.

272. *Et tamen, ut longe repetas*] 'And yet be what you may, trace back your name as far as you can, still you can but get back to Romulus' asylum,' which Livy says was the first foundation of the Roman power: "Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine liber an servus esset avida novarum rerum profugit; idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit" (Livy, i. 8). Niebuhr denies that "in ancient times this rabble can have been conceived

to have formed any considerable part of the population, for the asylum was a small enclosure on the Capitoline hill, and could only afford protection within its precincts" (vol. i. p. 227, note), as if any one would suppose that men lived in the asylum all their days. They took refuge there till assured of protection, and then left it. 'Revolvas' has reference to a scroll on which a man's pedigree might be written, a 'stemma' (v. 1). He calls the Romans 'Latii pastores' in S. ii. 127. He says the founder of this man's family may have been lower than that.

SATIRA IX.

INTRODUCTION.

This satire will not be read with any pleasure. It is nevertheless written with much power. It is a dialogue between two acquaintances, one of whom has been making a livelihood by the vilest services rendered to effeminate men. His friend expresses surprise at his melancholy appearance, which he explains by the scantiness of his wages and the hopelessness of his prospects. The humour and severity of the satire consist in the gravity of the man's complaints against Fortune and against his filthy employer, whom he upbraids with meanness and reproachfully reminds of the great services he had rendered him, particularly in getting him children, which he was unable to get for himself. The character of injured innocence and unrequited industry which the man acts throughout, and the affected seriousness of the friend's sympathy and counsel, are sufficiently amusing. But the subject is disgusting, and only the surpassing iniquity of the age could have justified the author to himself for devoting another satire to it. I have given no argument.

Scire velim quare toties mihi, Naevole, tristis
Occurras fronte obducta ceu Marsya victus.
Quid tibi cum vultu qualem deprensus habebat
Ravola, dum Rhodopes uda terit inguina barba?
Nos colaphum incutimus lambenti crustula servo.
Non erat hac facie miserabilior Crepereius
Pollio, qui triplicem usuram praestare paratus
Circuit et fatuos non invenit. Unde repente
Tot rugae? certe modico contentus agebas

2. *fronte obducta ceu Marsya victus.*] Horace (Epod. xiii. 5) has "obducta solvatur fronte senectus." Marsyas was according to the common story a Phrygian shepherd, who having got possession of Athene's flute challenged Apollo to a musical contest. The victory was adjudged to Apollo, who flayed his adversary alive. The allusion here is to a statue of Marsyas with a very piteous face which was in the forum. To this Horace refers (S. i. 6. 120, &c., and the note):

"Surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya, qui se
Vultum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris."

5. *Nos colaphum incutimus*] This verse is nothing to the purpose. I have no doubt it is spurious, and so Heinrich judges. It is as old as the Scholiast; but it is evidently the work of a reader, and has got in from the margin. [Ribbeck omits it.]

6. *Crepereius Pollio,*] Pollio is men-

Vernam equitem, conviva joco mordente facetus
Et salibus vehemens intra pomeria natis.
Omnia nunc contra; vultus gravis, horrida siccae
Silva comae, nullus tota nitor in cute, qualem
Bruttia praestabat calidi tibi fascia visci,
Sed fruticante pilo neglecta et squalida crura.
Quid macies aegri veteris, quem tempore longo
Torret quarta dies olimque domestica febris?
Deprendas animi tormenta latentis in aegro
Corpore, deprendas et gaudia: sumit utrumque
Inde habitum facies. Igitur flexisse videris
Propositum et vitae contrarius ire priori.
Nuper enim, ut repeto, fanum Isidis et Ganymeden,

tioned below (xi. 43), if it be the same. He is here represented as going about to the money-lenders offering to give thrice the usual interest and not finding any one fool enough to trust him. The legal rate of interest was twelve per cent. per annum, or (as it was paid monthly) one per cent. per mensem, but more was often taken. See note on Hor. S. i. 2. 14: "Quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat." See Niebuhr (iii. 57), who says that the Romans got this rate of interest from the Greeks, and that it was not established till the time of Sulla.

10. *Vernam equitem,*] 'Verna' is here used in the sense of 'scurra,' a parasite and buffoon. See the words 'vernilis,' 'vernilitas,' in Forcellini. Martial, addressing a man of this sort, says (i. 42):

"Urbanus tibi, Caecili, videris:
Non es, crede mihi: quid ergo? verna es."

Ruperti says the man was son of an eques by a slave in his family, because Martial speaks of 'equitibus vernis' begotten on slave girls (i. 85). Juvenal means that the man was of equestrian family though he had not an equestrian fortune, and that he was in the habit of letting out his wit for the price of a dinner, which was the wages of a 'scurra.' His humour was of the home-bred kind, it had the stamp of city refinement upon it; like Horace's Maenius, of whom he says (Epp. i. 15. 26, sqq.):

"—— rebus maternis atque paternis
Fortitur absumptis urbanus coepit haberi,
Scurra vagus non qui certum praesepe teneret."

The 'pomerium,' as Livy describes it (i. 44), was a space on each side of the city wall which ought to have been left free from buildings. But it was not so in later times.

14. *Bruttia praestabat*] He says that he has no longer that fine complexion which he used to get by applying rouge or something of that sort to his face. 'Fascia' is a bandage, and 'viscum' is some sort of gummy substance, such as face washes or dyes were mixed with. 'Bruttia' belongs properly to the gum or whatever it was. Pliny (H. N. xvi. 11) says coagulated pitch was called 'Bruttia;' that this sort was much used for medicinal purposes, and that it had a red tinge (xxiv. 7). The name was from the Bruttii in the south of Italy, where it was got. He says the man had a forest of dry hair on his head and a shrubbery of the same on his legs.

16. *Quid macies aegri veteris,*] 'What means this leanness, as of a sick old man who at length is burning with a quartan, and with fever which has made him long its home?' like a man recovering from a fever, and in the first stage of recovery. (See note on S. iv. 57: "jam quartanam sperantibus aegris.") 'Aegri veteris' is like 'mollis avarus' (below, v. 38), 'veteres caecos' (vii. 170), 'nobilis indocti' (viii. 49), 'plurimus aeger' (iii. 232), 'dubii aegri' (xiii. 124), 'nocentibus aegris' (ib. 234). Both are adjectives: the man is sick and he is also old. 'Olim' for a long continuous time is used before, vi. 346.

19. *deprendas et gaudia:*] 'Aegro' applies only to the first clause, 'corpore' to both.

22. *Nuper enim, ut repeto,*] 'Repeto' means 'I remember.' 'Nuper' does not always mean that which was very lately, but in former years. Hor. Epod. ix. 7:

Pacis, et advectae secreta palatia Matris,
Et Cererem (nam quo non prostat femina templo?)
Notior Aufidio moechus celebrare solebas,
Quodque taces, ipsos etiam inclinare maritos.
  Utile et hoc multis vitae genus; at mihi nullum
Inde operae pretium. Pingues aliquando lacernas,
Munimenta togae, duri crassique coloris,
Et male percussas textoris pectine Galli
Accipimus, tenue argentum venaeque secundae.
Fata regunt homines; fatum est et partibus illis
Quas sinus abscondit. Nam si tibi sidera cessant,
Nil faciet longi mensura incognita nervi,
Quamvis te nudum spumanti Virro labello
Viderit et blandae assidue densaeque tabellae
Sollicitent; αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα κίναιδος.
Quod tamen ulterius monstrum quam mollis avarus?
"Haec tribui, deinde illa dedi, mox plura tulisti:"

"Ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
Dux fugit ustis navibus,"

where 'nuper' means six years before.

24. *quo non prostat*] See note on S. vi. 489: "Aut apud Isiacae potius sacraria lenae." There were statues of Ganymedes in the temples of Jupiter, which are meant here. The temple of Pax, which gave its name to the fourth region of the city, was built by Vespasian after the destruction of Jerusalem in what was previously called the Sacra Via. The temple of Cybele he calls 'palatia.' It was on Mons Palatinus. See note on S. ii. 111 and iii. 137, where the reason of her being called 'advectae,' imported, is explained. Aufidius must have been some notorious profligate. 'Celebrare' is 'to frequent.' P. has 'scelerare,' which Jahn [and Ribbeck] have taken into the text. Heinrich says it is a good word, but not suited to this place. 'Inclinare' is used in an obscene sense here and x. 224.

27. *Utile et hoc multis*] The man answers that this filthy trade had not been profitable to him: that while his master, Virro, had exacted from him his full amount of labour, he sometimes got a coarse cloak of bad material, like base metal, as a present for his pains, and that was all. As to 'lacerna' see i. 27, n., and Persius i. 54. Coarse textures, it appears, were imported from some parts of Gallia. See S. viii. 145. Martial sends a friend a cloak which he calls "Sequanicae pinguem textricis alumnam" (iv. 19). Elsewhere he says to a rich friend, "Te Cadmea Tyros, me pinguis Gallia vestit." 'Pecten' was a comb, the teeth of which were inserted between the threads of the warp to force the threads of the woof close together (see Dict. Ant., 'Tela'). For this insertion of the 'pecten' 'percutere' was the technical term. [Ribbeck omits v. 29.]

33. *si tibi sidera cessant,*] If your stars are not lucky, if they are behindhand as we sometimes say. He moralizes on his own ill luck. The whole of the front folds of the toga was called 'sinus,' though it generally was applied to the part that went over the breast.

37. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται] This is a parody of Homer (Odyss. xvi. 294): αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος, the very sight of steel draws the soldier to it. It is a proverbial way of speaking, and occurs again in the Odyssey (xix. 13).

38. *mollis avarus?*] 'An effeminate if he be a miser.' See above, v. 16, n. He complains how his master calculated the cost, how much he had given him, and how much he had done for it. 'An facile' &c. is his reply. The expression 'ponatur calculus' is taken from placing stones in the 'abacus;' which mode of calculating is explained with an engraving in Dict. Ant., art. 'Abacus.' There were 'calcula-

Computat ac cevet. "Ponatur calculus, adsint
Cum tabula pueri: numera: sestertia quinque
Omnibus in rebus: numerentur deinde labores."
An facile et pronum est agere intra viscera penem
Legitimum, atque illic hesternae occurrere coenae?
Servus erit minus ille miser qui foderit agrum
Quam dominum. Sed tu sane tenerum et puerum te
Et pulchrum et dignum cyatho caeloque putabas.
Vos humili asseculae, vos indulgebitis unquam
Cultori, jam nec morbo donare parati?
En cui tu viridem umbellam, cui succina mittas
Grandia, natalis quoties redit aut madidum ver
Incipit, et strata positus longaque cathedra
Munera femineis tractat secreta Kalendis!

tores,' accountants, in large establishments to help the 'procurator,' who was the head manager of the property, and the 'dispensator,' who was steward of the household.

46. *Sed tu sane*] This is also to his master. "But you thought yourself a Ganymede whose favours are enough without payment. How much would you and your like give to a client who will give nothing even to him who ministers to your passions?" The full form 'assecula' (assecla) is only used here, unless it be the true reading in Cic. pro P. Sestio, c. 64. It has the same root as 'sequor,' and means a follower. 'Cultor' has the same meaning. 'Morbo' is his lust, and is put for the man who serves his lust. Juvenal has "qui vultu morbum incessuque fatetur" (ii. 17, where see note), and "morbo pallet utroque" (ii. 50), where corrupt passions are meant, as in Horace, C. i. 37. 9: "Contaminato cum grege turpium Morbo virorum." Seneca (Ep. 83), speaking of drunkenness, says in that state "impudicus morbum confitetur ac publicat," and Catullus says (C. lvii. quoted by Mitscherlich on Hor. l. c.):

"Pulchre convenit improbis cinaedis
Mamurrae pathicoque, Caesarique.—
Morbosi pariter, gemelli utrique."

The word does not appear to have been used in this sense generally in Cicero's time, for he says (Tusc. Qu. iii. 4): "Num reliquae quoque perturbationes animi, formidines, libidines, iracundiae? haec enim fere sunt ejusmodi quae Graeci πάθη appellant; ego poteram morbos, et id verbum esset e verbo; sed in consuetudinem nostram non caderet: nam misereri, invidere, gestire, laetari, haec omnia morbos Graeci appellant motus animi rationi non obtemperantes; nos autem hos eosdem motus concitati animi recte ut opinor perturbationes dixerimus: morbos autem non satis usitate;" on which Gronovius observes "postea usitatius factum" (on Sen. de Ben. i. 14, "morbo suo morem gessit," a long note which enters largely into the use of this word). 'Jam' is used for emphasis as the Greeks used δή. [Ribbeck omits vv. 48, 49.]

50. *En cui tu viridem*] This is a burst of scorn connected with vv. 46, 47. "See (says the man) a delicate creature to whom you may send presents on his birthday or on the Kalends of March." 'Tu' is any one who wants to use him. He speaks of Virro as if he were a woman. Roman women, like the Greek, used parasols very commonly, carried usually, but not always, by a slave as in the East (see Dict. Ant.). As to 'succina' see vi. 573, n.; and as to 'cathedra' see i. 65, n. What he calls 'femineis Kalendis' were the Kalends of March when the Maternalia were held, a feast at which women received presents from their husbands (see note on Hor. C. iii. 8: "Martiis coelebs quid agam Kalendis"). The MSS. with one exception have 'tractas' (v. 53), and Heinrich has that reading and defends it. I think 'tractat,' which is in a Paris MS. of the ninth century and in Servius' quotation of this verse on Aen. viii. 638, is the right word. The person represented is the man counting over all his private presents as a woman would do, reclining in a woman's 'cathedra.'

Dic, passer, cui tot montes, tot praedia servas
Appula, tot milvos intra tua pascua lassos?
Te Trifolinus ager fecundis vitibus implet
Suspectumque jugum Cumis et Gaurus inanis.
Nam quis plura linit victuro dolia musto?
Quantum erat exhausti lumbos donare clientis
Jugeribus paucis? meliusne hic rusticus infans,
Cum matre et casulis et collusore catello,

54. *Dic, passer, cui tot montes,*] 'Passer,' like the Greek στρουθός, is used (here only) for an impure person. Sparrows were proverbial. Pliny says of them, "Passeri minimum vitae, cui salacitas par" (H. N. x. 36), and Cicero, speaking of sensual pleasure, says, "voluptas quae passeribus nota est omnibus a nobis intelligi non potest?" (De Fin. ii. 23.) This man, still abusing his miserly master, asks whom he is keeping his large property for? so many hills clothed with vines, such large farms in Apulia, pastures so wide that it would weary a hawk's wing to fly over them.

Forcellini says that Trifolium was a hill in Campania, near Naples. I do not know his authority. Martial puts this wine low:

"Non sum de primo, fateor, Trifolina Lyaeo,
Inter vina tamen septima vitis ero"
(xiii. 114),

and Galen (Athen. i. 24, quoted on this passage of Martial by Farnabius, who says that Trifolium was near Sinuessa) gives this wine the same rank. Pliny ranks it among plebeian wines: "Campania nuper excitavit novis nominibus auctoritatem, sive cura sive casu; ad quartum a Neapoli lapidem Trebellicis, juxta Capuam Caulinis et in suo ágro Trebulanis; alioqui semper inter plebeia et Trifolinis gloriata" (H.N. xiv.6), where the commentators do not agree whether 'Trifolinis' is the name of a place or of a particular kind of grape, but Juvenal's words decide that point. The range of hills looked up to by Cumae is that which lay between the Phlegraei Campi and the Sinus Cumanus. Heinrich thinks the true reading is 'subjectum' in the sense of 'vicinum,' quoting Tacitus (Ann. xv. 9): "subjecti campi." I think Juvenal would have said 'vicinum' if that was his meaning. Mons Gaurus (Monte Barbaro) is about three miles from Cumae, and bore vines equal to almost any in Campania. The meaning of 'inanis' is doubtful. It may mean, as Mr. Long has suggested to me, that he had got all the wine of Gaurus and there was none left. Athenaeus (i. p. 26, quoted by Heinrich) says the vine land of Gaurus was καὶ ὀλίγος καὶ κάλλιστος. Heinrich, therefore, explains 'inanis' by 'minus uber, infecundus.' The Scholiast says it means 'nuper exhaustus transacto vindemiarum tempore,' or else that the place was empty of all trees but vines. Others take it to mean that the mountain was hollow, being an extinct volcano. I think the general character of the mountain is expressed, and that it was bare except when the vines were out. The 'dolium' was a large vessel in which new wine (mustum) was put to ferment, and from which, if intended for keeping, it was afterwards drawn off into the 'cadus' or 'amphora.' This is sufficiently well known, but Ruperti says "*dolia*, cados: *linit*, eorum corticem pice vel cera et gypso oblinit." The 'dolium' had no cork or bung; it was an open vessel of clay, the outside of which was smeared with a coat of pitch. 'Victuro' means that the wine was of the best sort and would be kept long before it was drunk. The wine Horace drew on the anniversary of his escape from the fall of a tree was upwards of forty years old (see note on C. iii. 8. 12).

58. *Nam quis plura linit*] This is equivalent to asking "who has so much or such good wine as you?"

60. *meliusne hic rusticus infans,*] He asks if his master would do well to leave such and such a farm (which he describes by its inmates, a boy, his mother, and his dog, together with the huts on the estate) as a legacy to his friend the priest rather than to himself who had exhausted his strength in his service? 'Cymbala pulsantis' sufficiently describes the friend to be a priest of Cybele, such as Peribomius (S. ii. 16, n.). This man was of the same kind with him who lay drunk with his drum by his side in S. viii. 176.

Cymbala pulsantis legatum fiet amici?
"Improbus es quum poscis," ait. Sed pensio clamat,
Posce; sed appellat puer unicus, ut Polyphemi
Lata acies, per quam sollers evasit Ulixes.
Alter emendus erit, namque hic non sufficit: ambo
Pascendi. Quid agam bruma spirante? quid, oro,
Quid dicam scapulis puerorum Aquilone Decembri
Et pedibus? "Durate atque exspectate cicadas?"
Verum, ut dissimules, ut mittas cetera, quanto
Metiris pretio quod ni tibi deditus essem
Devotusque cliens, uxor tua virgo maneret?
Scis certe quibus ista modis, quam saepe rogaris,
Et quae pollicitus. Fugientem saepe puellam
Amplexu rapui: tabulas quoque ruperat et jam
Signabat. Tota vix hoc ego nocte redemi,
Te plorante foris. Testis mihi lectulus et tu,
Ad quem pervenit lecti sonus et dominae vox.

63. *Improbus es quum poscis,*] 'Improbus' is here importunate and without shame, as in S. iv. 106. It sometimes is used for 'persevering' in a good sense, as in Virg. Georg. i. 145: "labor omnia vicit Improbus." 'Pensio' means here houserent. It is used for any periodical payment, as rent, interest, &c. He says his necessities bid him, with a voice louder than the Cyclops', ask for payment. 'Polyphemi lata acies' means Polyphemus with his big eye. Horace has several such phrases. See note on S. i. 2. 32: "sententia dia Catonis." 'Crispi jucunda senectus' (S. iv. 81) is the same sort of expression. 'Per quam' means 'by putting out which.' The roaring of the Cyclops was terrible.

"Clamorem immensum tollit, quo pontus et omnes
Contremuere undae, penitusque exterrita tellus
Italiae, curvisque immugiit Ætna cavernis."

This is Virgil's description (Aen. iii. 672, sqq.) imitated from Homer (Odyss. ix. 395). The interpretation of F. Didot, quoted with approval by Ruperti, is too absurd to be repeated. A great deal of nonsense has been written about Polyphemus' eye, which they who choose may read in Holyday's note.

67. *Quid agam bruma spirante?*] He says he shall have to buy another slave, and then feed and clothe two instead of one; then what is he to say to them when the winter winds begin to blow and their shoulders and feet are bare? must he tell them to bear it as they could, and wait for the return of the 'cicada,' that is till the warm weather comes back? 'Decembri' is an adjective, as Horace uses it, S. ii. 7. 4: "libertate Decembri."

70. *Verum, ut dissimules,*] "Suppose that you say nothing about and pass by my other services, at how much do you estimate this?" He then goes on to say that but for him his master's wife would have left him in disgust and he would have been childless. 'Ista' means that request of yours. 'Saepe' belongs to 'fugientem,' and means that she had repeatedly avoided her husband. 'Puella' is used for a wife, as in Horace, C. iii. 14. 10: "Vos, o pueri, et puellae Jam virum expertae." As to 'dominae' (v. 78) in the same sense, see note on Hor. C. ii. 12. 13. He says the woman had gone so far as to break her marriage tablets (S. ii. 119, n.: "Signatae tabulae"), and was on the point of signing others, that is she had divorced her husband for inability to discharge a husband's duty, and was on the point of marrying another man. [Ribbeck has removed vv. 79, 80 from the text, and placed them at the bottom of his page with the reading 'servavit,' which Jahn also has. In v. 83 Ribbeck has 'quod' in place of 'vel.']

Instabile ac dirimi coeptum et jam paene solutum
Conjugium in multis domibus servabit adulter.
Quo te circumagas? quae prima aut ultima ponas?
Nullum ergo meritum est, ingrate ac perfide, nullum,
Quod tibi filiolus vel filia nascitur ex me?
Tollis enim et libris actorum spargere gaudes
Argumenta viri. Foribus suspende coronas,
Jam pater es: dedimus quod famae opponere possis;
Jura parentis habes, propter me scriberis heres,
Legatum omne capis, nec non et dulce caducum.
Commoda praeterea jungentur multa caducis
Si numerum, si tres implevero.—Justa doloris,
Naevole, causa tui. Contra tamen ille quid affert?—
Negligit atque alium bipedem sibi quaerit asellum.

81. *Quo te circumagas?*] He asks his master which way he will turn (for an answer), how he will arrange his argument in reply? 'Quae prima aut ultima ponas' Heinrich says is taken from the arrangement of the 'calculi' at draughts or some such game.

84. *Tollis enim*] "For you rear them (the children I beget) and are pleased to publish in the news the proofs of your manhood." Births and deaths were published in the news, as with us (see S. ii. 136). As to 'tollere' see S. vi. 38, n. He tells him he may hang flowers before his door in rejoicing for the birth of a child: the practice therefore was not confined to weddings. See vi. 51: "Necte coronam Postibus et densos per limina tende corymbos."

86. *Jam pater es:*] By the Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea (Dict. Ant., 'Juliae Leges'), which was a law giving certain advantages to married persons, a man who had no children (orbus), if he was above twenty-five and under sixty, could only take half of an 'hereditas' or 'legatum.' The rest became 'caducum,' and fell to the 'heredes' or 'legati' under the will who had children, under certain limitations of consanguinity. Failing any such claimants the money went to the public treasury (aerarium) (Dict. Ant., 'Bona caduca'). The man who had children had 'jura parentis' or 'jus liberorum,' which was sometimes given as a favour to those who were 'orbi.' The man tells his master it was all owing to him that, not being 'orbus,' he could be made 'heres ex asse,' that is heir to an entire property, that he could take a legacy without forfeiting half, and moreover could take a 'caducum' forfeited by any other 'heres' or legatee. The 'jus trium liberorum' applied to those who had three children living at Rome, and exempted them from the office of tutor or curator. In the election of magistrates he who had most children had a claim on that account to be preferred to one who had fewer, and so in the allotment of provinces. Likewise a candidate for office who was under the legal age was allowed one year for each child if he had three or more. All these advantages the man says he can secure his master when he shall have got him three children (Aul. Gell. ii. 15, Conradi's note). Martial not having three children by his wife prayed Domitian to give him 'jus trium liberorum' and got it, whereupon he put away his wife, or wrote as if he meant to do so:

"Natorum mihi jus trium roganti
Musarum pretium dedit mearum
Solus qui poterat. Valebis, uxor:
Non debet domini perire munus."
(ii. 92.)

Pliny the Younger got the same privilege granted him by Trajan, for which he wrote the emperor a letter of earnest thanks (x. 2).

90. *Justa doloris,*] His friend keeps up the gravity of the dialogue, and pretends to sympathize with the ill-used man.

92. *alium bipedem sibi quaerit asellum.*] This, which sounds equivocal, is plain enough in the original. He gets himself another, a two-legged ass. Another familiar instance is in the New Testament:

Haec soli commissa tibi celare memento,
Et tacitus nostras intra te fige querelas;
Nam res mortifera est inimicus pumice levis.
Qui modo secretum commiserat ardet et odit,
Tanquam prodiderim quidquid scio. Sumere ferrum,
Fuste aperire caput, candelam apponere valvis
Non dubitat. Nec contemnas aut despicias, quod
His opibus nunquam cara est annona veneni.
Ergo occulta teges, ut curia Martis Athenis.
  O Corydon, Corydon, secretum divitis ullum
Esse putas? Servi ut taceant, jumenta loquentur
Et canis et postes et marmora. Claude fenestras,
Vela tegant rimas, junge ostia, tollite lumen
E medio (clamant omnes), prope nemo recumbat;
Quod tamen ad cantum galli facit ille secundi

ἤγοντο δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι δύο κακοῦργοι σὺν αὐτῷ ἀναιρεθῆναι (Luke xxiii. 32), there were led two others who were malefactors to be crucified with him. But the man uses words which may be taken against himself.

95. *inimicus pumice levis.*] He begs his friend not to repeat what he has said lest it should come round to his master; for such lewd persons are spiteful and deadly enemies. As to 'pumice levis' see note on S. viii. 16. The man's alarm is amusing, and so is the serious answer of his friend, who keeps up his fears.

96. *Qui modo secretum commiserat*] He says that when a man has made another the depositary of his secret iniquities, he begins to hate him immediately, and to think he has betrayed him: accordingly he is ready to cut the other to pieces, to break his head or set fire to his house ('valvis,' his door, xiii. 146, n.), and (he adds) we must not overlook the fact that these rich people ('opibus' is used for 'divitibus,' the thing for the person) will give any thing for poison to get rid of an enemy. Horace has "Vilis amicorum est annona bonis ubi quid deest" (Epp. i. 12. 24), and that sort of expression seems to have been proverbial. Umbricius says of the Greek interlopers who got into families, "Scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri" (S. iii. 113). [Ribbeck omits 'nec contemnas aut despicias quod his opibus.']

101. *ut curia Martis Athenis.*] The Areopagus was called ἡ ἄνω βουλὴ after the constitution of Solon, to distinguish it from the council of 500, which was called simply βουλή. Hence Juvenal calls it 'curia.' Before Solon's time it was only a court of justice. He gave it certain political and other functions, and made it a deliberative assembly. The proceedings were conducted with closed doors, and the members were sworn to secrecy.

102. *O Corydon, Corydon,*] The friend will not let Naevolus off so easily, but calls him a foolish fellow for thinking that any thing a rich man does can be kept secret. Suppose the servants hold their tongue, the very beasts, door-posts, stones will cry out. This was a proverbial way of speaking. Ovid (Met. ii. 696) has "Tutus eas; lapis iste prius tua furta loquetur." The commentators on Luke xix. 40, *ἐὰν οὗτοι σιωπήσωσιν οἱ λίθοι κεκράξονται*, quote other examples. "The stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it," is our translation of the prophet Habakkuk (ii. 11). Juvenal imitates Virgil's "O Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit?" (Ecl. ii. 69.)

105. *tollite lumen*] Some MSS. and old editions have 'tollito,' and Ruperti and Achaintre have that form. But as Heinrich observes, the change of number is not unusual, and the probability is that 'tollito' is a copyist's correction. The MSS. have all 'clamant' or 'clament,' except P., which has 'taceant.' Henninius and others have followed Pithoeus in adopting this reading. [Jahn has 'e medio iaceant;' and Ribbeck 'fac eant.']

107. *ad cantum galli*] 'Gallicinium' was the time of cock-crowing, and was from

Proximus ante diem caupo sciet: audiet et quae
Finxerunt pariter librarius, archimagiri,
Carptores. Quod enim dubitant componere crimen
In dominos, quoties rumoribus ulciscuntur
Baltea? Nec deerit qui te per compita quaerat
Nolentem et miseram vinosus inebriet aurem.
Illos ergo roges quidquid paullo ante petebas
A nobis; taceant illi: sed prodere malunt
Arcanum quam surrepti potare Falerni
Pro populo faciens quantum Saufeia bibebat.

three to four in the morning. The first crowing was at midnight. Between the time called 'gallicinium' and the rising of the sun (ante diem) was called 'diluculum.' In the Gospels of Matthew and Luke our Lord says to Peter, "Before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice." Mark, writing at Rome and for Romans (as is supposed), makes our Lord say, "Before the cock crow twice." The time meant is the same, that is the hour at which the cock crows the second time, which was conventionally understood as the hour of cock-crowing. Aristophanes describes the same hour as that *ὅτε τὸ δεύτερον ἀλεκτρύων ἐφθέγγετ'* (Eccl. 390). St. Mark (xiii. 35) divides the night into four parts, *ὀψὲ, μεσονύκτιον, ἀλεκτοροφωνία, πρωΐ*, which was a Roman division. 'Ante diem' means before the natural day of twelve hours, which began at sunrise and ended at sunset. The civil day of twenty-four hours began after midnight, as with us. Holyday quotes from the *Poetical Husbandry* of Tusser, whom he calls "our English Varro for rural knowledge," the following doggerel:

"Cock croweth at midnight times few above six,
With pause to his fellow to answer betwixt;
At three o'clock thicker; and then as you know,
Like all unto matins, near day they do crow,
At midnight, at three, and an hour yer day,
They utter their language as well as they may."

108. *audiet et quae Finxerunt*] The host of the nearest tavern will hear of it, and also the lies with which it will be embellished by the servants. The 'librarius' was also called 'scriba,' and was employed in writing for his master and taking care of his library (Hor. Epp. ii. 2. 5, n., and above, S. vi. 476, n.). 'Archimagirus' (*ἀρχιμάγειρος*) was the chief cook. 'Carptores' were carvers, otherwise called 'scissores,' and sometimes 'structores' (see S. v. 120, n.). "What charges will they not trump up against their master, while with lies they revenge themselves for the strappings they get?" 'Baltea,' leathern girdles, were convenient instruments of punishment and always at hand.

113. *vinosus inebriet aurem.*] This is a curious expression. He says, Besides the slaves, some tipsy fellow is sure to look out for you in the street, though you would gladly avoid him and drench your ear with his gossip. He uses 'inebriet' because it suits the occasion. Forcellini explains it by "impleat, garrulitate obtundat, ut ebrii solent."

116. *quam surrepti potare Falerni*] The genitive depends upon 'tantum' understood. See x. 13; xiii. 31. He says, You had better therefore ask of them what you just now asked of me: bid them hold their peace: but they would rather betray a secret than drink as much stolen wine (the sweeter, Ruperti says, because it is stolen) as Saufeia drank at the rites of Bona Dea. This same name occurs in connexion with these rites in S. vi. 320. There are variants in the MSS. Laufeia, Laufela, Laufella, here and in the other place. 'Pro populo faciens' means that she was assisting at the sacrifice for the people which the Vestals offered at the rites of Bona Dea. It was just at that time that Clodius intruded on the rites, as noticed on S. vi. 337. Cicero writing to Atticus (i. 13) says, "Credo te audisse cum apud Caesarem pro populo fieret venire eo muliebri vestitu virum, idque sacrificium cum virgines instaurassent mentionem a Q. Cornificio in senatu factam." See also the 12th letter of the same book and the spurious speech De

Vivendum recte est cum propter plurima tum his
Praecipue causis, ut linguas mancipiorum
Contemnas: nam lingua mali pars pessima servi.
Deterior tamen hic qui liber non erit illis
Quorum animas et farre suo custodit et aere.
  Idcirco ut possim linguam contemnere servi,
Utile consilium modo sed commune dedisti:
Nunc mihi quid suades post damnum temporis et spes
Deceptas? Festinat enim decurrere velox
Flosculus angustae miseraeque brevissima vitae
Portio: dum bibimus, dum serta, unguenta, puellas
Poscimus, obrepit non intellecta senectus.
  Ne trepida: nunquam pathicus tibi deerit amicus
Stantibus et salvis his collibus; undique ad illos
Convenient et carpentis et navibus omnes
Qui digito scalpunt uno caput. Altera major

Domo, c. 29, Long's note. This use of 'facere' with or without 'sacra' or 'rem divinam' is not uncommon. See Cic. pro Murena (sub fin.): "Junonis Sospitae, cui omnes consules facere necesse est."

118. *tum his*] There is some variation in the readings here, as might be expected. 'Tum his' is that of the best MSS. except P., which has 'tunc est,' and Jahn [and Ribbeck] adopt that reading. In S. v. 10 there is 'possis cum honestius,' where the syllable is not cut off, but is short (see note). Here it is long, and Heinrich quotes Tibullus (i. 5. 33): "Et tantum venerata virum hunc sedula curet."

121. *Deterior tamen hic*] He says, though gossiping slaves are very bad, he is worse who is the slave of those whom he maintains. As to the slave's allowance see note on 'epimenia' in S. vii. 120.

123. *Idcirco ut possim*] Here Naevolus replies, though it is probable this verse is spurious, as Heinrich and Pithoeus before him judged it to be. P. has it after v. 118, with 'possis' [and Jahn puts it in the same place with the reading 'possis.' Ribbeck places vv. 118, 119, and also 120—124 at the bottom of his page under the text, with the variations 'tunc est,' 'cave sis' for 'causis,' and 'nec' for 'nam.' Jahn thinks that vv. 120, 121 are spurious]. Naevolus tells his counsellor that his advice is good, but too general; now he wants to know what he had better do to redeem his lost time and make up for his disappointments, since the prime of life is passing and age is insensibly creeping on while he is wasting his time. He expresses himself in very poetical verses, which Juvenal could write when he pleased, as most men can who have a vigorous hold of their own language and of truth.

131. *Stantibus et salvis his collibus;*] This is equivalent to "Incolumi Jove et urbe Roma" (Hor. C. iii. 5. 12). 'Carpentis et navibus' is another way of saying by sea and land, like "Navibus atque Quadrigis petimus bene vivere" (Hor. Epp. i. 11. 28). "Qui digito scalpunt uno caput" was a proverb for persons of effeminate habits. Plutarch says that Clodius, attacking Pompeius in an assembly of the people, asked the crowd such questions as these: τίς ἐστιν αὐτοκράτωρ ἀκόλαστος; τίς ἀνὴρ ἄνδρα ζητεῖ; τίς ἑνὶ δακτύλῳ κνᾶται τὴν κεφαλήν; (vit. Pomp. c. 48, fin.) See Long's note on Cic. pro P. Sestio, c. 55: "Cantorum convicio." In Seneca (Controv. iii. 19) a distich of Calvus' on Pompeius is preserved:

"Fasciola qui crura ligat, digito caput uno
    Scalpit, quid credas hunc sibi velle virum?"

133. *Altera major Spes superest:*] He tells him gravely there is hope of his having a still better business, and he has only to go on eating stimulants till it falls in. 'Eruca,' is the rocket, a vegetable eaten as a provocative of appetite and lust. See Hor. S. ii.

Spes superest: tu tantum erucis imprime dentem.—
Haec exempla para felicibus: at mea Clotho
Et Lachesis gaudent si pascitur inguine venter.
O parvi nostrique Lares, quos ture minuto
Aut farre et tenui soleo exorare corona,
Quando ego figam aliquid quo sit mihi tuta senectus
A tegete et baculo? viginti millia fenus
Pignoribus positis, argenti vascula puri
Sed quae Fabricius Censor notet, et duo fortes
De grege Moesorum, qui me cervice locata

S. 51, n. The man answers that these lessons are very well for the rich and lucky, but his destiny is satisfied if he can fill his belly by his obscene gains.

137. *O parvi nostrique Lares,*] The satire is well kept up. The man calls piteously and piously upon his Lares, and asks when he shall lay by a little competence to retire upon; and concludes in despair of ever realizing even his modest expectations, through the cruelty of Fortune who is deaf to his prayers. 'Parvi nostrique' means that they are small and such as become his condition. He reminds his Lares of his frequent sacrifices, which are those of a poor man, like the offerings of Horace's Phidyle:

> "Si thure placaris et horna
> Fruge Lares. . . .
> Parvos coronantem marino
> Rore deos fragilique myrto.
>
> * * *
>
> Mollivit aversos Penates
> Farre pio et saliente mica."
> (C. iii. 23.)

'Figam' is a metaphor from hunting, as Ruperti says. 'Tegete et baculo,' a rug (v. 8) and staff, are the marks of a beggar.

140. *viginti millia fenus*] The demands he goes on to make are not very modest, though he thinks they are so, considering how much he has done to earn them: a capital which shall be put out upon mortgage and bring him in twenty thousand sesterces, a few small vessels of plain silver, two stout bearers to carry him to the Circus, with an engraver and a modeller, and with these he will be content, for he expects of course always to be a poor man. About 170,000 sesterces would be the capital he asks for, if his interest was 'legitimum,' that is twelve per cent., a considerable fortune to make by such a trade, and though it was less than half the equestrian, he could make up his mind to be satisfied. 'Argenti puri' is unchased silver (x. 19).

142. *Sed quae Fabricius Censor notet,*] This is the celebrated C. Fabricius Luscinus who was opposed to Pyrrhus. In B.C. 275 he was Censor, and distinguished himself by the severity of his proceedings for putting down luxurious habits. In particular he and his colleague, Q. Aemilius Papus, are said to have degraded a senator, P. Cornelius Rufinus, who had been dictator and twice consul, for having in his possession for use at his table (coenae gratia) ten pounds' weight of silver (Livy, Epit. 14; Gell. iv. 8; xvii. 21). 'Notare' is the technical word for the censor's mark (Hor. S. i. 6. 20, n.: "censorque moveret Appius"). Rufinus was removed "ob luxuriae notam" (Gell. l. c.). The man affects to want only plain silver cups, but they must be massive.

143. *De grege Moesorum,*] Moesia, which comprised the whole of modern Bulgaria and part of Servia lying along the south bank of the Danube and bounded on the south by M. Haemus, was reduced to a Roman province in the time of Augustus. It was afterwards, perhaps in the time of Trajan, divided into two provinces, Superior and Inferior. The stoutest slaves were got from Illyricum and the provinces on the Danube. Some MSS. have 'Medorum.' See note on vii. 132: "longo premit assere Medos." Two men were of course the smallest number that could carry a chair or palanquin, and they must needs be stout. The largest number was eight, and six was a common number. See S. i. 64: "sexta cervice feratur." 'Locata' is placed under the pole, if the reading be right. It is that of all the MSS. Heinrich would read 'locatum,' which Jahn has taken into the text. Ruperti suggests 'locantes.' 'Locatum' is simplest. 'Locata' can hardly

Securum jubeant clamoso insistere Circo.
Sit mihi praeterea curvus caelator, et alter
Qui multas facies fingit cito: sufficiunt haec,
Quando ego pauper ero. Votum miserabile, nec spes
His saltem: nam quum pro me Fortuna rogatur,
Affixit ceras illa de nave petitas
Quae Siculos cantus effugit remige surdo.

be right. He says he wants two bearers to carry him to the Circus and keep him safe from the crowd, through which he must make his way himself if he walked. If he were a rich man he would have besides his bearers 'anteambulones,' outrunners, who went before to clear the way.

145. *curvus caelator, et alter*] 'Curvus' means bent with stooping at his work. In the 'familia urbana,' among the slaves called generally 'literati,' wealthy Romans had various artists among whom were 'caelatores,' chasers in silver, and 'servi ab imaginibus,' whose business it was to model in wax. One of each of these was all this modest man desired; "for (says he) I must always expect to be poor." Pitiful prayer! (he cries in despair,) I have no hope even of these; for when I pray to Fortune she stops her ears with wax, like the crew of Ulysses when they passed the island of the Sirenes. Ulysses, by the advice of Circe, stopped his men's ears that they might not hear the song of these charmers (Odyss. xii. 173, sqq.). Homer places them in an island in the straits of Messina; and so Juvenal speaks of 'Siculos cantus.' [P., Jahn, and Ribbeck have 'pingit,' in place of 'fingit.' There is also a reading 'pingat.']

SATIRA X.

INTRODUCTION.

Though this satire takes general ground, the subject it treats of is brought home by examples and the mode of treatment to the generation in which it was written. In this respect as well as in caustic power, in brilliancy of language, in variety as well as originality, it is superior to the poem written in imitation of it by Dr. Johnson, and through which it is best known to the majority of English readers. The graphic and dramatic passage on the fortunes of Sejanus is tamely represented by the corresponding example of Wolsey; and the description of Charles of Sweden is a heavy substitute for that of Hannibal. No description of an imbecile old age ever came near that which is contained in this satire, and the pictures of Priam's death as it might have been and as it was are scenes which might be transferred to canvas. The language of Nestor at his son's funeral is very mournful. The serious lines at the end, though the thoughts they contain are not all original, are in Juvenal's best style, which is better than Horace's in dealing with grave subjects in serious language, as it is the style of a man in earnest, an impression which Juvenal always conveys, but Horace seldom. The relation of man to God is truly stated in the words 'Carior est illis homo quam sibi;' and the vigour of a manly heart is excellently described in half a dozen lines, 'Fortem posce animum,' &c.

The subject of the satire is the vanity of human wishes, which are seldom conceived in a reasonable spirit, and are generally shortsighted and impulsive, if not in themselves

bad. Money of course is the first and chief desire, but the poor are safest and happiest. Power has its terrible reverses, and they who mount highest fall farthest, of which Sejanus was an appalling instance. Eloquence is a fatal gift, as Demosthenes and Cicero found. Military virtue is a fiction: take away the prizes of war, glory and so forth, and the soldier's virtue would have no charms for the soldier. The conquerors of the world fill no more than a coffin at last, and they are themselves humbled by defeat. As to length of days it only multiplies sorrow; imbecility and humiliation are its portion, or the loss of all we hold dear. Better to die while we are happy and fortunate than live on to see trouble take the place of success. Beauty is only a snare, and ugliness is the best guardian of modesty. These are the points illustrated with a large number of familiar examples, and in language which makes this satire one of the most intelligible as well as most entertaining and instructive of all.

ARGUMENT.

In all the world there are but few can tell good from its opposite. When are our fears or hopes by reason guided? what wish when gained is not repented of? The gods, too kind, ruin whole houses at their own desire. In peace and war we pray for what must hurt us: the gift of eloquence or sinewy arms are fatal both alike.

V. 12. But more are choked with money and with care to swell their fathers' fortunes. For this in tyrannous times by Nero's bidding Longinus, Seneca, and Lateranus were shut up in their houses: guards are seldom set to watch a garret. The empty traveller sings in the robber's presence; carry a silver cup or two and you shall start at every reed that moves. But wealth is our first prayer; and yet no poison lurks in earthen mugs, 'tis in the jewelled cup and Setian wine you have to fear it.

V. 28. Did not the sages well then, one who laughed and one who wept whene'er he went abroad? Any can laugh, but where the other got his store of tears we well may wonder. Democritus could laugh for ever, yet those towns had no abuses like our own. Suppose he had seen the Praetor going to the Games in his tall chariot with Jove's tunic on, with folds of purple toga and great crown too big for any neck, borne by a slave placed at his side that he may know himself a man; an eagle on his ivory staff, on one side trumpeters, on the other friends and citizens in white, friends whom his dole makes such. Why even there he laughed at every turn, showing that men of mind are found even in dullest climes. He mocked the cares, the joys, sometimes the very tears of men, bade Fortune hang herself, and pointed at her.

V. 54. So all our prayers are idle or they're mischievous. Some by the envy which is linked with power, some by long rolls of honours are undone; their statues fall, triumphal chariots are hacked to pieces. The flames are crackling, see Sejanus burns, and from that face, second to only one, are pots and pans and kettles made. Rejoice! Sejanus through the streets is dragged and all are happy. "Look at his lips, his face: I never loved the man; but who accused him, how has the offence been proved?" "A wordy long epistle came from Capreae." "No more, I ask no more." But what of the rabble? They follow fortune and they hate the fallen. Had but the Tuscan prospered and taken the old man off his guard, that selfsame hour they had hailed him Emperor. We've grown indifferent since our votes were sold, and they who once gave all the honours now mind nothing but their belly and the Games. "I hear that many are to share his fate." "Of course; the fire is large; I met Brutidius looking rather pale: Ajax will be for punishing us all for not supporting him: let's run and tread upon the corpse and let the slaves be witness." This was what people whispered of Sejanus. Would you be bowed to as he was, and have his power, and be the guardian of a tyrant, living on a lonely rock, surrounded by astrologers? Of course

you like promotion, and why not? But what is rank if misery be its measure? Which would you rather take, Sejanus' toga or the rags of a country Aedile? He then, you must allow, knew not what he should ask: for he who prayed for too much power did only build himself a tower to fall the farther from. What ruined Crassus, Caesar, and Pompeius? The rank they sought by every art, and gods too prone to listen to their prayers. Few kings and tyrants die a natural death.

V. 114. Boys pray Minerva for Demosthenes' or Cicero's eloquence, and yet 'twas this that killed them. 'Twas Genius that lost its head and hands. Small pleaders never dyed the Rostra with their blood. Had he writ all as he wrote poetry, then Cicero might have mocked Antonius' swords. I'd rather be the author of his poems than of his famous speech. A cruel death was his too who held the reins of the full theatre before admiring Athens, whom with bad omens born his father sent to school from the forge.

V. 133. The spoils of war some count the height of human happiness: for this do all great captains rouse themselves. The thirst for fame is greater than for virtue: for take away her honours who would love her? The glory of a few then, thirsting for epitaphs to be inscribed upon their tomb till the fig splits it, has wrecked their country: tombs themselves must perish.

V. 147. Weigh Hannibal: how many pounds in that great general, whom Africa could not hold? He wins Hispania, leaps across the Pyrenees, and splits the Alps with vinegar. Now he's in Italy; that's not enough; he counts it nothing till he plants his flag in the streets of Rome. A glorious picture that, the one-eyed captain on his elephant! What was the issue then? O glory! he himself is beaten, sent into exile, and there sits at the king's door till he be pleased to wake. The soul that shook the world a ring laid low. Go, fool, and scale the Alps, that boys may learn to wonder and declaim.

V. 168. For Pella's boy one world was not enough: its narrow limits were to him as Gyarus or Seriphus: yet when he came to Babylon a coffin satisfied him. Death reveals how small we little men are.

V. 174. The credulous believe that Xerxes cut through Athos and all the lies of Greek historians: he bridged the sea and drank up rivers, flogged the winds and chained the Earth-shaker—how merciful not to have branded him! Sure any of the gods would be his slave! But how did he get back from Salamis? Why with one ship through seas choked with the corpses of his men. This was the penalty his glory found.

V. 189. "Give me long life, O Jove, and many years!" So unabashed and eagerly you pray. But age is full of ills: an ugly face, tough skin, cheeks flabby, wrinkles like a monkey. In youth there's some variety, old men are all alike: with trembling voice and limbs, bald head and running nose, and toothless gums, a burden to themselves and all about them. His taste is gone, of meat and drink I mean, for as to pleasure of another sort, that he has long forgot. The finest music gives him no enjoyment. What matter where he sits at the theatre? He cannot hear the very horns and trumpets. His slave must bawl when visitors are announced or when he tells him what's o'clock. The blood runs cold and scanty in his veins. A troop of all diseases dances round him: so numerous I could sooner reckon Hippia's lovers, Themison's victims, all the partners Basilus has cheated and all the wards Hirrus has robbed, how many villas my old barber has. One has the rheumatism, one the lumbago, one sciatica: this one is blind, that one is fed by others; he who would grin once at the sight of dinner, now gapes like a young swallow for his food. But worst of all is dotage that forgets its servants, friends, and children: makes a will and gives its money to a harlot. But though he keeps his senses he must see his friends all dying round him. This is the penalty of age, to pass its days in mourning for the dead.

V. 246. Nestor of course was happy, who lived to be as old almost as the crows. But see him mourning by Antilochus' pyre, asking what crime he had done that he should live so long. See Peleus weeping for Achilles, see Laertes mourning for his wandering son. Had Priam died before the war of Troy, his sons had carried him to burial with solemn rites and mourning women, his daughters at their head. What did he get by living? He saw all Asia fall by fire and sword, then put his armour on and ran to the altar like an old ox to perish. His death however was a man's: his wife survived him and she died a dog. But passing Pontus' king and Croesus and the lesson Solon gave him, look at Marius, exiled, imprisoned, swamped, and begging bread where he was late a victor. Who had been happier had he breathed his last when he came down from his triumphal chariot? Pompeius had a fever sent him, but the prayers of many towns prevailed, and so his fortune saved him to lose an army and his head. This Lentulus was spared, Cethegus too died whole, and Catilina fell no mangled carcass.

V. 289. Mothers will pray for beauty for their children. Why should they not? Lucretia bids us ask not for form like hers: Virginia would have changed with the hunchback girl. The parents of a handsome boy must always tremble, so seldom chastity and beauty go together: though he be trained with all simplicity, though nature guard him with a modest mind and blushing face, they will not suffer him to grow a man: lust will spare nothing, e'en to bribe his parents. The plain are never ravished. Then be not proud of your boy's looks. So much the greater dangers wait for him. A common paramour he'll soon become, with all the risks from jealous husbands who don't spare their rivals. First your boy shall play the lover with a dame he likes; but soon a richer, whom he likes not, shall seduce him and strip herself of all she has to give him. "But if he's chaste his beauty will not hurt him." Nay, did Hippolytus' virtue profit him, or did Bellerophon's? Rejection stung those women to revenge. Woman is then most savage when shame goads on revenge.

V. 329. How would you counsel Silius, when Messalina had resolved to marry him? The best and handsomest, a noble youth, is ravished to his death by the Empress' eyes. The veil is on her head, the bed prepared, the portion settled, and the auspices declared. Is it a private business? No, she must marry as becomes her state. Now make your choice, marry or die before the evening falls; marry and die when the Prince hears of it. You'll have a few days' interval, he'll be the last to learn his own disgrace: so do her bidding. Either way thy fair neck suffers for it.

V. 346. Must we then ask for nothing? Leave the gods themselves to settle what is good for us. They give us what is best, not pleasantest. We ask in the heat of passion for wife or children, and know not what they'll prove. But if you must pray, let it be for health, a healthy body and a healthy mind; stout heart that fears not death, but counts the end of life a gift of nature; able to bear its toils, patient, content, preferring Hercules' labours to lust and appetite and luxury. This you may give yourself; a tranquil life lies in the path of virtue. You want no god with Prudence at your side: 'tis we, 'tis we, make thee a goddess, Fortune, and set thee up in heaven.

OMNIBUS in terris quae sunt a Gadibus usque
Auroram et Gangen, pauci dignoscere possunt
Vera bona atque illis multum diversa, remota
Erroris nebula. Quid enim ratione timemus

3. *illis multum diversa,*] "True blessings from those things which are far different from true blessings;" which, as Heinrich observes, is an euphemism. 'The mist of error' is an expression common to all languages.

4. *Quid enim ratione timemus*] 'Ratione' is under the guidance of reason:

Aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis ut te
Conatus non poeniteat votique peracti?
Evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
Di faciles; nocitura toga, nocitura petuntur
Militia; torrens dicendi copia multis
Et sua mortifera est facundia; viribus ille
Confisus periit admirandusque lacertis.
Sed plures nimia congesta pecunia cura
Strangulat, et cuncta exsuperans patrimonia census
Quanto delphinis balaena Britannica major.
Temporibus diris igitur jussuque Neronis
Longinum et magnos Senecae praedivitis hortos

'dexter pes' Forcellini explains 'felix accessus, adventus boni ominis,' and quotes Virgil (Aen. viii. 302), "Et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo;" and Augustine (Epp. 44), "Nymphonio quid aliud significat quam boni pedis hominem, id est cujus adventus afferat aliquid felicitatis? sicut solemns dicere secundo pede introisse cujus introitum prosperitas aliqua consecuta sit." Juvenal asks therefore, "What do we either fear or desire with reason for our guide, or what purpose is ever so fortunately conceived as not to lead to disappointment?" Ruperti thinks there is some error, because no one ever heard of such a phrase as 'dextro pede concipere votum.' It is not 'concipere votum,' the meaning of which would be to utter a prayer in a set form of words. Many MSS. have 'concupis,' which is a clerical error. [Ribbeck has 'conripis.']

7. *optantibus ipsis*] That is by granting men their desires, which are shortsighted and sure to bring mischief (nocitura). The opposition of 'toga' and 'militia' is common. The particular ambition expressed in 'toga' is shown in what follows; it is public honours, to which men rise by their eloquence only to perish. 'Ille' refers to the soldier, not, I think, as the commentators following the Scholiast say, to Milo the athleta. This example would not be to the purpose. The perfect, 'periit,' has the sense of the aorist. The other dies because he trusts his own strength, and because men admire his arms. The final syllable of 'periit' is taken as long from its position in the verse, not "through contraction or hiatus," as Ruperti says. Contraction would not make the first syllable long. (See above, vi. 559, n.: "Magnus civis obit et formidatus Othoni.") 'Confidere' is commonly used in the sense of presumption (Horace, C. iii. 4. 50, n.: "Fidens juventus horrida brachiis"). A small number of MSS. have 'admirandus,' which Heinrich has adopted, I think rightly, but it is not important. All other editors have 'admirandis.' [Ribbeck in place of 'optantibus' has 'operantibus,' the reading of Cod. Bernensis 61. P. has 'op * tantibus.' We can hardly doubt that 'optantibus' is the true reading.]

13. *Strangulat,*] He says more still are choked by their heaps of money, their fortunes, which are as much larger than those their fathers left them as a whale is bigger than a dolphin. They heap up riches to their own destruction. There is a story of Midas' food turning to gold and choking him, which the old commentators say Juvenal may have had in mind. Whales probably came as far south as our island more commonly then than they do now. 'Tanto' is omitted before 'quanto,' as ix. 116; xiii. 31.

16. *Longinum et magnos Senecae*] Cassius Longinus was a jurist of eminence and a man of wealth, which he had got by inheritance and probably increased during his government of Syria. Nero coveted his money and was jealous of his reputation, and got a Senatus consultum passed by which he was banished to Sardinia A.D. 66: "Nullo crimine nisi quod opibus vetustis et gravitate morum praecellebat" (Tac. Ann. xvi. 7). Suetonius says he was put to death (see note on viii. 1), but he seems to have been mistaken. Ruperti says he means another of the same name, which is not likely. Longinus was recalled by Vespasian. The death of Seneca is referred to above (S. viii. 212, n.). Through the favour of Nero, who was his pupil, he acquired enormous wealth, which he offered to the emperor as a gift at a time when he

Clausit et egregias Lateranorum obsidet aedes
Tota cohors: rarus venit in coenacula miles.
Pauca licet portes argenti vascula puri,
Nocte iter ingressus gladium contumque timebis
Et motae ad lunam trepidabis arundinis umbram:
Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.
Prima fere vota et cunctis notissima templis
Divitiae, crescant ut opes, ut maxima toto
Nostra sit arca foro. Sed nulla aconita bibuntur
Fictilibus: tunc illa time, quum pocula sumes
Gemmata et lato Setinum ardebit in auro.
Jamne igitur laudas, quod de sapientibus alter

knew his enemies were successfully conspiring against him (Tac. Ann. xiv. 53, 54). Within four years of Nero's accession he was said to have amassed "ter millies sestertium" (Ann. xiii. 42), 300,000 sestertia, which is more than two and a half million sterling. He was returning from Campania and had stopped at his villa four miles from Rome when Gavius Silanus, tribune of the praetorian cohort, was sent by Nero to obtain his answer to the charge on which his life depended. The tribune entered while Seneca was at dinner with his wife and two friends, having first placed a guard round the house (Ann. xv. 60), which Juvenal here refers to. Plautius Lateranus, like Seneca, was put to death as a party to Piso's conspiracy against Nero. He was consul designatus. He had been condemned to death and pardoned, but degraded from the Senate by Claudius for an intrigue with Messalina. Nero had restored him to his rank (S. viii. 147). Juvenal applies to all three what only belongs properly to Seneca. Nothing at any rate is said elsewhere about the houses of the other two being surrounded with soldiers, who, he says, are seldom sent to 'coenacula' (S. iii. 166, 268, n.). The Laterani had a palace on Mons Coelius, the name if not the site of which is preserved in the Lateran.

19. *argenti vascula puri,*] This is repeated from ix. 141. 'Argentum purum' is silver without any figures or chasing. Therefore Cicero says the Haluntini, after Verres had taken off all the ornamental work from their vessels which were then returned to them, "excussis deliciis cum argento purodomum revertuntur" (In Verr. ii. 4. 23: see also c. 22, and Long's note). Riches, be they ever so small, keep a man in fear of his life: if one goes abroad with but a small cup or two he is afraid of the robber's sword and pike, and trembles at the shadow of every reed that moves in the moonlight, while the traveller whose hands and purse are empty sings carelessly in the very face of the robber. [In v. 20 Jahn and Ribbeck have 'umbras.']

23. *Prima fere vota*] "The first and most familiar prayers in all the temples are for money, that our wealth may grow and ours may be the largest chest in all the forum." He is not talking about the love of power, but the love of money. 'Opes' therefore here is simply wealth. Ruperti and Mr. Mayor distinguish them, quoting Cicero (de Am. c. 6): "Expetuntur divitiae ut utare, opes ut colaris, honores ut lauderis." 'Ut maxima toto nostra sit arca foro' means that each wishes to have the largest balance in his banker's hands. The 'argentarii' carried on their business in the forum. Those who had considerable deposits with them, it appears, had each their own cash-box.

27. *Setinum*] See above, S. v. 34, n. 'Ardebit' applies to the brightness of the wine, not its spirit, as Mr. Mayor says. It corresponds to φλέγειν (Heinrich).

28. *Jamne igitur laudas,*] "Do you not after this think it well that of the sages one," &c. The laugher was Democritus of Abdera; the weeper, Heracleitus. Concerning the former, who flourished at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., see notes on Hor. Epp. i. 12. 12; ii. 1. 194: "Si foret in terris rideret Democritus." Heracleitus flourished a little before Democritus, at Ephesus. "He is represented as being of a gloomy and melancholy temperament, which seems to have been the source of the bitter censures he passed upon the most illustrious of his fellow-citizens, and of his contempt generally for the business and pursuits of men" (Ritter's

Ridebat quoties de limine moverat unum
Protuleratque pedem, flebat contrarius alter?
Sed facilis cuivis rigidi censura cachinni;
Mirandum est unde ille oculis suffecerit humor.
Perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat
Democritus, quanquam non essent urbibus illis
Praetexta et trabeae, fasces, lectica, tribunal.
Quid si vidisset Praetorem curribus altis

Anct. Philosophy, vol. i. c. 6, Eng. Trans. See Diog. Laert. ix. c. 1 and 7). In Seneca (de Ira. ii. 10) is the following passage: "Heracleitus quoties prodierat et tantum circa se male viventium immo male pereuntium viderat flebat; miserabatur omnium qui sibi laeti felicesque occurrebant, miti animo sed nimis imbecillo: et ipse inter deplorandos erat. Democritum contra aiunt nunquam sine risu in publico fuisse; adeo nihil illi videbatur serium eorum quae serio gerebantur." [Ribbeck also compares a similar passage from Seneca, De Tranquillitate Animi c. 15; which he thinks that the writer of this Satire, whom he does not suppose to be Juvenal, may have read.] This was the popular tradition about these philosophers. The grounds of it may be traced in their respective characters and tenets, as they are given by Ritter. In v. 30 the reading of most of the MSS. is 'alter;' P. has 'auctor,' which would correspond to Horace's description of Pythagoras, "non sordidus auctor Naturae verique" (C. i. 28. 14). I think 'alter' is wanted here, to correspond with the other. [Jahn and Ribbeck have 'auctor.']

31. *Sed facilis cuivis rigidi*] He says any one can laugh; the only wonder is where the weeper got all his tears. 'Rigidi cachinni' is a hard sardonic laugh.

35. *Praetexta et trabeae,*] As to these, which were the togas worn by senators and magistrates, see S. viii. 259, n. He says in those cities in which Democritus spent his time and his wit (Democritus was a great traveller, see note on Hor. Epp. i. 12. 12) there were none of the great abuses of the present time, the iniquities and self-indulgence of the great and rich, and the corruption of justice. Horace says he would have laughed if he had seen the abuses of the theatre and the neglect of the legitimate drama, as we call it (Epp. ii. 1. 194).

36. *Praetorem curribus altis*] See S. viii. 194, n., and xi. 194. He is giving a mock description of the Ludi Circenses, which the praetor presided over. These were preceded by a grand procession, in which the praetor rode in a triumphal chariot with all the insignia of a triumph. What follows is a description of a triumph. 'Tunica Jovis' was a tunic worn only on triumphal occasions. It was kept in the Capitol, and therefore was called 'tunica Jovis.' It was also called 'tunica palmata,' either because it was embroidered with palm branches, or because, as Festus says, it had a stripe (clavus) a palm in breadth. 'Sarrana' is Tyrian, that is 'purple.' 'Pictae' is 'embroidered.' 'Aulaea' (properly used for curtains or hanging tapestry) is a satirical way of describing the large folds of the triumphal toga. Besides a crown of laurel which he wore on his head, a crown of gold set with jewels was carried in the chariot by a public slave. ('Servi publici' were slaves belonging to the state and employed for public purposes, of which attendance upon magistrates on official occasions was one. See Lips. Elect. i. 22.) Juvenal says the slave rode in the same chariot with the consul, of course (quippe) to lower his pride. Whether founded on these ironical words or some vulgar error, Tertullian states that the slave's business was to whisper certain words in the ear of the great man reminding him that he was a mortal (Apol. 33), which story has since been often repeated. Consul is substituted for praetor (v. 41), as more suited to a triumph. Consuls were called praetores in the earliest times of the republic. The person who triumphed carried an ivory sceptre in his left hand with an eagle at the top of it, and a branch of laurel in his right. 'Da nunc et' means 'add to this.' A band of trumpeters (cornicines) formed part of the procession, and the man's sons and principal friends, together with senators and other magistrates and military officers. By 'niveos' he means that their togas were white. On all festivals those who wished to make a respectable appearance sent their togas to the 'fullo' to have an extra whiten-

Exstantem, et medio sublimem in pulvere Circi
In tunica Jovis, et pictae Sarrana ferentem
Ex humeris aulaea togae, magnaeque coronae
Tantum orbem quanto cervix non sufficit ulla?
Quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus et, sibi Consul
Ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.
Da nunc et volucrem sceptro quae surgit eburno,
Illinc cornicines, hinc praecedentia longi
Agminis officia, et niveos ad fraena Quirites
Defossa in loculis quos sportula fecit amicos.
Tum quoque materiam risus invenit ad omnes
Occursus hominum, cujus prudentia monstrat
Summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos
Vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci.
Ridebat curas nec non et gaudia vulgi,
Interdum et lacrimas, quum Fortunae ipse minaci
Mandaret laqueum mediumque ostenderet unguem.
  Ergo supervacua aut perniciosa petuntur,
Propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum.

ing (see note on Hor. S. ii. 2. 60: "Ille repotia, natales aliosve dierum Festos albatus celebret"). 'Longi agminis officia' is equivalent to 'longum agmen officiosorum;' 'servitium,' 'conjugium,' 'remigium,' and other words are used in the same way. 'Officio fungi' was a common expression for attendance upon great people. Horace has 'officium facio' (Epp. i. 17. 21) and 'officiosa sedulitas' (Epp. i. 7. 8) in the same sense. The men who waited on the praetor were his friends in virtue of the dole they carried off every day (S. i. 95, n.). He says they buried it in their bag, on which Grangaeus has a note, adopted by Ruperti, that it was buried in the patron's purse as if in the earth; "facete et satirice in avaros."

47. *Tum quoque materiam*] "Even at that time he found material for laughter wherever he met with men, he whose wisdom shows," &c. The people of Abdera were proverbial for dulness, like the Boeotians. "Boeotum in crasso jurares aere natum" (Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 244, where see note). It appears that the stupidity of a people was commonly charged upon the dulness of their climate, which may make a difference, but has not generally much to do with the matter. "Abderitanae pectora plebis habes" is equivalent to saying "you are a fool" (Martial x. 25). 'Vervex,' a wether, was as commonly as a hog taken for the type of stupidity.

52. *Fortunae ipse minaci*] "He could laugh at the troubles of others, for even if Fortune threatened himself he could bid her go and be hanged, and point the finger of scorn at her." The middle finger was so used, and was commonly called 'famosus' in consequence, as the first was called 'index' and the third 'medicus.' See notes on Hor. S. ii. 8. 26, and Persius ii. 33.

54. *Ergo supervacua aut*] This is the reading of the MSS. with one exception, which has 'vel.' The editors have mended the verse in different ways; but it must be taken as an instance of caesural hiatus, of which there are many in Juvenal. [Ribbeck has 'aut ne perniciosa petantur,' with a note of interrogation after 'deorum,' which does not improve the passage.] 'Ergo' is, 'as I was saying, then,' or 'to proceed, then,' and he lays it down as a matter of experience that what men ask of the gods is generally useless or mischievous. He has given some instances, and he goes on to dwell on the vanity of power, as shown by the fate of those who have had it.

55. *Propter quae fas est*] Heinrich says this is a comic expression; they do it, and so they may if they please, nobody will prevent them. Ruperti wishes to substi-

Quosdam praecipitat subjecta potentia magnae
Invidiae; mergit longa atque insignis honorum
Pagina; descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur.
Ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis
Caedit, et immeritis franguntur crura caballis.
Jam stridunt ignes, jam follibus atque caminis
Ardet adoratum populo caput, et crepat ingens
Sejanus: deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
Fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, patellae.
Pone domi lauros, duc in Capitolia magnum

tute 'mos' for 'fas,' which is prosy and feeble. I suppose 'fas' only means that it is considered religious to do so. 'Incerare' is taken from the practice of writing prayers and vows on waxed tablets, and hanging them on the statue of the god to whom they were addressed. "Substitute saints for gods and the passage will accord with the practice in Catholic churches at this day" (Gifford). C. Valesius, followed by Ruperti, attributes to this practice the expression θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται (Odyss. i. 267). The common suppliant's position was embracing the knees. In Iliad vi. 303 the 'peplus' is laid upon the knees of Athenaea. Madvig suggested, and Jahn has adopted, 'incerate' for 'incerare,' putting a longer stop at 'petuntur.' The abruptness of the verse with this reading would be enough to condemn it, if there were no other objection.

58. *Pagina;*] The Scholiast explains this as a bronze tablet which is set up before these busts, and sets forth all their honours. Forcellini gives an instance of 'marmorea pagina.' 'Mergit' is 'drowns him,' as 'praecipitat' is 'throws him down head foremost.' As to 'descendunt statuae' see S. viii. 18: "Frangenda miseram funestat imagine gentem." 'Restemque sequuntur' is like Horace's "Tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem" (Epp. i. 10. 48). A spirited engraving of such a scene will be found in Retsch's Illustrations of Schiller's Lied von der Glocke. We have had reference before to triumphal chariots (S. vii. 125): "hujus enim stat currus aeneus, alti Quadrijuges in vestibulis;" and (viii. 3): "stantes in curribus Æmilianos."

61. *Jam stridunt ignes,*] He goes on to illustrate his case by the example of Sejanus. That man was son of Seius Strabo, commander of the praetorian troops, which brought him into early intimacy with Tiberius. From the time that Tiberius became emperor A.D. 14 till A.D. 31, Sejanus was his chief favourite and the adviser of some of his worst crimes. He was ambitious of the imperial power, and his designs became known to or suspected by Tiberius, who in A.D. 31 wrote from Capreae such a letter to the Senate concerning Sejanus as to lead to his execution. His statues were forthwith pulled down, his body was thrown down the Gemoniae (a precipice on the Aventine), torn to pieces by the populace, the small remains of it dragged about the streets, and then thrown into the Tiber. All that Juvenal says is borne out by Dion Cassius, l. 58. c. 11.

63. *ex facie toto orbe secunda*] Dion (58. 4) says that bronze statues were erected to Sejanus on an equality with Tiberius in every direction; they were represented in pictures together; gilded chariots were brought into the theatres in honour of both alike; they were voted joint consuls for five years; it was decreed that they should be met with equal honours whenever they entered Rome, and sacrifices were offered before the images of Sejanus as before those of Tiberius. Out of the bronze statues of the man so honoured Juvenal says were made little jugs, basins, kettles, and pans or platters. 'Patellae' (the diminutive form of 'patina') is the reading of nearly every MS., but 'matellae' is found in one, and the Scholiast seems to have had it, for he explains it by 'conchae breves aut vasa turpia.' 'Matella' is a chamber utensil [and 'matellae' is the reading of Jahn and Ribbeck].

65. *Pone domi lauros,*] This decorating the doors with wreaths was common, as we have seen, on joyful occasions. See S. vi. 51, where the occasion is a wedding; ix. 85, the birth of a child; and xii. 91, the return of a friend. The Scholiast quotes a line which Juvenal seems to have borrowed:

Cretatumque bovem: Sejanus ducitur unco
Spectandus: gaudent omnes. "Quae labra! quis illi
Vultus erat! nunquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi
Hunc hominem; sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
Delator? quibus indiciis, quo teste probavit?"
"Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistola venit
A Capreis." "Bene habet; nil plus interrogo." Sed quid
Turba Remi? Sequitur fortunam ut semper, et odit
Damnatos. Idem populus, si Nurtia Tusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus

"Cretatumque bovem duci ad Capitolia magna." He attributes it to Lucretius. Heinrich says he meant Lucilius. A white ox was the most acceptable offering, and it appears as if the dark parts of the animal, his horns, hoofs, and any spots about him were whitened with chalk. The horns were sometimes gilt. Servius quotes these words of Juvenal on Virg. Aen. ix. 628: "Et statuam ante aras aurata fronte juvencum Candentem." It was common for the public executioner to drag the bodies of criminals through the streets. Seneca (de Tranq. An. c. 11), speaking of the vicissitudes of fortune, says of this man Sejanus, "quo die illum Senatus deduxerat populus in frusta divisit; in quem quidquid congeri poterat dii hominesque contulerant, ex eo nihil superfuit quod carnifex traheret."

67. *Quae labra! quis illi*] People all rejoice at his death and make remarks on his diabolical features. And yet while they hate the man they tremble at the tyranny by which he perished, without trial or proof of guilt. One asks his neighbour what was the evidence against him. Another whispers there was none, but a long wordy letter from Capreae, on which the inquirer holds his peace. 'Index' is an accomplice turned informer, and 'indicium' is the evidence of such an one (Cic. in Q. Caecilium, Divin. c. 11, Long's note). Here the MSS. vary between 'indicibus' and 'indiciis.' I think the latter is right, though 'indicibus' has most authority. 'Delator' is a common informer. 'Cecidit' is here used as in S. iv. 12: "Si fecisset idem caderet sub judice morum."

71. *verbosa et grandis epistola*] Dion says of the letter that it was long and did not bring connected charges against Sejanus, but, beginning upon some other subject, it then threw out a short charge against him, then went to something else, and then came back to Sejanus: at the end it required that he should be put into prison. Tiberius was afraid, Dion says, to order his execution plainly, though he wished it, lest there should be a disturbance (58. 10). Suetonius (vit. Tib. 65) calls this letter "pudenda miserandaque oratio," which was the technical name of the emperors' written messages to the Senate (Casaubon in loco and Dict. Ant., 'Orationes Principum'). Tiberius left Rome A.D. 26 and never returned to the city. In the following year he took up his residence in the island of Capreae (Capri) (see below, v. 93, n.), where he lived six years in almost total retirement, admitting none but informers and chosen favourites to his presence, but holding constant communication by letter with the Senate.

72. *Bene habet; nil plus interrogo.*] This stops the man's mouth, and he says it is all right; he asks no more questions, like Agamemnon's soldier in Horace (S. ii. 3. 187, sq.): "'Ne quis humasse velit Ajacem, Atrida, vetas cur?' 'Rex sum.' 'Nil ultra quaero plebeius.'"

73. *Turba Remi?*] The poets used Remus' name instead of his brother's, when it suited their metre (see Pers. i. 73, n.). He means "mobilium turba Quiritium," as Horace calls them (C. i. 1. 7). The mob always take the stronger side, he says, but that was a mob in imperial Rome. Many MSS. and old editions have 'turba tremens.' P. and the Scholiast give 'Remi.'

74. *si Nurtia Tusco Favisset,*] Sejanus was an Etrurian by descent, and born at Vulsinii. Nurtia was an Etruscan goddess especially worshipped at Vulsinii (Livy vii. 3).

75. *si oppressa foret secura*] "If the old emperor had been caught asleep" (careless). The way of speaking, 'senectus

Principis, hac ipsa Sejanum diceret hora
Augustum. Jam pridem, ex quo suffragia nulli
Vendimus, effudit curas. Nam qui dabat olim
Imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se
Continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem et Circenses. "Perituros audio multos."
"Nil dubium: magna est fornacula: pallidulus mi
Brutidius meus ad Martis fuit obvius aram.
Quam timeo victus ne poenas exigat Ajax
Ut male defensus. Curramus praecipites et

Principis' for 'senex Princeps,' has been noticed before (ix. 65, n.). But the old emperor was wide awake to the end of his life. Augustus (Σεβαστὸς) was a title of all the emperors.

77. *ex quo suffragia nulli*] "From the time they left off selling votes;" that is since the elections were transferred from the Comitia to the Senate. See above, viii. 212, n. The subject of 'effudit curas' is 'Turba Remi' (v. 73). It means they have cast away all care about public affairs: all they now care for is their belly and the Circus. See note on S. iii. 223: "Si potes avelli Circensibus." 'Panem' is commonly referred to the public distribution of corn mentioned in vii. 174, and Lipsius (Elect. i. 8) takes the word literally, for bread was substituted for corn some time during the empire, he thinks by Trajan. I think that Juvenal did not mean to limit his word thus. The remark applied to all, whether they were of the sort who wanted the public dole or not. Most MSS. have 'pan.' The true word is certainly 'panem,' whatever contraction may have been used in writing it. Ceres was worshipped as Panis.

81. *Perituros audio multos.*] One says he hears many are to share Sejanus' fate, and another answers there is no doubt of it: there is a great furnace ready (referring to v. 61). A great many friends of Sejanus, including his son and daughter, a young girl, were put to death soon after him (Dion Cass. 58. 14, 15).

83. *ad Martis fuit obvius aram.*] This altar of Mars was in the Campus Martius (Livy xxxv. 10). There is a Brutidius Niger whom Tacitus (Ann. iii. 66) mentions as aedile in A.D. 22, and as one of the accusers of Silanus. He may be the person the speaker refers to as looking a little pale. Tacitus speaks of him as an able but ambitious man. "Brutidium artibus honestis copiosum, et si rectum iter pergeret ad clarissima quaeque iturum, festinatio exstimulabat, dum aequales, dein superiores, postremo suasmet ipse spes anteire parat; quod multos etiam bonos pessum dedit, qui spretis quae tarda cum securitate praematura vel cum exitio properant." He wrote some historical work from which Seneca quotes two passages on the death of Cicero (Suasor. vii.). Madvig (Opusc. i. 44), whom Mr. Mayor follows, says he was a declamator, and that as the contest of Ajax and Ulysses was a common theme for declamation, he had taken it in his time; and his friend, as the speaker in this passage ironically calls himself, with derision, says he is afraid Ajax is going to punish him for his frigid 'declamatiuncula,' and for not taking his part better. Madvig says the humorous description of the trial in vii. 115 sq. is taken from the same source. This is mere invention. It does not appear that Niger was a declaimer. The passages Seneca quotes are historical, not declamatory, and there is no other authority on the subject. Under the character of Ajax, enraged with the leaders and the army for not taking his part against Ulysses, the man means Tiberius, who in his letter to the Senate expressed great alarm, and begged them to send one of the consuls with a guard to conduct him, a poor solitary old man, to their presence. Suetonius adds, "Sic quoque diffidens tumultumque metuens Drusum nepotem quem vinculis adhuc Romae continebat solvi, si res posceret, ducemque constitui praeceperat" (c. 65). These apprehensions, whether real or pretended, the Senate might well fear would be visited on them, and they hastened to remove the cause of them, and every body connected with him, with an alacrity which was to make amends for their implied remissness. This was what Niger had to fear, and is clearly Juvenal's meaning.

Dum jacet in ripa calcemus Caesaris hostem.
Sed videant servi, ne quis neget et pavidum in jus
Cervice obstricta dominum trahat." Hi sermones
Tunc de Sejano, secreta haec murmura vulgi.
Visne salutari sicut Sejanus? habere
Tantundem, atque illi summas donare curules,
Illum exercitibus praeponere? tutor haberi
Principis angusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis
Cum grege Chaldaeo? Vis certe pila, cohortes,

87. *Sed videant servi,*] He says our slaves must see us do it, that none of them may be able to say we did not, and give information under which we shall be dragged with a rope about our necks to the praetor. As to 'in jus rapere,' 'trahere,' 'vocare,' see notes on Hor. S. i. 9. 74, 76. In the reign of Tiberius and afterwards the information of slaves against their masters, which was illegal, was freely received and obtained by torture. *ἐβασανίζοντο δὲ οὐχὶ οἰκέται μόνον κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων δεσποτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πολῖται* (Dion Cass. 57. 19). Nerva put a stop to the practice and checked informers generally (ib. 68. 1). The MSS. vary between 'astricta' and 'obstricta.' 'Obstrictus' is used by Plautus in the same connexion (Amphitr. iii. 2. 72): "Quum ego Amphitruonem collo hinc obstricto traham." Heinrich takes 'astricta,' quoting Tac. Ann. iv. 70: "quantum obducta veste et adstrictis faucibus niti poterat clamitans." The case is not the same. It was the common way of taking a resisting culprit before the magistrate to put a rope round his neck.

88. *Hi sermones*] What precedes, not what follows as Britannicus says. What follows is addressed to the reader, who is asked if he would like to have all the power and honour that Sejanus had, to give away the high curule offices to one, military commands to another, and to be the guardian of a tyrant shut up in his solitude with a pack of astrologers. Moderate honours any one may wish for, but what of those the greatness of which is the measure of their dangers? The curule officers, or those entitled to the use of the 'sella curulis,' were the consuls, censors, praetors, and curule aediles. 'Summas' does not mean the consulship in particular, as Ruperti says: it applies to all. As to 'exercitibus praeponere' see note on S. vii. 88: "Ille et militiae multis largitus honorem." Sejanus is called Tiberius' tutor, whose business it was to manage the affairs of his ward (pupillus). Many MSS. and old editors have 'sellas' for 'summas,' and Achaintre has it. 'Summas' is certainly right, and the other only a gloss. There is a reading 'haberi tantundem,' which N. Heinsius (on Ovid, Trist. i. 8. 44) approves, and Ruperti as usual says 'non male.' But, as Heinrich says, it is not Latin.

93. *angusta Caprearum*] P. and some other MSS., and the old editions, followed by Jahn [and Ribbeck] have 'augusta,' which Heinrich says is an error of the copyists. No doubt it is. Capreae is an island forming a continuation of the promontory of Surrentum and three miles distant from it. It is about eleven miles in circumference and precipitous on almost all sides. One point of it rises 1600 feet above the sea (see Dict. Geog.). Augustus retired to this place sometimes, and Tiberius made it his retreat that he might carry on his debaucheries uninterrupted and be free from danger. The climate Tacitus describes as very pleasant in summer and winter, and the prospect over the bay of Naples beautiful (Ann. iv. 67). 'Sedentem' corresponds to Tacitus' word, "Tiberius duodecim villarum nominibus et molibus insederat (Capreis)." Here he abandoned business to such a degree that he left the provinces without governors, and to the mercy of enemies, and neglected to appoint officers to the army, Suetonius says. "The horrible practices he resorted to for the purpose of inflaming and gratifying his lusts, were such that it is impossible to tell or listen to them, much more to believe them (vix ut referri audirive, nedum credi fas sit)" (Suet. Tib. c. 44).

94. *Cum grege Chaldaeo?*] Tiberius towards the end of his life was much given to the astrologers, a pestilent race of impostors whom he had before punished and forbidden the city (vi. 553). Suetonius says of him, "circa deos ac religiones neg-

Egregios equites et castra domestica. Quidni
Haec cupias? et qui nolunt occidere quenquam
Posse volunt. Sed quae praeclara et prospera tantum
Ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum?
Hujus qui trahitur praetextam sumere mavis,
An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas
Et de mensura jus dicere, vasa minora
Frangere pannosus vacuis Aedilis Ulubris?
Ergo quid optandum foret ignorasse fateris
Sejanum: nam qui nimios optabat honores

ligentior, quippe addictus mathematicae plenusque persuasionis cuncta fato agi" (c. 69). Superstition and vice grew upon him together; a common case.

— *Vis certe pila, cohortes,*] He says, no doubt you like promotion, and why should you not? Men who have no mind to kill their fellows like to have the power to do so. He takes different grades of military rank to illustrate his meaning, which is that the desire for promotion is universal and natural, and yet when the highest rank is gained what does it lead to? The steps he takes are 'primipilus centurio,' 'praefectus cohorti,' 'eques egregius,' and 'praefectus praetorio.' As late as the time of Polybius the infantry of a Roman legion were formed into three bodies, 'hastati,' 'principes,' and 'triarii' or 'pilani,' as they were sometimes called, because they carried a pilum or short javelin. Each of these divisions was subdivided into 'manipuli,' and the centurion of the first 'manipulus' of the 'triarii,' who were veteran troops, was called 'primipilus.' See xiv. 197: "Ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus Afferat." 'Pila' here stands for 'primipili' (see Forcellini). In and after the time of Caesar the legion was divided into ten cohorts, each of which consisted of three 'manipuli.' The commander of a cohort was 'praefectus.' 'Equites egregii' are explained by Lipsius on Tac. Ann. xi. 4. The distinction, he says, was confined under the republic to such 'equites' as were remarkable for their birth, wealth, or character. But Augustus formed a separate class of those who had the fortune of a senator, or were entitled by their position to hope for the Senate, and these he allowed to wear the 'latus clavus' or broad stripe on the tunic (which was the mark of senatorial rank). Tacitus calls them 'illustres' (Ann. ii. 59; xi. 4), and "equites Romani dignitate senatoria" (xvi. 17); and he opposes to them "modici equites Romani" (i. 73). Cicero speaks in a general way of "equites Romani non obscuri neque ignoti, sed honesti et illustres" (In Verr. ii. 3. 24). By 'domestica castra' he means the command of the 'praetoria cohors' (see S. i. 58, n.). These troops were quartered in various parts of the city till Sejanus had command of them, when they were all placed in permanent quarters near the Agger of Servius Tullius. See note on S. v. 153.

97. *Sed quae praeclara*] "But what are great distinctions and high prosperity if we hold them only on the understanding that the measure of our sufferings is proportioned to our success?" The reading of most MSS. and some of the best is 'tantum;' P. has 'tanti,' which nearly all the editors have adopted, except Heinrich. I prefer 'tantum.'

100. *An Fidenarum Gabiorumque*] These towns have been associated before, vi. 56. See also note on iii. 192: "Simplicibus Gabiis." Ulubrae Horace mentions as a small unimportant town (Epp. i. 11. 30): "Quod petis hic est, Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus." It was in Latium. 'Potestas' is the modern 'podestà.' 'Vacuis' is 'empty,' 'unfrequented,' as in S. iii. 2: "Laudo tamen vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis." As to the municipal aediles see S. iii. 179. They were police magistrates, and looked after the market. On great occasions, he says, a white tunic was a dress good enough for them; here he speaks of them in rags. Persius refers to the country aediles just in the same way (i. 129, 130): "Sese aliquem credens, Italo quod honore supinus Fregerit heminas Arreti aedilis iniquas."

103. *Ergo quid optandum*] 'Ergo' carries us back to v. 54, where the general assertion is made of which Sejanus was a notable illustration. 'Ignorasse fateris' implies that the answer is that which good sense suggests.

Et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
Excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset
Casus et impulsae praeceps immane ruinae.
Quid Crassos, quid Pompeios evertit, et illum
Ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites?
Summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus,
Magnaque numinibus vota exaudita malignis.
Ad generum Cereris sine caede et vulnere pauci
Descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.
  Eloquium ac famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
Incipit optare et totis Quinquatribus optat,
Quisquis adhuc uno partam colit asse Minervam,
Quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae.

107. *impulsae praeceps immane ruinae.*] 'Praeceps' is used absolutely for a precipitous height often enough (S. i. 149: "Omne in praecipiti vitium stetit"). There is no instance of an adjective agreeing with it earlier than Juvenal. 'Ruinae' is the genitive case (not dative, as Ruperti says). The English is "he went on building story after story of an exceeding high tower, only that his fall might be from a greater height and the tumbling of the ruin, beaten by the storm (or struck by the bolt or lightning), should be great." 'Impulsae' is added to 'ruinae,' as if it were 'turris,' and it means the wreck of a tower beaten by the storm. Forcellini quotes from Statius (Silv. i. 4. 51), "subiti praeceps juvenile pericli" (where 'juvenile' seems to be equivalent to 'immane' here); and Apuleius (Metam. 4), "per altissimum praeceps in vallem proximam asinum praecipitant." Horace has "impulsa cupressus Euro" (C. iv. 6. 10), and "celsae graviore casu Decidunt turres" (C. ii. 10. 10, where other examples of this commonplace are given).

108. *Quid Crassos, quid Pompeios*] He here joins together the three persons who are often improperly called a triumvirate, M. Licinius Crassus, Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and C. Julius Caesar. The first was killed in war with the Parthians, B.C. 53. In B.C. 55 he had been consul with Pompeius, who was killed while going to land on the coast of Egypt after the battle of Pharsalia (B.C. 48). Caesar is described as the man who tamed the Romans and brought them under his lash. The plural Crassos and Pompeios does not imply more than one of each. Ruperti includes the sons of each, which weakens the illustration.

110. *Summus nempe locus*] This is the subject of 'evertit.' "Of course it was the elevation they had sought by every art to win, and their ambitious prayers heard too well by the unkind gods." 'Generum Cereris' is Pluto, the husband of Proserpina. 'Reges' and 'tyranni' explain one another. Ruperti says 'reges' are the rich. 'Sicca morte' is an unbloody death.

115. *totis Quinquatribus optat,*] He goes on to illustrate what he said in v. 9 about eloquence. The Quinquatria was a festival of Minerva, held for six days in March. Boys had holidays during this festival and offered their devotions to the goddess of learning. See note on Horace, Epp. ii. 2. 197: "Ac potius puer ut festis Quinquatribus olim Exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim." The boy is said to worship Minerva with an as because it was customary to present that sum to the teacher at the Quinquatria. This payment was called 'Minerval.' See note on Hor. S. i. 6. 75: "Ibant octonis referentes Idibus aera."

In 116, P. has 'parcam,' which Jahn [and Ribbeck] have adopted. It is an obvious correction for those who are fond of correcting, and Ruperti gives Heinsius credit for ingenuity in discovering it. There is no ingenuity in going wrong, and Ruperti does not think him right, nor do I.

117. *custos angustae vernula capsae.*] A little slave carrying his little box of books and paper and pens went with the boy to school. He was called 'capsarius.' The 'capsa' was a round box suited for holding rolled books (see Dict. Ant.).

Eloquio sed uterque perit orator; utrumque
Largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.
Ingenio manus est et cervix caesa, nec unquam
Sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli.
"O fortunatam natam me Consule Romam!"
Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
Omnia dixisset. Ridenda poemata malo
Quam te conspicuae, divina Philippica, famae,
Volveris a prima quae proxima. Saevus et illum
Exitus eripuit, quem mirabantur Athenae
Torrentem et pleni moderantem fraena theatri.
Dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro,

118. *uterque perit orator;*] As to 'perit' see S. vi. 559, n.

120. *Ingenio manus est et cervix caesa,*] This refers to the death of Cicero, B.C. 43. He was proscribed by the triumvirs, overtaken as he was trying to escape by soldiers, who cut off his head and hands and carried them to M. Antonius, who ordered them to be nailed to the rostra. If he had been a humble 'causidicus' this would not have happened, Juvenal says. Florus (iv. 6. 5) describes the feelings of the people on this occasion: "Romae capita caesorum proponere in rostris jam usitatum erat: verum sic quoque civitas lacrimas tenere non potuit quum recisum Ciceronis caput in illis suis rostris videretur, nec aliter ad videndum eum quam solebat ad audiendum concurreretur." 'Causidicus' is opposed to 'orator,' which and 'patronus' are the proper titles for an advocate of the higher order (see S. i. 32, n.). 'Ingenio' is put for the man, as 'officia' above (v. 45). Cicero reached the highest point of his popularity, and delivered his last ten speeches against M. Antonius the year he died.

122. *O fortunatam*] This verse occurred probably in a poem in three books that Cicero wrote on his own times (Ad Fam. i. 9), or else in that on his consulship, from which there is a long extract in his book De Divinatione (i. 11). This verse is quoted by Quintilian (Inst. ix. 4; xi. 1). Juvenal says if he had never said a better thing than that he might have snapped his fingers at Antonius, quoting his own words (Phil. ii. 46): "Contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos." He adds, he would rather have been the author of his ridiculous poetry than of that Philippic which he calls divine, famous, and so forth. This speech was written in September, B.C. 44, as a rejoinder to Antonius' reply to the first Philippic. Cicero did not attend the meeting of the Senate at which Antonius spoke, and though this speech professes to be an extemporaneous reply, it never was delivered, but written in the country, nor did Cicero venture to publish it immediately. 'Volveris' means 'you are read;' 'a prima proxima' is a way of expressing the second.

126. *illum Exitus eripuit,*] After the death of Alexander Demosthenes used all his eloquence to produce a general rising of the Greek states against Antipater, the successor to the Macedonian division of Alexander's kingdom, and succeeded. But the resistance of the Greeks was not effectual, and rather than fall into the hands of Antipater Demosthenes poisoned himself, B.C. 322.

128. *moderantem fraena theatri.*] The popular assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι) were held in the Pnyx, a space of ground near the Areiopagus, till the building of the theatre of Dionysus in the Lenaea, about B.C. 340, after which the assemblies were commonly held in the theatre. It was finished in Demosthenes' time, and he must often have spoken there (ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐν Διονύσου c. Meidiam, Νόμος, p. 518). Juvenal likes the comparison of a speaker to a torrent, and for popular oratory a vehement flow of words is the most effective gift. See above, vv. 9 and 119. S. iii. 74: "Promptus et Isaeo torrentior."

129. *Dis ille adversis*] This is a common way of speaking; otherwise the verse might be said to be imitated from Persius (iv. 27): "Hunc Dis iratis genioque sinistro." Demosthenes' father was a man of property, and died when his son was seven years old.

Quem pater ardentis massae fuligine lippus
A carbone et forcipibus gladiosque parante
Incude et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misit.
Bellorum exuviae, truncis affixa tropaeis
Lorica et fracta de casside buccula pendens
Et curtum temone jugum victaeque triremis
Aplustre et summo tristis captivus in arcu
Humanis majora bonis creduntur: ad hoc se
Romanus Graiusque ac barbarus induperator
Erexit: causas discriminis atque laboris
Inde habuit. Tanto major famae sitis est quam
Virtutis. Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
Praemia si tollas? Patriam tamen obruit olim
Gloria paucorum et laudis titulique cupido

What Juvenal says here therefore is a mere flourish and nonsense. He was the owner of a sword or knife manufactory, which Juvenal has made the most of. Plutarch (Dem. c. 4) says Demosthenes had no education in boyhood; and that he was much neglected and his patrimony robbed and squandered by his guardians is well known. Demosthenes speaks however of having gone to the schools suited to his condition and learnt what was proper (de Corona 312, 315).

133. *truncis affixa tropaeis*] His next case is the vanity of military glory. The practice of erecting trophies after victories was very ancient in Greece, and adopted by the Romans late in the republican times. They were composed of arms taken from the enemy and piled up usually on the trunk of a tree or some low wooden frame (see Dict. Ant.). 'Bucculae' are the cheeks of a helmet which were buttoned under the chin. 'Cassis' is properly a helmet of metal, 'galea' of leather. Some 'galeae' had vizors which covered the face, as we have seen in viii. 203. Engravings of the different kinds are given from gems in Dict. Ant., 'Galea.'

135. *Et curtum temone jugum*] A war chariot shorn of its pole. 'Curtum' is not used elsewhere with a noun after it, but it is properly a participle. 'Aplustre' is the curved ornament which most ancient ships carried on their stern, commonly of a fan shape, and not unlike the feathers of a Red Indian chief. Sometimes it was wreathed with flowers, sometimes it carried a flag or a lantern. The name is taken from the Greek ἄφλαστον, which is the same thing. See Dict. Ant., and also respecting triumphal arches at Rome. The five now remaining are all of the imperial times. 'Humanis majora' corresponds to the Greek μείζω ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον. As to the form 'induperator' see note on S. iv. 29. 'Erexit' and 'habuit' have the force of the aorist.

141. *virtutem amplectitur ipsam,*] 'Virtus' is military virtue, 'Fortitudo,' in which character she was frequently represented on medals, sometimes with Honos or Gloria by her side (see note on Horace, Carm. Sec. 57). Mr. Mayor, after Madvig, translates this, "Who *does* embrace virtue for its own sake, *or would embrace it at all*, if you *should* take away its rewards?" The italics, I imagine, are meant to represent some grammatical peculiarity: but the sentence is not peculiar, but very simple: "When you take away the rewards of virtue, who thinks of embracing her without them?" Her only charm is gone, and she has no beauty that men should wish to embrace her. Ovid says (Ex Ponto ii. 3. 11, sqq.):

"Nec facile invenias multis e millibus unum
Virtutem pretium qui putet esse sui.
Ipse decor recti, facti si praemia desint,
Non movet, et gratis poenitet esse probum."

(Some read 'recte facti.') The idea is the same here as in Juvenal, Virtue represented as a beautiful woman whose charms men cannot see when she is 'simplex munditiis,' not gilded.

142. *Patriam tamen obruit olim*] "Yet while men will sacrifice nothing to virtue, to glory they have again and again" (Mayor). Juvenal says nothing about sacrificing to virtue or to glory. He says men will not embrace virtue if you take away

Haesuri saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quae
Discutienda valent sterilis mala robora ficus:
Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris.
Expende Hannibalem; quot libras in duce summo
Invenies? hic est quem non capit Africa Mauro
Percussa Oceano Niloque admota tepenti,
Rursus ad Aethiopum populos altosque elephantos.
Additur imperiis Hispania: Pyrenaeum
Transilit: opposuit natura Alpemque nivemque;
Diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto.
Jam tenet Italiam; tamen ultra pergere tendit:
"Actum," inquit, "nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas
Frangimus et media vexillum pono Suburra."
O qualis facies et quali digna tabella,
Quum Gaetula ducem portaret bellua luscum!

her rewards, and yet these very rewards, which are won by only a few, and the struggle to get them, are at times the ruin of men's country. 'Olim' is an indefinite adverb of time either past or future. Horace has

"Parentis olim si quis impia manu
Senile guttur fregerit,
Edit cicutis allium nocentius."
(Epod. iii. 1.)

(See S. vi. 42, n., and note on Hor. C. ii. 10. 17.)

145. *sterilis mala robora ficus:*] The wild fig, 'caprificus,' was common among the tombs. Canidia among other things bids her attendants bring "sepulcris caprificos erutas" (Hor. Epod. v. 17). See note on Persius, S. i. 25, and Martial x. 2: "Marmora Messalae findit caprificus." [Compare Pausanias (ix. 33. 7), who saw at Alalcomenae a huge ivy which had separated the joints of the stones in a temple, and was tearing the stones asunder.]

146. *Quandoquidem data sunt*] Heinrich thinks this a feeble verse and not genuine; a superfluous moral. I think he is wrong, and that the verse or something like it is wanted. Propertius (iii. 2. 19) has

"Nec Mausolei dives fortuna sepulcri
Mortis ab extrema conditione vacat."

147. *Expende Hannibalem;*] If you put Hannibal in the scales, how much will this great general weigh? He says below (v. 172) nothing but death declares how very small are the bodies of men. Juvenal does not speak of weighing his "ambition and fate or rather his ashes" (Ruperti), but himself. 'Non capit' means is not large enough to hold. 'Rursus' is 'in the rear,' 're-versus,' not "again, in another direction, extending, &c." (Mayor.)

151. *Additur imperiis Hispania:*] The conquest of Hispania by the Carthaginians was begun by Hamilcar, Hannibal's father, and Hannibal nearly completed it by the taking of Saguntum, B.C. 219. In that year he declared war against Rome, and in B.C. 218 he crossed the Pyrenees, having first subdued the tribes between the Iberus (Ebro) and those mountains. He commenced his march in the spring, but did not reach the Alps till late in the autumn, after the snow had begun to fall. The story of the vinegar is in Livy, xxi. c. 37.

155. *Actum, inquit, nihil est,*] This expresses well the object of his whole life; all his successes would go for nothing if he failed to enter Rome in triumph. See S. vii. 161, n. As to 'Suburra' see iii. 5, n.

157. *O qualis facies*] "Oh, what a beautiful picture he would have made, a one-eyed general riding on his elephant!" Hannibal got ophthalmia and lost one of his eyes, B.C. 217, in the marshes south of the Po (Livy xxii. 2). Juvenal seems to have had Livy's words before him: "Ipse Hannibal aeger oculis, ex verna primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto qui unus superfuerat quo altius ab aqua exstaret vectus: vigiliis tandem et nocturno humore palustrique caelo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur."

Exitus ergo quis est? O gloria! vincitur idem
Nempe et in exsilium praeceps fugit atque ibi magnus
Mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis,
Donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.
Finem animae quae res humanas miscuit olim
Non gladii, non saxa dabunt, nec tela; sed ille
Cannarum vindex et tanti sanguinis ultor
Annulus. I, demens, et saevas curre per Alpes,
Ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias.
Unus Pellaeo juveni non sufficit orbis:
Aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
Ut Gyari clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho:
Quum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,
Sarcophago contentus erit. Mors sola fatetur
Quantula sint hominum corpuscula. Creditur olim
Velificatus Athos, et quidquid Graecia mendax

159. *vincitur idem Nempe*] "He is beaten in his turn of course;" that is by Scipio at Zama, B.C. 202. After the treaty of peace concluded the next year Hannibal remained several years at Carthage, and it was not till the year B.C. 193 that finding himself in danger from enemies at home he fled secretly and went to Antiochus, with whom he remained three years and helped him against the Romans. When Antiochus was defeated, in B.C. 190, Hannibal fled to Prusias, king of Bithynia. For seven or eight years he continued to be his guest, helping him in his wars, till the Romans finally sent a demand for his surrender, which Prusias was not able to resist. Hannibal, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, took poison, which he is said to have carried about with him for that purpose in a ring; therefore Juvenal says a ring was the avenger of Cannae and of all the blood that Hannibal shed. Pliny says that Demosthenes also kept the poison with which he destroyed himself in a ring (N. H. 33. 1).

167. *et declamatio fias.*] See note on S. vii. 161. Horace has "Cognomen vertas in risum et fabula fias" (Epp. i. 13. 9).

168. *Unus Pellaeo juveni*] Valerius Maximus (viii. 14. Ex.) tells the following story of Alexander: "Jam Alexandri pectus insatiabile laudis, qui Anaxarcho comiti suo ex auctoritate Democriti praeceptoris innumerabiles mundos esse referenti, 'Heu me (inquit) miserum! quod ne uno quidem adhuc potitus sum.'" Valerius adds, "Angusta homini possessio gloriae fuit quae Deorum omnium domicilio sufficit!" "Post Darium et Indos pauper est Alexander Macedo" (Sen. Ep. 119).

170. *Ut Gyari clausus scopulis*] See i. 73, n., and vi. 564. Gyarus and Seriphus were islands in the Cyclades group, to which criminals were transported. Seriphus was the larger of the two, and about twelve miles in circumference. The modern name is Serfo.

171. *a figulis munitam*] The town of Babylon is said to have been built of brick cemented with asphalt by Semiramis. "Dicitur altam Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem" (Ovid, Met. iv. 57). Here Alexander died, B.C. 323, in his thirty-third year. A 'sarcophagus' was properly a coffin composed of a particular stone from Assos in Troas, which was said to consume the body (σάρκα φαγεῖν). "In Asso Troadis sarcophagus lapis fissili vena scinditur. Corpora defunctorum condita in eo absumi constat intra XL diem exceptis dentibus" (Pliny xxxvi. 17).

173. *Quantula sint hominum corpuscula.*] This idea is a favourite one with the poets. The best-known allusion to it is in Shakespeare's Henry IV. P. i. Act v. Sc. 4:

"Fare thee well, great heart!
Ill-weaved ambition, how much art thou shrunk!
When that this body did contain a spirit,
A kingdom for it was too small a bound;
But now two paces of the vilest earth
Is room enough."

174. *Velificatus Athos,*] To avoid the

Audet in historia; constratum classibus isdem
Suppositumque rotis solidum mare; credimus altos
Defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo
Prandente, et madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis.
Ille tamen qualis rediit Salamine relicta,
In Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis
Barbarus, Aeolio nunquam hoc in carcere passos,
Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum?
Mitius id sane quod non et stigmate dignum

catastrophe that happened to Mardonius, whose fleet was wrecked there in the first expedition of Darius against Greece, Xerxes ordered the low isthmus of the peninsula (Acte) to be cut through, and a canal was made capable of floating two triremes abreast. Juvenal treats the matter as an invention; but the canal has been recently traced. See article 'Athos' in the Penny Cyclopaedia. Herodotus (vii. 22) says it was about twelve stadia long, and by measurement it appears to be 2500 yards, which at the rate of 625 feet to the stadium, is exactly twelve stadia.

175. *constratum classibus isdem*] This refers to the bridge of boats across the Hellespont. Lucretius thus refers to the same (iii. 1029, sqq.):

"Ille quoque ipse viam qui quondam per mare magnum
Stravit, iterque dedit legionibus ire per altum,
Ac pedibus salsas docuit superare lacunas,
Et contempsit equis insultans murmura ponti,
Lumine adempto animam moribundo corpore fudit."

Herodotus speaks of several rivers (the Scamander in Asia, and others in Thrace, Thessaly, and Achaia) being dried up by the enormous host of Xerxes drinking of them. This is easily explained. These rivers are not perennial streams full of water. The army could only find water holes in many of them, and these they may have exhausted. κοῖον δὲ πινόμενον οὐκ ἐπέλιπε πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν (Herod. vii. 21). The Scholiast says Sostratus was a poet who wrote of the exploits of Xerxes. This might be guessed from the context. Whether the Scholiast had better authority is doubtful. 'Madidis alis' is supposed to mean that he got heated with the exertion of reciting his poetry. This is not a satisfactory explanation, and if Heinrich be right in thinking these words to be a parody of Ovid (Met. i. 264), "madidis Notus evolat alis," they may mean that his flight was not a very vigorous one, as Heinrich suggests. [Ribbeck has in v. 175 'contractum,' the reading of P. though the word in the MS. has been corrected by a second hand into 'constratum.']

180. *In Corum atque Eurum*] Corus (or Caurus) is the N.W. wind, as Eurus is the S.E. He flogged whatever wind opposed him. This may be a playful invention of Juvenal's, making Xerxes a harder master to the winds than Aeolus himself, and he was stern enough according to Virgil. Xerxes' castigation and chaining of the Hellespont for breaking down his bridge are told by Aeschylus (Persae v. 745, sqq.) and Herodotus (vii. 35). The truth of the story is not admitted by the latest editors of those authors, Paley and Blakesley, and others before them. Grote supports it (vol. v. 21, sqq.). Valerius Maximus (iii. 2. 3) speaks of Xerxes as "Neptuno compedes et caelo tenebras minitantem," which is another flight; he threatened to extinguish the sun; he meant with his arrows. Juvenal produces Homer's epithet for Poseidon, the earth-shaker.

183. *Mitius id sane*] "Surely he acted mercifully not to brand the god as well as flog him. Any god would be glad to be slave to such a master." Runaway or thievish slaves had a mark put upon their foreheads. But Herodotus says he had heard a report that the madman had sent persons to inflict this further degradation on the sea, and to tell its waves that their master laid this just punishment upon them (l. c.). For this reason the commentators have meddled with a very good text and spoilt it. Jahn reads "Mitius id sane. Quid? non et stigmate dignum Credidit?" against his favourite P. and all other MSS. [Ribbeck judiciously keeps the common text.] Juvenal may or may not have been

Credidit. Huic quisquam vellet servire deorum!
Sed qualis rediit? nempe una nave, cruentis
Fluctibus, ac tarda per densa cadavera prora.
Has toties optata exegit gloria poenas!
"Da spatium vitae, multos da, Juppiter, annos!"
Hoc recto vultu, solum hoc et pallidus optas.
Sed quam continuis et quantis longa senectus
Plena malis! Deformem et tetrum ante omnia vultum
Dissimilemque sui, deformem pro cute pellem
Pendentesque genas et tales aspice rugas,
Quales, umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca saltus,
In vetula scalpit jam mater simia bucca.

familiar with Herodotus. The stories he tells were current, he says, and that was enough for him.

185. *nempe una nave,*] Justin (ii. 13) says he crossed the Hellespont in a fishing-boat, and adds some suitable reflections. Herodotus (viii. 118) tells us one account he had heard of Xerxes' retreat was this: that having accompanied his land forces through Boeotia and Thessalia, as far as Eion, at the mouth of the Strymon in Thrace, he there gave charge of the army to Hydarnes to lead them to the Hellespont, and embarked himself in a Phoenician ship. They were overtaken by a storm. The king in alarm asked the pilot if there was any safety. The pilot said the only chance was to lighten the ship, whereupon the king appealed to his subjects and many of them jumped overboard. They arrived safely on the coast of Asia, whereupon Xerxes ordered a crown of gold to be given to the pilot for saving the king, but his head to be taken off for losing so many of his people. Herodotus is as incredulous as Juvenal could wish about this story. Juvenal says the king escaped from Salamis with only one ship, and that his flight was retarded by the multitude of corpses floating about the scene of battle. Horace says of Cleopatra: "Minuit furorem Vix una sospes navis ab ignibus" (C. i. 37. 12).

187. *Has toties optata*] Heinrich calls this a superfluous application, as v. 146, and rejects the verse. With all his good sense he is too keen sometimes, like many of his countrymen.

189. *Hoc recto vultu, &c.*] Heinrich and others take this to mean unabashed and pale with anxiety. 'Recta facie' is used in this sense in vi. 401, and Bentley in the same sense substitutes 'rectis' for 'siccis' in Hor. (C. i. 3. 18):

"Qui siccis oculis monstra natantia
Qui vidit mare turbidum."

Others take 'recto vultu' as 'well,' opposed to 'pallida,' 'ill,' and I think that is the meaning. There is nothing about anxiety.

"Enlarge my life with multitude of days!
In health and sickness thus the suppliant prays." (Johnson.)

One of the best examples of the commonplace Juvenal is here dwelling on is in that ode of Sophocles (Oed. Col. 1211) which begins

ὅστις τοῦ πλέονος μέρους
χρῄζει τοῦ μετρίου παρεὶς
ζώειν.

192. *deformem pro cute pellem*] Forcellini distinguishes 'cutis' from 'pellis' as the living and dead skin. When 'pellis' is applied to living men and women it is coarse skin, or withered. Lucretius describes persons dying of a plague as having

"Compressae nares, nasi primoris acumen
Tenue, cavati oculi, cava tempora, frigida pellis
Duraque." (vi. 1193.)

The reader may compare with this description Horace's ode to Ligurinus, iv. 10.

194. *ubi pandit Tabraca saltus,*] Tabraca (Tabarkah) was a town in Numidia. It was surrounded with jungle, and as usual the woods abounded in monkeys. Herod. iv. 194, speaks of apes being common in one part of North Africa, and Strabo xvii. p. 827. Ruperti tells us

Plurima sunt juvenum discrimina: pulcrior ille
Hoc, atque ille alio; multum hic robustior illo:
Una senum facies, cum voce trementia membra
Et jam leve caput madidique infantia nasi.
Frangendus misero gingiva panis inermi.
Usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique,
Ut captatori moveat fastidia Cosso.
Non eadem vini atque cibi torpente palato
Gaudia: [nam coitus jam longa oblivio; vel si
Coneris, jacet exiguus cum ramice nervus,
Et quamvis tota palpetur nocte jacebit.
Anne aliquid sperare potest haec inguinis aegri
Canities? quid, quod merito suspecta libido est
Quae Venerem affectat sine viribus.] Aspice partis
Nunc damnum alterius: nam quae cantante voluptas,
Sit licet eximius citharoedus sitve Seleucus,
Et quibus aurata mos est fulgere lacerna?
Quid refert magni sedeat qua parte theatri,
Qui vix cornicines exaudiet atque tubarum
Concentus? clamore opus est ut sentiat auris
Quem dicat venisse puer, quot nunciet horas.
Praeterea minimus gelido jam in corpore sanguis
Febre calet sola; circumsilit agmine facto

that even monkeys get wrinkles when they grow old; a simple remark. Perhaps he did not know they get grey and look as like an old woman of their own colour as one animal can be like another.

202. *Ut captatori*] See v. 98, n. Cossus may be any body. He was not easily thrown out in his profession, but this old gentleman is described as so wearisome that even Cossus finds it hard work to come near him. He is a burden to himself as well as to every one else.

204. *nam*] He means that he says nothing of other pleasures long since forgotten. 'Ramex' is hernia or piles (vi. 326).

209. *Aspice partis Nunc damnum*] He goes on to speak of the deafness of age. After 'cantante' (which word is used for instrumental as well as vocal music) 'citharoedo' must be supplied. P. has it instead of 'citharoedus,' and Jahn [and Ribbeck] have it too (see below, v. 253, n.). Seleucus must have been some famous singer or musician, or actor, but he is not known now. As to the fine dresses worn by the tragic actors and musicians on the stage, see note on Hor. A. P. 215: "luxuriem addidit arti Tibicen traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem."

214. *vix cornicines exaudiet*] Horns and trumpets were sounded at the beginning and the end of games and plays, as Lipsius has shown (Saturn. ii. 19). 'Exaudire' is to hear when there is some obstruction, or from a distance, &c. See Long's notes on Cic. in Cat. i. 8; iv. 7; pro P. Sulla 10.

216. *Quem dicat venisse puer,*] The servant must bawl out the name of a visitor, and if he comes in to tell his master what o'clock it is he must shout. The hour he would learn from the public sundial (solarium) or water-clock (clepsydra).

217. *Praeterea minimus*] His body is cold, his blood is scanty, and never gets warm except with fever, and all the diseases in the world dance about him like a chorus of spectres. 'In' is wanting in some few MSS. between 'jam' and 'corpore,' and Ruperti on second thoughts has omitted it. The Latin requires it.

Morborum omne genus, quorum si nomina quaeras,
Promptius expediam quot amaverit Hippia moechos,
Quot Themison aegros autumno occiderit uno,
Quot Basilus socios, quot circumscripserit Hirrus
Pupillos, quot longa viros exsorbeat uno
Maura die, quot discipulos inclinet Hamillus;
Percurram citius quot villas possideat nunc
Quo tondente gravis juveni mihi barba sonabat.
Ille humero, hic lumbis, hic coxa debilis; ambos
Perdidit ille oculos et luscis invidet; hujus
Pallida labra cibum accipiunt digitis alienis.
Ipse ad conspectum coenae diducere rictum
Suetus hiat tantum, ceu pullus hirundinis ad quem
Ore volat pleno mater jejuna. Sed omni
Membrorum damno major dementia, quae nec
Nomina servorum nec vultum agnoscit amici,
Cum quo praeterita coenavit nocte, nec illos
Quos genuit, quos eduxit. Nam codice saevo
Heredes vetat esse suos; bona tota feruntur

220. *Promptius expediam*] Of the persons that follow, Hippia has appeared before (vi. 82). Themison is a great medical name, which is here taken for some doctor of the day, whose reputation perhaps was in proportion to his victims. The real Themison appears to have been a man of learning and skill. He lived in the first century B.C., and founded a medical sect called Methodici. Basilus was somebody who cheated his partners, and Hirrus a tutor who cheated his wards, either of them a very heinous offence. Horace says in praise of the poet, "Non fraudem socio puerove incogitat ullam Pupillo" (Epp. ii. 1. 122. See note on C. iii. 24. 60: "Consortem socium fallat"). Ruperti flounders as usual about 'socios,' who he thinks are provincials, though they may be 'publicani:' and so they may, but they may be partners in any joint-stock or other partnership. On the subject of partnership see Long's article in Dict. Ant., 'Societas.' 'Circumscribere' is used in this way in xiv. 237; and xv. 136. Maura occurs in vi. 307. She is called 'longa,' a tall masculine woman. This obscene sense of 'inclinare' is found in ix. 26. Hamillus is unknown. The lucky barber is mentioned in i. 25 (see also note on vi. 215).

232. *Ore volat pleno mater jejuna.*] The description of helplessness and fatuity throughout this passage is very good. This little description of the mother-bird bringing food for her young while she is fasting herself is prettily introduced, and relieves the picture while it strengthens it. It is taken from the Iliad (ix. 323):

ὡς δ' ὄρνις ἀπτῆσι νεοσσοῖσι προφέρῃσι
μάστακ' ἐπεί κε λάβῃσι, κακῶς δ' ἄρα οἱ
πέλει αὐτῇ.

237. *Heredes vetat esse suos;*] This expression must not be confounded with the legal term 'sui heredes et necessarii.' These were, for example, a man's son or daughter, his son's son or daughter, and others in the descending degree who were in the man's power at the time of his death; but grandsons or granddaughters were not 'sui heredes,' simply because they were in the grandfather's power at the time of his death, but it was necessary that their father in his own father's lifetime must have ceased to be a 'suus heres' either by death or in any other way; for in that case the grandsons or granddaughters took their father's place (Gaius ii. 156). A man who had a son in his power (a 'suus heres') must either institute him heres or exheredate (disinherit) him by name. This old man

Ad Phialen: tantum artificis valet halitus oris,
Quod steterat multis in carcere fornicis annis.
Ut vigeant sensus animi, ducenda tamen sunt
Funera natorum, rogus aspiciendus amatae
Conjugis et fratris plenaeque sororibus urnae.
Haec data poena diu viventibus, ut renovata
Semper clade domus multis in luctibus inque
Perpetuo moerore et nigra veste senescant.
Rex Pylius, magno si quidquam credis Homero,
Exemplum vitae fuit a cornice secundae.
Felix nimirum, qui tot per secula mortem
Distulit atque suos jam dextra computat annos
Quique novum toties mustum bibit. Oro parumper
Attendas, quantum de legibus ipse queratur
Fatorum et nimio de stamine, quum videt acris

appears to have exheredated his children, and his property to have passed by the testament to Phiale. If this is not the meaning, and the writer of the satire supposes the old fellow simply to say that he gives nothing to his children, then in the language of the Roman law 'inutiliter testabitur;' as to the exact force of which term the lawyers at one time were not agreed (Gaius i. 123). But as the property is said to pass to Phiale, we must assume that the man had disinherited his children in due form. (See note on S. i. 55, and Long's articles 'Heres' and 'Testamentum' in Dict. Ant.) There is an obscene allusion in 'tantum artificis,' &c. 'Carcere fornicis' is at the entrance of the brothel, where women exposed themselves (vi. 121). Ruperti recommends 'codice scaevo,' a stupid reading found in one MS.

240. *Ut vigeant sensus animi,*] But suppose he keeps his faculties, still he must see all he loves dying before him. These lines too are very forcible. [P. and Ribbeck have 'sint.']

247. *a cornice secundae.*] Nestor is next to the crow. Horace has a woman who is as old and Martial one that is older than the crows (x. 67). See note on Hor. C. iv. 13. 24: "Servatura diu parem Cornicis vetulae temporibus Lycen." The place in Homer is Il. i. 250. The number of ages is three. By 'dextra computat annos' he means that he was above a hundred years of age. It was usual to count up to a hundred on the fingers of the left hand, and then to begin with the right. In the Anthology there is an epigram on a garrulous old lady who was as fresh as a girl, but her years were such that she had got back to her left hand: she must have been in her third century.

> ἡ πολίη κροτάφοισι Κυτύτταγις, ἡ πολύμυθος
> γραῖα, δι' ἣν Νέστωρ οὐκέτι πρεσβύτατος·
> ἡ φάος ἀθρήσασ' ἐλάφου πλέον, ἡ χερὶ λαιῇ
> γῆρας ἀριθμεῖσθαι δεύτερον ἀρξαμένη.
> (Brunck, Anal. vol. ii. p. 160.)

'Mustum' is new unfermented wine, which would be drunk in autumn. He only means he was happy of course (nimirum) to have seen so many years come round.

252. *nimio de stamine,*] Of the long thread of his life. See note on S. iii. 27. He wept sore for his son Antilochus, who was killed by Memnon. Propertius (iii. 4. 47, Paley) says of him:

> "Cui si longaevae minuisset fata senectae
> [Gallicus] Iliacis miles in aggeribus,
> Non ille Antilochi vidisset corpus humati,
> Diceret aut, O mors! cur mihi sera venis?"

'Barbam' implies that he was of mature age. 'Ardentem' means his body burning on the pile. The construction, 'quaerit ab omni, quisquis adest socius,' where 'socio' may be supplied after 'omni,' is the same as in v. 210.

Antilochi barbam ardentem; quum quaerit ab omni,
Quisquis adest socius, cur haec in tempora duret,
Quod facinus dignum tam longo admiserit aevo.
Haec eadem Peleus, raptum quum luget Achillem,
Atque alius, cui fas Ithacum lugere natantem.
Incolumi Troja Priamus venisset ad umbras
Assaraci magnis solemnibus, Hectore funus
Portante ac reliquis fratrum cervicibus inter
Iliadum lacrimas, ut primos edere planctus
Cassandra inciperet scissaque Polyxena palla,
Si foret exstinctus diverso tempore, quo non
Coeperat audaces Paris aedificare carinas.
Longa dies igitur quid contulit? omnia vidit
Eversa et flammis Asiam ferroque cadentem.
Tunc miles tremulus positā tulit arma tiara
Et ruit ante aram summi Jovis, ut vetulus bos,
Qui domini cultris tenue et miserabile collum
Praebet ab ingrato jam fastiditus aratro.
Exitus ille utcunque hominis; sed torva canino
Latravit rictu quae post hunc vixerat uxor.
Festino ad nostros et regem transeo Ponti

256. *Haec eadem Peleus,*] See Pindar, Pyth. iv. 'Alius' is Laertes, father of Ulysses, whose wanderings and trials are summed up in a few lines by Propertius. The grief of Laertes after the departure of Telemachus in search of his father is spoken of by Homer, Odyss. xvi. 138. After the return of Ulysses, Laertes renewed his youth with the help of Athena (Odyss. xxiv. 204, sqq.). 'Natantem' means 'afloat.' See Prop. iv. 12. 32 (Paley).

258. *ad umbras Assaraci*] Assaracus was great-uncle of Priam. Juvenal means if Priam had gone to his fathers before the siege of Troy, he would have had a fine funeral, and his sons would have carried him to burial; the women would have wept for him, and his daughters would have led the wailing (*ἦρξάν κε γόοιο*, a common Homeric expression). Paris' bold ships are the fleet in which he first sailed to Sparta, and then carried off Helen. Hor. C. i. 15. 1:

> "Pastor cum traheret per freta navibus
> Idaeis Helenam perfidus hospitam."

The death of Priam killed by Pyrrhus at the altar of Jove, is related by Virgil, Aen. ii. 506, sqq. Juvenal says he went to the altar to be slain like an old ox who has done his work at the plough and is now counted fit only for sacrifice.

271. *Exitus ille utcunque hominis;*] His death however was the death of a man; whereas his wife Hecuba was changed into a dog. That was one legend referred to in Euripides' play that bears her name (v. 1265), and related by Ovid (Met. xiii. 423 sqq.). Cicero mentions the same (Tusc. Qu. iii. 26): "Hecubam autem putant propter animi acerbitatem quandam et rabiem fingi in canem esse conversam." By surviving her husband she lived to be a slave, to witness the death of two more children, Polyxena and Polydorus, and to die a dog.

273. *regem transeo Ponti*] 'Tránseo' is not here used as in iii. 114 and vi. 602. It means 'I pass over, say nothing about.' He is referring to Mithridates VI, Eupator, the great adversary of the Romans, who after a stormy life came to a bad end about the age of seventy. The story of Solon's answer to Croesus is familiar. It occurs in Herodotus (i. 32). It is not necessary here to discuss the pro-

Et Croesum, quem vox justi facunda Solonis
Respicere ad longae jussit spatia ultima vitae.
Exsilium et carcer Minturnarumque paludes
Et mendicatus victa Carthagine panis
Hinc causas habuere. Quid illo cive tulisset
Natura in terris, quid Roma beatius unquam,
Si circumducto captivorum agmine et omni
Bellorum pompa animam exhalasset opimam,
Quum de Teutonico vellet descendere curru?
Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres

bability of Herodotus' story. It was doubted on chronological grounds as far back as the time of Plutarch (see Blakesley's note).

275. *spatia ultima*] This metaphor is taken from the course in the Circus. 'Ultima spatia' was the last circuit: the plural is used because the chariots commonly went more than once round the course (spatium). See below, v. 358.

276. *Exsilium et carcer*] He goes on to speak of C. Marius, whom we have had before (viii. 245, sqq.) as conqueror of the Cimbri and Teutones, and triumphing on that account, B.C. 102. He was then fifty-five. In B.C. 88, when Marius was in his sixty-ninth year, he was obliged to fly from Rome to escape from Sulla, and in his flight tried to hide himself in a marsh near Minturnae on the Liris. He was caught and kept in custody for some time, but he was allowed to escape by sea, and he went to Carthage as Velleius says (ii. 19) "inopemque vitam in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginiensium toleravit." [Plutarch (Marius, 37—40) has also the story of Marius sitting as a fugitive on the ruins of Carthage, which may be founded on some commonplace in the declamatory exercises of the imperial period.] The following year, his party having gained temporary success, he was able to return to Rome, where he made a fearful example of his enemies, but died in January B.C. 86 in his seventh consulship, worn out by a life of extraordinary activity. Sulla, when he got back to Rome, had the ashes of Marius thrown into the Anio.

280. *Si circumducto*] As to the course of the triumphal procession see note on Horace, Epod. vii. 8. The hiatus in v. 281 must be observed. Ruperti has given a list of all in Juvenal on i. 151, V. L. 'Animam opimam' may be rendered 'his full soul,' but an exact rendering is not to be found. It seems to involve a reference to the 'spolia opima,' and is particularly suited to a conqueror. Horace has "Sectamur ultro quos opimus Fallere et effugere est triumphus" (C. iv. 4. 51). The 'pompa' is described above, v. 36, n.

283. *Provida Pompeio dederat*] In the year B.C. 50 Pompeius, then at the height of his fortunes, was attacked by a severe illness at Neapolis. Prayers and sacrifices were offered for his recovery; he did recover, and the cities offered thanksgivings and had a holiday on the occasion. Next year Caesar crossed the Rubicon, Pompeius had to fly for his life, and in the following year (B.C. 48) lost it (see above, v. 108, n.). Cicero, taking the same line of argument as Juvenal, asks whether if Pompeius had then died he would have been parted from happiness or misery? Certainly (he adds) from misery; for he would not have warred with his father-in-law, he would not have taken up arms unprepared, nor left his home, nor fled from Italy, nor lost his army, nor fallen into the hands and by the sword of slaves; his sons would not have perished nor his possessions have been transferred to his conqueror. If he had died then he would have died in the enjoyment of the largest prosperity; by the prolonging of his life what a cup of incredible calamities he drained! (Tusc. Quaest. i. 35.) Juvenal may have had this passage before him or not. He says Campania, foreseeing what was coming, gave him a fever such as all might have prayed for, but instead of that many cities prayed that it might be removed, and their prayers prevailed. So his own fortune and Rome's preserved him, but only to be beaten and lose his head. On the Fortuna of Rome Plutarch has a treatise. Individuals, too, had their Fortuna, which was different from their Genius. (See Introduction to Hor. C. i. 35, addressed to Fortuna.) 'Vincere' is the usual word for prevailing in prayer.

Optandas: sed multae urbes et publica vota
Vicerunt. Igitur Fortuna ipsius et Urbis
Servatum victo caput abstulit. Hoc cruciatu
Lentulus, hac poena caruit, ceciditque Cethegus
Integer, et jacuit Catilina cadavere toto.
  Formam optat modico pueris, majore puellis
Murmure, quum Veneris fanum videt anxia mater,
Usque ad delicias votorum. "Cur tamen," inquit,
"Corripias? Pulchra gaudet Latona Diana."
Sed vetat optari faciem Lucretia qualem
Ipsa habuit: cuperet Rutilae Virginia gibbum
Accipere atque suam Rutilae dare. Filius autem
Corporis egregii miseros trepidosque parentes
Semper habet. Rara est adeo concordia formae
Atque pudicitiae. Sanctos licet horrida mores
Tradiderit domus ac veteres imitata Sabinos,

286. *Hoc cruciatu Lentulus,*] P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura and C. Cornelius Cethegus were left behind by Catilina when he left Rome, to carry out the conspiracy, to fire the city, and kill the senators. They were betrayed and taken, and pursuant to a vote of the Senate they were strangled in prison by the common executioner on the night of the 5th of December, B.C. 63. "In carcere parricidae strangulantur" (Florus iv. 1). Catilina was pursued, and being unable to escape, he engaged with a small undisciplined army the regular troops, and was killed, B.C. 62. Dion Cass. (xxxvii. 40) says his head was sent to Rome that people might believe he was dead. If this be true, Juvenal perhaps only thought of his death on the field of battle, which was as gallant as possible. "Catilina longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est; pulcherrima morte si pro patria sic concidisset" (Florus iv. 1, fin.; and Sallust, Cat. c. 61). Mutilation was dreaded by the ancients. Suetonius says of Nero, "Nihil prius ac magis a comitibus exegerat quam ne potestas cuiquam capitis sui fieret, sed ut quoquo modo totus cremaretur" (c. 49).

290. *Murmure, quum Veneris fanum*] The mother prays that her children may be beautiful: the prayer is suppressed with a murmur, "Illa sibi introrsum et sub lingua immurmurat" (Pers. ii. 9), but when she comes to pray for the girls her eagerness almost breaks out into audible words. There were temples or chapels of Venus in various parts of the city. 'Usque ad delicias votorum' Heinrich explains as 'usque ad ineptias,' to a foolish fondness, quoting Seneca (de Beneficiis iv. 5): "neque enim necessitatibus tantummodo nostris provisum est: usque in delicias amamur;" but as that applies to the love of God for men, 'delicias' is not 'ineptias' there. The translators and commentators all differ more or less. It seems to mean even to fastidiousness in her prayers. She will not be content with any thing short of perfection.

292. *Pulchra gaudet Latona Diana.*] This alludes probably to that passage in which Virgil likens Dido to Diana (Aen. i. 498):

"Qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per juga Cynthi
Exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram
Fert humero, gradiensque deas supereminet omnes:
Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus."

294. *Rutilae Virginia gibbum*] Rutila is any one with a hump on her back. The examples of Lucretia and Virginia are both happily chosen. Purer examples of womanhood are not upon record. Their only fault was beauty. After 'suam' 'formam' is easily supplied.

299. *veteres imitata Sabinos,*] See note

Praeterea castum ingenium vultumque modesto
Sanguine ferventem tribuat natura benigna
Larga manu: (quid enim puero conferre potest plus
Custode et cura natura potentior omni?)
Non licet esse viros, nam prodiga corruptoris
Improbitas ipsos audet temptare parentes.
Tanta in muneribus fiducia! Nullus ephebum
Deformem saeva castravit in arce tyrannus;
Nec praetextatum rapuit Nero loripedem nec
Strumosum atque utero pariter gibboque tumentem.
I nunc et juvenis specie laetare tui, quem
Majora exspectant discrimina: fiet adulter
Publicus, et poenas metuet, quascunque maritis
Iratis debet; nec erit felicior astro
Martis, ut in laqueos nunquam incidat. Exigit autem

on Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 25, "rigidis aequata Sabinis;" and C. iii. 6. 37:

"Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
Versare glebas, et severae
Matris ad arbitrium recisos
Portare fustes."

'Horrida' is equivalent to 'rigida,' 'severa,' in these extracts. Livy has "disciplina tetrica ac tristis veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit" (i. 18).

300. *modesto Sanguine ferventem*] "Hot with modest blood" is a good way of expressing a blush. He says nature is stronger than any guardian or any watchfulness, and she can give no greater safeguard to a boy than a chaste disposition and a modest face. But a handsome boy is not allowed to grow up a man (which is explained in v. 307), for his parents will sell him. The reading of the best MSS. in 304 is 'viros.' Ruperti from some of inferior rank has 'viris.' Jahn has adopted from his own conjecture 'viro' [and Ribbeck accepts it].

306. *Nullus ephebum*] 'Ephebus,' borrowed from the Greek, is a youth just after he has taken the 'toga virilis' (adolescens): 'praetextatus' is a boy who has not yet taken it. See notes on S. i. 78, and ii. 164. 'Arce' is the emperor's palace. 'Rapuit' means 'ravished.' 'Loripedem' is explained on ii. 23. 'Strumosum' is 'scrofulous.'

310. *I nunc*] This is a favourite way of speaking with Juvenal. See vi. 306; x. 166; xii. 57. He says, "Go now and be proud of your son's beauty, seeing that it only involves him in the greater danger." I do not like the punctuation of Ruperti and Heinrich: "I nunc et juvenis specie laetare tui! quem Majora exspectant discrimina?" I agree with Jahn here. 'Adulter publicus' means a paramour at every bad woman's command, provided she pays him, as it appears below.

313. *nec erit felicior astro Martis,*] This is an uncommon construction, but the meaning is his star will not prove luckier than that of Mars, who was caught in adultery with Venus by Vulcan, and entangled in a fine chain net, and so exposed to the laughter of the gods. Ovid tells the story, and says it was "in toto notissima fabulo caelo" (Met. iv. 189). See also Odyss. viii. 266.

314. *Exigit autem . . . ille dolor*] The mischief people get into by meddling with other men's wives is summed up by Horace, S. i. 2. 41: "Hic se praecipitem tecto dedit; ille flagellis Ad mortem caesus," &c. He ends with saying, "Deprendi miserum est: Fabio vel judice vincam." The punishment by the insertion of a mullet is referred to by Catullus (xv. 19). See Forcellini. Valerius Maximus (vi. 1. 13) gives a catalogue of examples beginning much in Juvenal's words: "Sed ut eos quoque qui in vindicanda pudicitia dolore suo pro publica lege usi sunt strictim percurram: Sempronius Musca C. Gallium deprehensum in adulterio flagellis cecidit; C. Memmius L. Octavium similiter

Interdum ille dolor plus quam lex ulla dolori
Concessit. Necat hic ferro, secat ille cruentis
Verberibus, quosdam moechos et mugilis intrat.
Sed tuus Endymion dilectae fiet adulter
Matronae: mox quum dederit Servilia nummos,
Fiet et illius quam non amat; exuet omnem
Corporis ornatum. Quid enim ulla negaverit udis
Inguinibus, sive est haec Oppia sive Catulla?
Deterior totos habet illic femina mores.
Sed casto quid forma nocet?—Quid profuit immo
Hippolyto grave propositum? quid Bellerophonti?

deprehensum nervis contudit; Carbo Accienus a Vibieno, item Pontius a P. Cernio deprehensi castrati sunt: Cn. etiam Furium Brochum quidam deprehendit et familiae stuprandum objecit. Quibus irae suae indulsisse fraudi non fuit." Socrates touches on this subject in his discourse with Aristippus (Xen. Mem. ii. 1. 5).

318. *Sed tuus Endymion*] "But if at first your fair boy intrigues with a woman for love, presently when another offers him money he will be the slave of one whom he does not love, and she will strip herself of all her jewels; for there is nothing women will not give for the gratifying of their lusts, whether they be high born or low." The boy's decline is thus traced; he is chaste and modest at first; his parents sell him to the lust of men; when he is old enough he falls into an intrigue with a married woman for love; he is drawn away from her by a richer woman, and so ends in selling his beauty for money, and from a pure boy becomes not only a profligate but a greedy one. Oppia and Catulla seem to be opposed as rich and poor, or high and low. The name of Catulla occurs in S. ii. 49. Gifford translates v. 318 as if it were an answer of the mother:

"But my Endymion will more lucky prove,
And serve a beauteous mistress, all for love."

And Accio does the same:

"Ma il nostro Endimion fia sol di cara
E distinta Matrona amato drudo."

They must therefore have read 'meus Endymion,' which does not appear in any MSS. or editions that I can trace.

323. *Deterior totos*] This verse Heinrich considers spurious. As it stands it seems to mean that the character of the unchaste woman is all centred in this, that is in the gratification of her lust, or (here) in that which gratifies it. The Scholiast appears to mean this when he says "nihil aliud nisi libidinem spectat." The words have been turned a great many ways, and Jahn joins 'deterior' with Catulla, thus:

"—— sive Catulla
Deterior: totos," &c.

[Ribbeck has the same.]

324. *Sed casto quid forma nocet?*] He has just shown that beauty is the first step to unchastity. But he now adds, "suppose he retains his chastity, what harm will his beauty do then?" And he answers the question himself—"nay rather, what good did Hippolytus' stern resolve do him?" He resisted the advances of his stepmother Phaedra, who was the daughter of Minos, king of Crete, and so is called Cressa (v. 327). Bellerophon was tempted by Stheneboea, or as some say Antea, and when he resisted her she charged him to her husband Proetus, as Potiphar's wife charged Joseph. Horace (C. iii. 7. 17) adds a third story of Peleus flying from Hippolyte (or Astydamia) wife of Acastus under the same circumstances:

"Narrat paene datum Pelea Tartaro,
Magnessam Hippolyten dum fugit abstinens."

'Propositum' is used as by Horace, "Justum et tenacem propositi virum" (C. iii. 3). 'Haec,' as is easily seen, though it is not expressed, refers to Phaedra, who is called Cressa from her birthplace. She blushed when she was refused who had no shame in asking. 'Repulso' is the reading of Jahn and Heinrich, who says it is the ablative absolute. P. and the Scholiast give 'repulso,' but most MSS. 'repulsa,' which is simplest and best, as a participle.

Erubuit nempe haec ceu fastidita; repulsa
Nec Stheneboea minus quam Cressa excanduit, et se
Concussere ambae. Mulier saevissima tunc est
Quum stimulos odio pudor admovet. Elige quidnam
Suadendum esse putes cui nubere Caesaris uxor
Destinat. Optimus hic et formosissimus idem
Gentis patriciae rapitur miser exstinguendus
Messalinae oculis: dudum sedet illa parato
Flameolo, Tyriusque palam genialis in hortis
Sternitur, et ritu decies centena dabuntur
Antiquo; veniet cum signatoribus auspex.
Haec tu secreta et paucis commissa putabas.

328. *Concussere ambae.*] Forcellini explains this, they roused themselves to vengeance. And so Britannicus says. It means they were excited to madness. He adds that woman is never so savage as when shame adds its sting to hate. 'Pudor' is not commonly used for the shame of guilt, the foundation of which is a remnant of modesty, and 'pudor' in this sense is outraged modesty.

329. *Elige quidnam*] "Choose what advice you think should be given to him whom Caesar's wife resolves to marry." The story of Messalina and C. Silius here referred to has been mentioned above (S. vi. 115, n.). The Silia gens was not patrician but plebeian, and not much distinguished. But this was not material in the present instance, where Juvenal is speaking of the gift of beauty and its fatal consequences. Silius' father had been consul, and he was consul elect in the year A.D. 47. Tacitus calls Silius "juventutis Romanae pulcherrimum" (Ann. xi. 12). Juvenal says he was also 'optimus:' if so, his virtue was not proof against the temptation of such a connexion and his fear of Messalina's anger. Tacitus says Silius (whom Messalina induced to put away his wife) was not ignorant of the greatness of the sin or of the danger, but being certain of death if he rejected her, and having some hope of escaping discovery, at the same time attracted by the great prizes within his reach, he consoled himself with waiting for the future and enjoying the present moment. The intrigue was carried on without any concealment on the part of Messalina; but according to Tacitus it was Silius who proposed to her that they should marry, and she with some reluctance, fearing lest she should lose her hold upon him, consented (Ann. xi. 26). It suits Juvenal's purpose to give a different version of the story, or he may have heard and believed what he says, that the man had no choice but compliance or death.

332. *rapitur miser exstinguendus*] He is hurried to his death by Messalina's eyes: 'oculis' depends on both. As to 'flameolo' see note on ii. 124, and on 'lectus genialis' see vi. 22, n. Here it was covered, as became the occasion, with 'stragulae vestes' of purple. See note on Hor. S. ii. 8. 118, and ii. 4. 84: "Et Tyrias dare circum illuta toralia vestes." As to 'decies centena' see note on S. vi. 136. 'Ritu antiquo' refers to the 'dos,' not to the amount of it. The 'signatores' were witnesses to the marriage contract. See ii. 119, n.: "Signatae tabulae." Tacitus (Ann. xi. 27) describes the marriage in the same way: "Adhibitis qui obsignarent velut suscipiendorum liberorum causa (these three last words were part of the formula in the 'tabulae sponsales') convenisse atque illam audisse auspicum verba, subisse, sacrificasse apud deos, discubitum inter convivas; oscula, complexus; noctem denique actam licentia conjugali:" that all this should have taken place so publicly, he says, must appear fabulous. Suetonius says (Claud. 26): "C. Silio nupsisse, dote etiam inter auspices consignata." Cicero (de Div. i. 16) speaks of the practice of taking the 'auspicia' at weddings as a thing retained only in name. "Nuptiarum auspices qui re omissa nomen tantum tenent." The 'auspices' were probably in attendance at marriages of importance, or at the signing of the contract, and went through some formula. They declared whether the day was fortunate. (See note on S. ii. 117.)

Non nisi legitime vult nubere. Quid placeat dic :
Ni parere velis pereundum erit ante lucernas :
Si scelus admittas dabitur mora parvula, dum res
Nota Urbi et populo contingat Principis aures.
Dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus : interea tu
Obsequere imperio ; sit tanti vita dierum
Paucorum. Quidquid melius leviusque putaris,
Praebenda est gladio pulcra haec et candida cervix.
  Nil ergo optabunt homines? Si consilium vis,
Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus quid
Conveniat nobis rebusque sit utile nostris.
Nam pro jucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt di.
Carior est illis homo quam sibi. Nos animorum
Impulsu et caeca magnaque cupidine ducti
Conjugium petimus partumque uxoris : at illis
Notum qui pueri qualisque futura sit uxor.
Ut tamen et poscas aliquid voveasque sacellis

339. *ante lucernas :*] Before dark. If he consented he would get a short delay till a scandal known to all the town should reach the ears of the emperor, who was at Ostia when this monstrous transaction occurred. The courtiers were in much perplexity as to how they should act for their own safety; and finally the marriage was reported to Claudius through two of his concubines. After a good deal of hesitation Claudius ordered the death of Silius, who died without fear. Messalina would have escaped if Narcissus had not pretended the emperor's orders and caused her to be put to death. When the emperor was informed she was dead he asked no questions, but called for his wine and went to dinner. [In v. 341 Jahn and Ribbeck have 'aurem.']

343. *sit tanti*] This is the reading of P. and other MSS. But 'sit' is corrected in P 'manu secunda' into 'si' [which is the reading of Jahn and Ribbeck]. The common reading is 'si.' Heinrich and Ruperti have 'sit,' in which there is more force I think. He bids him obey the woman's command, and though he may not like it he had better pay the price for a few days' life. See xiii. 96, n.

345. *candida cervix.*] Decapitation and strangling were the common way of executing criminals, except the lowest and slaves, who were crucified.

347. *Permittes ipsis*] Horace uses 'permittere' in the same way (C. i. 9. 9), "Permitte Divis caetera." This advice is very much that of Socrates, as it is given in Xenophon (Mem. i. 3. 2), and in the Dialogue Alcibiades ii. attributed to Plato. Valerius Maximus has produced Socrates' opinion in a form which is so like that of Juvenal that it seems as if the passage had been before him when he wrote this satire. "Socrates, humanae sapientiae quasi quoddam terrestre oraculum, nihil ultra petendum ab immortalibus Diis arbitrabatur quam ut bona tribuerent, quia ii demum scirent quid unicuique esset utile; nos autem plerumque id votis expetere quod non impetrasse melius foret. Etenim, densissimis tenebris involuta mortalium mens, in quam late patentes errores caecas precationes tuas spargis! Divitias appetis quae multis exitio fuerunt; honores concupiscis qui complures pessum dederunt; regna tecum ipse volvis quorum exitus saepenumero miserabiles cernuntur; splendidis conjugiis injicis manus, at haec ut aliquando illustrant ita nonnunquam funditus domos everterunt. Desine igitur stulte futuris malorum tuorum causis quasi felicissimis rebus inhiare, teque totum caelestium arbitrio permitte; quia qui tribuere bona ex facili solent etiam eligere aptissima possunt" (vii. 2. 1. externa).

354. *Ut tamen et poscas*] "You had better not ask any thing: but suppose you must ask something, let it be a healthy mind and a healthy body, a stout heart,

Exta et candiduli divina tomacula porci,
Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano:
Fortem posce animum mortis terrore carentem,
Qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
Naturae, qui ferre queat quoscunque labores,
Nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil, et potiores
Herculis aerumnas credat saevosque labores
Et Venere et coenis et pluma Sardanapali.
Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare: semita certe
Tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
Nullum numen abest si sit Prudentia: nos te,
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.

patient and content." 'Et' is used for emphasis, as the Greeks used καί. 'Sacellis' means the chapel every man had in his house, in which were images of the Lares, to whom the offering of a pig was common (Hor. C. iii. 23. 4). 'Tomacula' is minced meat, derived from τέμνω. Jahn from P. has 'tumacula,' which is unintelligible. As to 'fortem' see note on Hor. C. S. 57. It means resolution in keeping the right course, moral courage and consistency: a heart which while it counts death a boon is able to bear patiently the hard task of living. 'Pluma' means feather beds or pillows.

358. *spatium . . extremum*] See v. 275, n.

363. *Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare:*] "What I direct you to, you can get for yourself, for it is certain that the only path of life in which peace is known lies through virtue." Virtue is therefore represented as a happy land through which they who pass in the journey of life are at peace. Horace has a like expression (Epp. i. 18. 103): "An secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae." In the same Epistle (v. 111, sq.) he says,

"Sed satis est orare Jovem quod donat et aufert;
Det vitam, det opes: aequum mi animum ipse parabo."

There is a more trifling spirit in this than in the language of Juvenal.

365. *Nullum numen abest*] Most MSS. have 'habes.' P. has '*abest;' others and many old editions have 'abest,' which I think is right. I can make nothing satisfactory of 'habes.' Ruperti, Jahn [and Ribbeck] have 'habes:' Heinrich 'abest.' He proposes 'adsit' for 'sit,' but I think it unnecessary. The verses are repeated in xiv. 315, sq. As to Fortuna see above, v. 285, n. Some MSS. and editions have 'sed te:' 'nos te' is better. He says it is only we, we men who have made a goddess of Fortune. Prudence (providentia) makes us independent of her, and the gods are all on the side of the provident. [The evidence of the MSS. hardly enables us to decide whether 'habes' or 'abest' is the true reading, and opinions may differ. We must therefore endeavour to get the sense from the context. In answer to the question, Shall men then wish for nothing? the writer says, we must leave the gods to determine what is best for us. But if we will pray for any thing, we should ask for health and a sound mind, courage against death, which we must consider to be a natural event (an event as much in the course of nature as our birth, as the Stoics said); and fortitude, and superiority over all movements of the senses. This, he adds, is what man can give to himself, and by a virtuous life alone can he secure tranquillity. Then comes the conclusion. If you possess prudence or foresight, which we must take to be only another expression for this disposition of the mind which he has described, 'you have (habes) no divinity or god;' which perhaps may mean, you want none to help you, you need not pray to them; for he admits that there are gods, and that they look after us better than we do after ourselves. Men however, he says, instead of leaving the gods to do what they think best for them, and exercising their own prudence, make Fortune a goddess, as the Romans did, and trust to her.

If we take the reading 'abest,' the interpretation must be what the editor has

given: if we have prudence, the gods will not fail us; they will do their part. This explanation seems to me more consistent with the tone in which the writer speaks of the deities; but we can hardly be sure that we have discovered his meaning. See xiv. 315, n.]

SATIRA XI.

INTRODUCTION.

JUVENAL invites his friend, whom he calls Persicus, to dinner, and prepares him for plain fare by observations on the conduct of those who with small means affect the indulgences of the rich, and who squander the little they have upon their belly. This extravagance he associates with self-ignorance, and takes occasion to commend that golden rule of life, KNOW THYSELF. He gives a simple account of his own table and establishment, comparing his own way of living with that of the worthies of former days, and contrasting it with the display and profusion of modern times, in respect to furniture, servants, and food, as well as the wanton entertainments with which the fashionable dinners of his day were accompanied.

The time is that of the Megalesian festival in honour of Cybele, that is in April, and Juvenal was not young when he wrote. The composition is in Horace's style, without any appearance of imitation. The subject is not large, and there is no great variety of treatment. But as a picture of domestic manners and of a household of the better sort the satire is pleasing. If further historical evidence were needed than is abundantly found elsewhere in respect to the self-indulgence of the rich and their way of living, this satire would supply it. The principal commonplace is sensibly put, the simplicity of the olden time is described in a graphic way, there is heartiness in the invitation, and the occasion is marked with dramatic distinctness in the concluding lines.

ARGUMENT.

If Atticus lives well he's reckoned generous; if Rutilus, a madman. All men laugh to see a pauper epicure, and so all talk of Rutilus. He's young and stout enough for the wars, and yet (with the prince's leave) it's said he means to train for the arena. There's many a man who lives but for his palate, for whom his creditor looks out at the entrance of the market. The poorest live the best, just on the verge of bankruptcy. Meanwhile they search the elements for dainties, regardless of the price, or in their hearts preferring what is dearest. For men so reckless it is not hard to get the money. They'll sell their dishes or their mother's image, to season for four hundred sesterces a glutton's crockery. 'Tis thus they come to gladiators' fare.

V. 21. That then which riches make respectable is wanton luxury in the poor. The man of learning who knows not the difference between a cash chest and a little purse I do well to despise. That rule came down from heaven, "KNOW THYSELF." Remember it when you think of marrying or entering the Senate (Thersites did not seek Achilles' armour in which Ulysses made a doubtful figure); or if you aim at pleading some great cause, think who you are, whether a mighty speaker or mere mouther. In great things or in small take your own measure. Buy not a mullet if

your purse will go no further than a gudgeon. What can you come to if your appetite grows larger as your purse grows emptier; when all you have is buried in your belly? The ring goes last, and Pollio with bare finger begs. Wantonness fears not early death, but age much worse than death. The steps are these. Money is borrowed first and spent at Rome; but when the usurer begins to trouble them, then off they go to some nice country town. To run away from the forum is no worse than from Suburra to migrate to Esquiliae: they only care that they must lose the games: they never think of blushing: Modesty is laughed at as she flies the town, and few men care to stay her.

V. 56. To-day, my friend, you'll see whether I practise what I preach, or praise plain fare but call for rich. You'll find in me Evander, you shall be Hercules or Aeneas. Now listen to your dinner. A young kid from my farm, and wild roots gathered by my gardener's wife; fresh eggs warm in the nest, and hens that laid them; grapes fresh as when first plucked, the finest pears and apples, the crude juice dried from out them.

V. 77. Such was the dinner of our senators when first they grew luxurious. The herbs he gathered in his little garden, such as a ditcher now turns up his nose at, Curius would boil with his own hand. The flitch hung up to dry in former times they kept for holidays, and lard for birthdays for their blood relations and part of the victim's meat. The great man who had thrice been consul, dictator too, went to such feasts stalking along with spade upon his shoulder. In the strict Censor's days no one would ask what sort of turtles might be found in the sea, to ornament the rich man's couch: they were content with a rude ass's head. Their food and house and furniture were plain alike.

V. 100. Unskilled in art, the cups they got for plunder the soldiers broke to ornament their harness or their helmets. The only silver that they had adorned their arms. Their homely fare was served in earthenware. If you're inclined to envy, you might envy those good times. The gods were nearer unto men; they warned the city of the Gauls' approach, such care for Rome had Jupiter when made of clay. The tables then were made of home-grown wood. But now the richest viands have no flavour except on a round table with a carved ivory stem; a silver one to them is rude as an iron ring upon the finger.

V. 129. I'll have no guest then who despises poverty. I have not an ounce of ivory in all my house; the very handles of my knives are bone; and yet they do not spoil the meat, or cut the worse for that. And I've no carver taught by first-rate artist, who teaches them to cut up all fine dishes. My man's a novice too, and cannot filch except in a small way, a chop or so. I've only a rough boy in woollen clothes to offer you my vulgar herbs, no eastern bought for a vast price from dealers. Whatever you may ask for ask in Latin. They all are dressed alike, their hair cropped straight, combed out to-day in honour of my guest; boys from the farm, modest as those should be who wear the purple, not trained to lewdness. One shall bring you wine grown on his native hills. Look not for wanton dancing girls (such as your married ladies gaze at with their husbands at their elbow) to tickle lust: though women care for this more than the men. But this is not for humble houses. We leave the click of castanets and songs too lewd for brothels and all the tricks of lust for those who void their rheum on marble floors. We make allowances for wealth, only the poor are shamed by gambling and adultery: the rich who do such things are merry gentlemen. You'll find with me a different sort of sports: we'll read what Homer wrote and his peer Maro. It matters not what voice recites such verses.

V. 183. But come, put care away and take a rest. We'll have no word of debts or jealous thoughts; before my door you must put off all this, home and its troubles, slaves and their breakages, and worse than all the ingratitude of friends. The great

Idaean games are going on. The praetor, victim of his horses, sits as a conqueror in triumph; all Rome (the multitude must pardon me) has poured into the Circus, and by that shout I know that Green has won the day. For had it not you might have seen the city all in mourning as on that day of Cannae. Let boys go look at games, boys who can shout and bet and sit by girls they love. Let my shrunk skin drink in the sun, and put the toga off. To-day an hour ere noon you may go bathe: you must not do so every day of the six, for even such a life as that would pall. Pleasures are sweeter for unfrequent use.

Atticus eximie si coenat lautus habetur,
Si Rutilus demens. Quid enim majore cachinno
Excipitur vulgi quam pauper Apicius? Omnis
Convictus, thermae, stationes, omne theatrum
De Rutilo. Nam dum valida ac juvenalia membra
Sufficiunt galeae dumque ardens sanguine, fertur
(Non cogente quidem sed nec prohibente Tribuno)

1. *Atticus eximie si coenat*] Atticus was the cognomen of many persons of high family and distinction under the empire. The name might be proverbial for wealth from the enormous fortune of T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero. Rutilus is a cognomen found in several families, both patrician and plebeian. The owner of it here had run through his fortune. 'Lautus' is here a munificent person who lives well, but has means in proportion (see below, v. 22). 'Excipitur' means 'is taken up,' as we say. As to Apicius, see iv. 23, n. [Ribbeck places vv. 1—55 at the bottom of his page.]

4. *Convictus, thermae, stationes,*] In all companies there is talk of Rutilus. 'Loquuntur' is understood. 'Convictus' is equivalent to 'convivia' here, and in other writers of the empire (see Forcellini). 'Thermae' are the baths, where a great deal of gossip went on (Hor. S. i. 4. 75, n.: "In medio qui Scripta foro recitent sunt multi quique lavantes"). Ruperti thinks 'thermae' is again put for 'thermopolia,' as in S. viii. 168. But here Juvenal is speaking of better company. Places of public resort, where people gathered for conversation, to meet friends and so forth, as we do where bands play, were called 'stationes.' 'Statio' is not so used earlier than the empire. There were three principal theatres at Rome in and after the time of Augustus (see Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 60, n.: "arcto stipata theatro"). There may have been minor theatres besides.

6. *Sufficiunt galeae*] He means that while he might be doing his country service in the field, he prefers letting himself to the 'lanista.' So he says of Lateranus who frequented the taverns, he was "Maturus bello Armeniae Syriaeque," &c. (viii. 169), and elsewhere (vii. 33) he speaks of youth as "aetas Et pelagi patiens et cassidis atque ligonis" (see x. 134, n.). The MSS. have 'ardens' (with the exception of two which have 'ardenti,' and one which has 'ardentis'), and all the editors till Ruperti, who on the conjecture of Rutgersius, Barthius, and others adopted 'ardent,' which is in Jahn's [and Ribbeck's] text. Heinecke and Heinrich both defend 'ardens,' understanding 'est.' We say 'while glowing,' and it is no great stretch of grammar to say 'dum ardens,' though Ruperti says 'et lectio et distinctio' appear to him 'scabra.' The MSS. vary between 'juvenalia' and 'juvenilia.' The latter is more in accordance with etymology.

7. *Non cogente quidem*] I think Ruperti is right in taking 'Tribuno' for the emperor, as "nullo cogente Nerone" in viii. 193. As stated in the note there, Augustus prohibited senators from becoming gladiators, while Nero forced them to act as such. Here it is implied that though the emperor did not compel the man as Nero, he might have prevented him like Augustus. 'Tribunus' is used for the Emperor Caligula, as it appears, in ii. 165. The tribunician power was taken by C. Julius Caesar for life: τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ὡς εἰπεῖν προσέθετο (Dion Cass. xlii. 20). He was content with the power and with sitting by the tribunes and taking rank with them, but Augustus took the title of tribune: "id summi fastigii vocabulum

Scripturus leges et regia verba lanistae.
Multos porro vides quos saepe elusus ad ipsum
Creditor introitum solet exspectare macelli,
Et quibus in solo vivendi causa palato est.
Egregius coenat meliusque miserrimus horum,
Et cito casurus jam perlucente ruina.
Interea gustus elementa per omnia quaerunt,
Nunquam animo pretiis obstantibus: interius si
Attendas, magis illa juvant quae pluris emuntur.
Ergo haud difficile est perituram arcessere summam

Augustus reperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen assumeret ac tamen appellatione aliqua caetera imperia praemineret" (Tac. Ann. iii. 56). In the decreta of the tribunes 'prohibere' was synonymous with 'intercedere.' It occurs in two decreta given by Aulus Gellius (vii. 19).

8. *Scripturus leges*] This is explained in a note on Horace, S. ii. 7. 59: "Auctoratus eas." The 'lanista' was the trainer, who also hired gladiators on his own account under a bond, the penalties of which were very severe. They are therefore called 'regia verba,' the words of a tyrant: 'leges' are his rules. 'Fertur scripturus' is, it is reported he means to write them out, the rules to learn and the bond to sign. As to 'lanista' see S. iii. 158, n.

9. *Multos porro vides*] These are such as Horace describes, S. i. 2. 7, sqq.:

"Hunc si perconteris avi cur atque parentis
Praeclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem,
Omnia conductis coemens obsonia nummis,
Sordidus atque animi quod parvi nolit haberi
Respondet."

Juvenal says, you see many besides, whom their creditors, not able to catch them elsewhere, wait for at the entrance of the market, fellows who live to eat but do not eat to live, as Socrates said (Gell. xix. 2). As to 'macellum' see S. v. 95, n. The place was enclosed, and was named after the wall, 'maceria,' with which it was surrounded (see Cic. in Verr. ii. 3. 62, Long's note).

12. *Egregius coenat meliusque*] 'Caeteris' may be understood. 'Egregius' is an unusual comparative form, from 'egregie.' [Ribbeck has a note on this form, Der Echte und der Unechte Juvenal, 87.] He says that those dine best who are poorest, who are like an old house just ready to fall and letting in the light through the cracks of the walls. 'Miser' is used in this sense of poor in viii. 122: "Fortibus et miseris."

14. *gustus elementa per omnia*] 'Gustus' were the things eaten at the 'promulsis' to provoke the appetite (Hor. S. i. 3. 6, n.: "ab ovo Usque ad mala"). Horace gives a list of them (S. ii. 8. 7, sqq.):

"——acria circum
Rapula, lactucae, radices, qualia lassum
Pervellunt stomachum, siser, allec, faecula Coa."

Besides these were eggs and the drink called 'mulsum,' from which the 'promulsis' or preliminary course was named. These persons got provocatives from water, air, and earth, fish, fowl, and vegetables, and the more they cost the more in their hearts they relished their dainties, a common weakness with the vain and extravagant. Horace tells his man to go and take exercise and get an appetite, and then, says he, "Sperne cibum vilem," despise a cheap meal if you can (S. ii. 2. 15). I am surprised to find from Jahn that Heinrich somewhere recommends 'alimenta' for 'elementa.'

17. *Ergo haud difficile est*] "Well then (since nothing stops them) it is not difficult to fetch the money which they are bent upon throwing away—they may pawn their dishes and dispose of their mother's bust, and season a glutton's platter with four hundred sesterces." As to 'opponere,' this was a common meaning of the word before Cicero and after (see Forcellini). Handsome silver dishes were found in all houses with any pretension to wealth, and they commonly had 'caelatores,' chasers in silver, on the slave establishment

Lancibus oppositis vel matris imagine fracta,
Et quadringentis nummis condire gulosum
Fictile. Sic veniunt ad miscellanea ludi.
Refert ergo quis haec eadem paret; in Rutilo nam
Luxuria est, in Ventidio laudabile nomen
Sumit et a censu famam trahit. Illum ego jure
Despiciam qui scit quanto sublimior Atlas
Omnibus in Libya sit montibus, hic tamen idem
Ignoret quantum ferrata distet ab arca
Sacculus. E caelo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτόν,
Figendum et memori tractandum pectore, sive
Conjugium quaeras vel sacri in parte Senatus

(S. ix. 145, n.) whose work this statuette or bust of the man's mother might be. His made dish was to cost upwards of three guineas. 'Gulosum fictile,' the dish of the glutton. It is now of earthenware, but he does not mind that. Ruperti says about the mother's statue, "fracta ex industria ut non cognosci possit et sine pudore vendi." Where does he get this? It may have been broken by carelessness. The man is not supposed to care much about the image, though it is his mother's.

20. *miscellanea ludi.*] 'Miscellanea' is a mess of all sorts of things, as the Scholiast explains it. Having spent all he had to spend, the man comes to put up with gladiators' fare. 'Ludus' is the lanista's school. 'Ludi' is not for 'ludii,' as Ruperti says (vi. 82).

21. *Refert ergo quis haec eadem paret;*] 'Ergo' is as I said, going back to v. 1 (see x. 44, n.: "Ergo supervacua," &c.). 'Refert' (rem fert) it makes a difference. 'Haec eadem' is these said dainties. Ventidius is put as Atticus was for any wealthy person. Ventidius Cumanus was procurator of Judaea in the reign of Claudius, and we have had another Ventidius above (vii. 199). The name must have represented a rich family, or Juvenal would not have used it. 'Laudabile nomen' is represented in 'lautus,' v. 1. For 'sumit' Heinrich would read 'sumptus' to get a subject for 'est' and 'trahit,' and to avoid the tautology in 'nomen sumit' and 'famam trahit.' Some tautology may be allowed. It is not much, and 'a censu' makes the second clause explanatory of the first. The subject of the three verbs is contained in 'haec eadem paret.' Ruperti says 'Luxuria a censu famam trahit,' which is wrong. In Rutilus the thing is luxury, in Ventidius it takes a creditable name.

25. *hic tamen idem Ignoret*] "While he, the very same man, knows not the great difference between a little bag and an iron-bound chest." He has learnt at school that Atlas is the highest mountain range in Africa, but does not know the great distance between his means and those of Ventidius and the like. Heinrich rightly explains the use of the subjunctive in 'ignoret' as above. Horace makes the rich patron reprove his humble friend thus:

"—— meae (contendere noli)
Stultitiam patiuntur opes; tibi parvula res est;
Arta decet sanum comitem toga; desine mecum
Certare." (Epp. i. 18. 28.)

And he makes Damasippus taunt him with the fable of the frog and the bull because he was building himself a house as Maecenas was doing:

"Aedificas, hoc est, longos imitaris ab imo
Ad summum totus moduli bipedalis.—
An quodcunque facit Maecenas te quoque verum est
Tantum dissimilem et tanto certare minorem?" (S. ii. 3. 308, sqq.)

Juvenal speaks of 'ambitiosa paupertas' pervading all classes (iii. 182). See Pers. iv. 52: "Tecum habita, noris quam sit tibi curta supellex." The saying γνῶθι σεαυτὸν is attributed to each of the seven wise men, to Pythagoras, to Socrates, and to the Delphic oracle, to which or other divine source Juvenal ascribes it.

29. *Conjugium quaeras*] Grangaeus quotes as a wise man's saying the words of a woman wise too late. Deianira says (Ovid, Heroid. ix. 29, sqq.):

Esse velis, (nec enim loricam poscit Achillis
Thersites, in qua se traducebat Ulixes
Ancipitem ;) seu tu magno discrimine causam
Protegere affectas, te consule, dic tibi quis sis,
Orator vehemens an Curtius et Matho buccae.
Noscenda est mensura sui spectandaque rebus
In summis minimisque; etiam quum piscis emetur,
Ne mullum cupias quum sit tibi gobio tantum

"Quam male inaequales veniant ad aratra juvenci,
Tam premitur magno conjuge nupta minor:
Non honor est sed onus, species laesura ferentem;
Si qua voles apte nubere, nube pari."

The Chorus in Aeschylus (Prom. Vinc. 887) says he was a clever man who first put forth this doctrine:

τὸ κηδεῦσαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀριστεύει μακρῷ.

Horace says of himself if he, as a freedman's son, were to succeed corruptly in getting made a senator, the censor would remove him, "Vel merito quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem" (S. i. 6. 22). This is what Juvenal means when he tells men they had better know themselves if they think of aspiring to a place in the Senate. He gives it more consideration than it deserved when he wrote.

30. *nec enim loricam poscit*] Thersites knew himself better than to try for Achilles' armour in which Ulysses cut a doubtful figure. 'Traducere' is used in this sense of exposure in S. viii. 17. Ruperti has two pages of doubts about these simple lines, because somebody says Thersites was killed by a knock on the head from Achilles himself, so he could not contend for his armour. Either therefore Juvenal forgot his history or else altered it. And Achaintre says we nowhere read that the Greeks laughed at Ulysses; on the contrary, they adjudged the armour to him. But Ruperti after all admits that, in his humble judgment, the lines may stand if only 'poscat' be substituted for 'poscit.' Heinecke (Animadv. p. 35, sqq.) is still more diffuse and quite furious in his objections. 'Ancipitem' agrees with 'se.' It means that he did not look like himself, people did not know him in the armour of Achilles. The editors generally take 'ancipitem' with 'causam,' which does not want it, for 'magno discrimine' is much stronger. Heinrich takes it with 'se.'

32. *seu tu magno discrimine causam*] "Or if you aspire to defend a cause of great nicety, consult yourself, and tell yourself which you are, a powerful pleader or such as Curtius and Matho, mere cheeks." 'Seu' (32) is opposed to 'sive' in 28 (sive quaeras vel velis—seu affectas), and a new verb is introduced, a common change of construction (S. xii. 102, n.). Before Curtius Heinrich would read 'aut.' The MSS. vary between 'an' and 'et.' 'Aut' would seem better. As to 'orator' see above, S. i. 32, n., where the 'causidicus Matho' is mentioned. Whether Curtius is the man Montanus (S. iv. 107) is uncertain. 'Buccae' is used for a ranting noisy fellow who blows out his cheeks like a bladder, and emits nothing but the wind that fills them: "jactanticuli qui tantum buccas inflant et nihil dicunt," as the Scholiast says. See iii. 35, "notaeque per oppida buccae," for horn-blowers.

35. *Noscenda est mensura sui*] This is like Horace's "Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est" (Epp. i. 7. 98). See vi. 357:

"Multis res angusta domi est: sed nulla pudorem
Paupertatis habet, nec se metitur ad illum,
Quem dedit haec posuitque modum."

'Gobio' or 'cobio,' as it appears to be sometimes spelt, is a gudgeon. 'Sacculus,' (27), 'loculus,' 'crumena' are all the same, a leather purse worn in the folds of the toga or the girdle. See S. i. 89, xiii. 139, and xiv. 297. 'Loculus' is always used in the plural, Forcellini thinks, because there were several compartments for holding different kinds of coin. For 'crumena,' on the authority of two French MSS. and a doubtful reading in P., Jahn has 'culina,' in which Hermann and Mayor have done well not to follow him. [Ribbeck has 'crumina.']

In loculis. Quis enim te deficiente crumena
Et crescente gula manet exitus, aere paterno
Ac rebus mersis in ventrem, fenoris atque
Argenti gravis et pecorum agrorumque capacem?
Talibus a dominis post cuncta novissimus exit
Annulus, et digito mendicat Pollio nudo.
Non praematuri cineres nec funus acerbum
Luxuriae, sed morte magis metuenda senectus.
Hi plerumque gradus: conducta pecunia Romae
Et coram dominis consumitur; inde ubi paullum
Nescio quid superest et pallet fenoris auctor,
Qui vertere solum Baias et ad Ostia currunt:
Cedere namque foro jam non est deterius quam

'Argentum grave' is silver in bars or plates (laminae).

39. *Et crescente gula*] That is 'et tamen,' as we have it repeatedly.

42. *Talibus a dominis*] Heinrich objects to 'dominis,' and asks what it means. He thinks 'damnis' is the word in the sense of 'expenses,' quoting vi. 508: "Nulla viri cura interea, nec mentio fiet Damnorum." 'A' would then be 'after,' which is a common meaning. The MSS. do not vary, and 'dominis' has reference to the property in the last line, 'from such masters.' But Heinrich's word is ingenious, and very little authority would induce me to adopt it. One MS. has 'dmis,' which might be 'damnis.' The ring was the mark of equestrian or senatorian rank (Horace, S. ii. 7. 9, n.). Pollio belongs to one of those orders. Crepereius Pollio is mentioned above (S. ix. 6), and he may be the man. Pliny mentions one Carvilius Pollio as a bankrupt spendthrift (H. N. ix. 15).

44. *Non praematuri cineres*] He says it is not premature death that is sorrow to the riotous liver, but he has more reason to fear age than death, an old age of bankruptcy and exile from the scene of his pleasures. He says the stages are, first the borrowing of money, then the lavish spending of it under the eyes of the lenders; then, when only a little is left, the lender begins to be alarmed, and the debtor runs away, and when he does so, all he cares for is the loss of his amusements, he has no shame for cheating his creditors. 'Luxuria' has always a bad sense. Luxury does not express it. It is wanton excess. As to 'conducta pecunia,' see note on Hor. S. i. 2. 9: "Omnia conductis coemens obsonia nummis." 'Conducta' is not common in the sense of 'mutua.' 'Dominis' are the lenders of the money. The word is suitable in connexion with 'conductis.' The 'dominus' might be said 'locare pecuniam,' as the borrower is said 'conducere.' 'Paullum nescio quid' is a way of expressing a very little. 'Fenoris auctor' for 'fenerator' is an uncommon expression. It is akin to 'auctor' in the sense of 'vendor.' 'Solum vertere' is a sort of euphemism for going into voluntary exile or running away. Cicero explains the phrase: "Qui volunt poenam aliquam subterfugere aut calamitatem eo solum vertunt, hoc est sedem ac locum mutant" (pro A. Caecina, c. 34).

49. *Baias et ad Ostia currunt:*] They must leave Rome, but they go to the pleasantest places they can. As to Baiae see S. iii. 4, n. The MSS. vary about Ostia. The common reading is 'ostrea,' for which Baiae was famous. Many MSS. and most of the old editions have Ostia, which Heinrich has adopted. [Jahn and Ribbeck have 'ostrea.'] Although Ostia had ceased to be the port of Rome when this satire was written, it continued to be a flourishing town throughout the period of the empire (S. xii. 75, n.).

50. *Cedere namque foro*] To leave the forum is another way of expressing the running away from one's creditors. All the principal bankers and money-lenders had their place in the Forum Romanum. 'Deterius' is equivalent to 'turpius.' It does not hurt a man's character more to give his creditors the slip than to change his house from the Suburra to the Esquiline, which elsewhere he calls 'gelidae'

Esquilias a ferventi migrare Suburra.
Ille dolor solus patriam fugientibus, illa
Moestitia est, caruisse anno Circensibus uno.
Sanguinis in facie non haeret gutta: morantur
Pauci ridiculum fugientem ex Urbe Pudorem.
Experiere hodie numquid pulcherrima dictu,
Persice, non praestem vita vel moribus et re,
Sed laudem siliquas occultus ganeo, pultes
Coram aliis dictem puero sed in aure placentas.
Nam quum sis conviva mihi promissus habebis
Evandrum, venies Tirynthius aut minor illo

(S. v. 77). As to Suburra see iii. 5. It was a close hot part of the town. Mr. Mayor renders 'ferventi' busy, following the Scholiast, who says "qui a Suburra frequentissima regione ad Diocletianas migret, ubi est solitudo."

53. *Circensibus*] S. iii. 223: "Si potes avelli Circensibus." 'Sanguinis in facie non haeret gutta' is like "vultumque modesto Sanguine ferventem" (x. 301).

55. *Pauci ridiculum fugientem*] He says few now care to stay the flight of Modesty, who is only laughed at as she leaves the city; on which Grangaeus says "immo ex orbe." The allusion is the same as in S. vi. 19, 20:

"Paullatim deinde ad superos Astraea recessit
Hac comite, atque duae pariter fugere sorores,"

where 'hac' is Pudicitia (see note). The common reading is 'effugientem:' some MSS. have 'et,' the interpolation of which I have no doubt led to the compound form, instead of 'fugientem,' which appears in several MSS. and old editions. Jahn [and Ribbeck] have 'et,' but Mr. Mayor omits it, nor does he follow Jahn in 57, but has 'vel moribus.'

56. *Experiere hodie*] He comes now to the ostensible purpose of his epistle, and invites his friend Persicus to dinner. That name we have had before (iii. 221). [Ribbeck has discussed this Introduction vv. 1—55 (Der Echte &c. Juvenal, p. 83, &c.), and he condemns it.] 'Numquid' is the same as the Greek εἴ τι. 'Vel' is exegetical, 'in my life or (that is) in my character and in action.' A few MSS. and Jahn [and Ribbeck] have 'nec.' Jahn [and Ribbeck] follow the Scholiast against the MSS. in reading 'si' for 'sed' in 58. In both places Hermann deserts Jahn. 'Siliquae' are husks of any sort of leguminous vegetables. But see note on Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 123: "vivit siliquis et pane secundo;" and Pers. iii. 55: "siliquis et grandi pasta polenta." 'Puls' is gruel or porridge made of 'far.' It was the common food of the early Romans. 'Pulmentaria' (Hor. Epp. i. 18. 48) were sauces of later invention to flavour the 'puls.' See S. vii. 185. The word is used in the plural number by the poets only. See below, xiv. 171. 'Placentae' were cakes sweetened with honey. "Pane egeo jam mellitis potiore placentis" (Hor. Epp. i. 10. 10).

61. *Evandrum, venies Tirynthius*] Hercules was called Tirynthius from Tiryns, a town of Argolis, where he was said to have settled by command of the Pythian oracle. Evander, when he received Aeneas as his guest in his homely palace on the Palatine (as it was afterwards named), addressed him thus, according to Virgil (Aen. viii. 362):

"—— Haec limina victor
Alcides subiit; haec illum regia cepit.
Aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
Finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis."

Aeneas was the 'minor hospes,' but in virtue of his mother Venus he is said 'contingere sanguine caelum.' Aeneas was killed in battle with the Rutulians near the river Numicius: but the legend said he was drowned in that river. Hercules, unable to bear the torture caused by the robe Deianira gave him, went to the top of Mount Oeta, in Thessaly, and there burnt himself to death, or while the pile on which he lay was burning, he was

Hospes et ipse tamen contingens sanguine caelum,
Alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus.
Fercula nunc audi nullis ornata macellis.
De Tiburtino veniet pinguissimus agro
Haedulus et toto grege mollior, inscius herbae,
Necdum ausus virgas humilis mordere salicti,
Qui plus lactis habet quam sanguinis; et montani
Asparagi, posito quos legit villica fuso.
Grandia praeterea tortoque calentia foeno
Ova adsunt ipsis cum matribus et servatae
Parte anni quales fuerant in vitibus uvae:
Signinum Syriumque pirum, de corbibus isdem

carried up to Olympus in a cloud. Tibullus says of Aeneas:

"Illic sanctus eris cum te veneranda Numici
Unda deum caelo miserit indigetem."
(ii. 5. 43.)

Heinrich thinks v. 63 spurious. It is quoted by Servius on Aen. iv. 619.

64. *Fercula nunc audi*] As to 'fercula,' courses, see i. 94. The different markets, 'macella,' the fish, vegetable, meat, and others, were all united long before Juvenal's time into one (see above, v. 10). He says he is not going to furnish his courses from any of the markets. 'Ornata' has been objected to; but Horace uses it in the same way. See next note.

65. *De Tiburtino veniet*] It appears from this that Juvenal had an estate near Tibur. The description which follows is after the manner of Virgil's Eclogues, and reminds us of Ofella's entertainment of his guests (Hor. S. ii. 2. 120):

"——bene erat non piscibus urbe petitis
Sed pullo atque haedo; tum pensilis uva secundas
Et nux ornabat mensas cum duplice ficu."

Under the name 'asparagi' are included several herbs besides the one we know by that name, which is only one of a tribe called by naturalists 'asphodeleae.' To the same belong the onion, garlic, and others. This is why the word is usually in the plural. (S. v. 82.) 'Villica' is the wife of his 'villicus,' or head gardener. See S. iii. 228: "culti villicus horti." The eggs were wrapped up warm in the hay in which they were laid. Grapes were preserved in various ways with more or less freshness. Columella describes a way of hermetically sealing them when they were just gathered off the tree (xii. 44), and Pliny (H. N. xv. 17) says they were dipped in ash-water and wrapped in leaves or in saw-dust or shavings: or they were hung up to dry, from which they were called 'pensiles' (see Hor. l. c.). Sometimes they were smoked: see note on Hor. S. ii. 4. 71:

"——Venucula convenit ollis:
Rectius Albanam fumo duraveris uvam."

These would be dry as raisins. Those preserved in jars (ollae) would be such as Juvenal describes.

73. *Signinum Syriumque pirum,*] Among numberless other sorts of pears Pliny (H. N. xv. 15) reckons the Syrian, which he says is the same as the Falernian, only black and next to the Crustumian, which he places first of all. Virgil couples these two sorts (Georg. ii. 88): "Crustumiis Syriisque piris, gravibusque volemis." It was so juicy that they called it 'lactea.' The Signian pears, from Signia, were of a reddish colour, and so were sometimes called 'testacea.' The apples of Picenum were celebrated many years before Juvenal wrote. Horace mentions them twice, and says they were superior to those from Tibur. But Juvenal promises that his shall be equal to Picenian (Hor. S. ii. 3. 272, and Sat. ii. 4. 70: "Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia succo"). Picenum was also celebrated for its pears, and not less for its olives. See Martial v. 78 (quoted below on 162):

"Succurrent tibi nobiles olivae
Piceni modo quas tulere rami."

Juvenal says his apples smell as fresh as

Aemula Picenis et odoris mala recentis,
Nec metuenda tibi, siccatum frigore postquam
Autumnum et crudi posuere pericula succi.
  Haec olim nostri jam luxuriosa Senatus
Coena fuit. Curius parvo quae legerat horto
Ipse focis brevibus ponebat oluscula, quae nunc
Squalidus in magna fastidit compede fossor,
Qui meminit calidae sapiat quid vulva popinae.
Sicci terga suis, rara pendentia crate,
Moris erat quondam festis servare diebus
Et natalicium cognatis ponere lardum,
Accedente nova, si quam dabat hostia, carne.
Cognatorum aliquis titulo ter Consulis atque
Castrorum imperiis et Dictatoris honore

when they were gathered, but the juice of autumn, which was considered unwholesome, had been dried out of them by the frost. It was now April. The construcis 'nec metuenda tibi sunt mala postquam posuere autumnum siccatum frigore et pericula crudi succi.' 'Put away their autumn' is an odd expression, but it is explained by what follows. 'Postquam' is 'now that they have.'

77. *jam luxuriosa*] When it had grown to be luxurious. It was plain enough, but a still simpler diet had gone before in the good old days when M. Curius Dentatus (ii. 3, n.) cooked his own herbs, such as the ditcher with the heavy chain on his leg would now-a-days turn up his nose at. (See note on 'ergastula,' S. vi. 151.) The man remembers the flavour (a pretty strong one of garlic and such like) of the good things he got at the eating-house while he was in the 'familia urbana.' See note on Hor. S. ii. 7. 118: "accedes opera agro nona Sabino;" and Epp. i. 14. 21: "Fornix tibi et uncta popina Incutiunt urbis desiderium." The matrix of a pregnant sow, or one that had lately cast its litter, was counted a great delicacy. As to the 'popinae' see above, viii. 168, n. Valerius Maximus, whose work Juvenal seems to have known well, says the Samnite ambassadors found Curius "agresti in scamno assidentem foco atque ligneo catillo coenantem, quales epulas apparatus indicio est" (iv. 3. 5).

82. *Sicci terga suis,*] He says the chine of bacon (S. vii. 119) dried on a hurdle in the ceiling, was formerly kept to be produced on holidays or birthdays. 'Rara crate' is a frame with wide interstices like 'rara retia' in Hor. Epod. ii. 33. The ancient Romans did not offer bloody sacrifices on birthdays, but this rule ceased to be observed in later times. See note on Hor. C. iv. 11. 8: "immolato Spargier agno." When the ancient practice was discontinued is uncertain, but perhaps Juvenal is not strictly accurate. All but the legs and entrails of a victim were eaten. The birthday lard was for moistening the vegetables perhaps: "Uncta satis pingui ponentur oluscula lardo" (Hor. S. ii. 6. 64). 'Moris' is the possessive genitive. "It belonged to the custom of former times." Caesar says in like manner, "Est autem hoc Gallicae consuetudinis," &c. (Bell. Gall. iv. 5.)

86. *Cognatorum aliquis*] This plain person is of good family and is visited on his birthday by one of his relations, who has been thrice consul, not only with the title which in Juvenal's time was sometimes borne without the office (S. vii. 186, n.), but with the command of armies in the field, and moreover he has been dictator. The great man comes early to dinner, shouldering the spade with which he has been digging. V. 89 is a picture. 'Solito maturius' means that he leaves his work earlier than usual to honour his relation's birthday or holiday, not "for so rare a treat" (Mayor), nor as Ruperti puts it "ut largius diutiusque genio indulgeret et quia ingenti cupiditate tam delicati cibi ardebat: τρεχέδειπνος (iii. 67)." The Scholiast says "ante horam nonam," which was the usual hour in Rome (below, v. 205), but such rules did not govern the country people.

Functus ad has epulas solito maturius ibat,
Erectum domito referens a monte ligonem.
Quum tremerent autem Fabios durumque Catonem
Et Scauros et Fabricios, postremo severos
Censoris mores etiam collega timeret,
Nemo inter curas et seria duxit habendum,
Qualis in Oceani fluctu testudo nataret,
Clarum Trojugenis factura ac nobile fulcrum;
Sed nudo latere et parvis frons aerea lectis
Vile coronati caput ostendebat aselli,
Ad quod lascivi ludebant ruris alumni.
Tales ergo cibi qualis domus atque supellex.
Tunc rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes,

90. *Quum tremerent autem*] In the good days when men were afraid of the censors. Of the Fabii (ii. 146; vi. 14, 191) there were many censors. M. Porcius Cato is the elder of that name, who was censor B.C. 184. M. Aemilius Scaurus (S. ii. 35, n.) was censor B.C. 109, and C. Fabricius Luscinus B.C. 275 (ix. 142). The story referred to in 92 is told by Valerius Maximus (ii. 9. 6, "de Censoria Severitate"). Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator were colleagues in the censorship B.C. 204. They were both 'equites,' and each had a public horse. Livius had been condemned by the people in his first consulship fifteen years before. During his censorship, when the names of his century were called over, the crier hesitated whether he should call that of Salinator, but Claudius obliged him to do so, and ordered his colleague to sell his horse as one who had been condemned by the people. Salinator retaliated. Livy tells the same story, xxix. 37. The Scholiast tells another of the same sort of Fabius and Decius (Livy x. 24), but Juvenal has spoken already of the Fabii, and the accuracy of that story rests only on the authority of the Scholiast. Livy says these colleagues were very harmonious. Juvenal also appears to me to have had Valerius' chapter in his mind throughout, and he twice refers to Claudius and Livius in connexion with their severe censorship. [Ribbeck omits vv. 91, 92. Ps, Jahn, and Ribbeck have Oceano, v. 94.]

95. *Clarum Trojugenis*] See i. 100: "Ipsos Trojugenas;" and vi. 80: "testudineo tibi, Lentule, conopeo:" and vi. 22: "Genium contemnere fulcri." The legs of the beds and dinner couches, as well as the sides, were sometimes highly ornamented. In the old times, he says, men were content with a small couch, with plain sides and a bronze ornament in front representing a rude ass's head crowned with vine leaves. The ass was sacred to Bacchus. The home-bred slaves (vernae), whom he means by 'ruris alumni,' made game of the rude figure. The construction in v. 96 is 'sed (in) lectis nudo latere et parvis frons aerea ostendebat,' 'on couches with bare sides and small, a front of bronze displayed the rude head of an ass with a wreath.' Henninius conjectured 'vite' for 'vile.' But it is not wanted. Ruperti would rather have 'coronatis,' meaning the guests, which must be expressed to be intelligible. The text wants no alteration. Gifford has a long note on asses. He read 'vite.'

99. *Tales ergo cibi*] Heinrich and Jahn reject this verse [and Ribbeck]. I see no reason to do so. The main subject is the food: there has been a digression upon the furniture, and he comes back to the food, which is a common use of 'ergo' (S. x. 54, n.). If Juvenal had in his mind the passage of Valerius quoted on v. 77, he would have remembered "quales epulas apparatus indicio est," which is like what he says here.

100. *Tunc rudis et Graias*] The allusion here is chiefly to the destruction of Corinth by Mummius (B.C. 146). The historians describe the waste and destruction of valuable works of art as most deplorable. Florus (ii. 16) says the city was first sacked, and then, at the sound of a trumpet, burnt. He adds, "Quid signorum, quid vestium quidve tabularum raptum, incensum atque projectum est:—incendio permistis plurimis statuis atque simulacris,

Urbibus eversis, praedarum in parte reperta
Magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles,
Ut phaleris gauderet equus, caelataque cassis
Romuleae simulacra ferae mansuescere jussae
Imperii fato, geminos sub rupe Quirinos,
Ac nudam effigiem clipeo venientis et hasta
Pendentisque dei perituro ostenderet hosti.
Argenti quod erat solis fulgebat in armis.
Ponebant igitur Tusco farrata catino;
Omnia tunc quibus invideas si lividulus sis.

aeris auri argentique venae in commune fluxere." Strabo (viii. p. 381) says that Polybius, among other stories illustrating the ignorance of the soldiers and their contempt for the works of art, declares he saw pictures thrown flat upon the ground, and soldiers playing draughts upon them. Of Mummius himself a good story is told by Velleius (i. 13) as evidence of his ignorance. He contracted with certain persons for the carriage of some of the finest pictures and statues to Italy; and ordered the contractors to be told that if they lost any of them they must supply their place with new ones. [But Mummius, who was a sensible man, must have known what he was saying. He was joking.]

103. *Ut phaleris gauderet equus,*] The bridles and harness of horses were commonly much ornamented with metal. 'Phalerae' include all the harness and trappings. As to 'cassis' see x. 134, n. A fitting device for a helmet would be the she-wolf that suckled Romulus and his brother, being tamed by the destiny of Rome. The two brothers are called Quirini, as Castor and Pollux are called Castores. For instances of the latter see Forcellini, v. Castor. Horace has "Aura feret geminusque Pollux" for "gemini fratres Castor et Pollux." On the shield of Aeneas, according to Virgil, the artist

"Fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro
Procubuisse lupam, geminos huic ubera circum
Ludere pendentes pueros et lambere matrem
Impavidos." (Aen. viii. 630, sqq.)

106. *Ac nudam effigiem*] There is supposed to be on the helmet a naked figure of Mars coming down from heaven with shield and spear, and still in the air, just as he is represented in a medal of Antoninus Pius when he is visiting Ilia asleep. The Scholiast, who had probably seen this group, says that this is what the soldier has on his helmet, though nothing can be less probable. Addison (Travels, p. 182) takes credit for this interpretation: but he might have got it, if he did not, from the Scholiast. Spence (Polymetis, p. 77) says "it was by the help of this medal that Mr. Addison has so finely and so fully explained a passage in Juvenal which had been strangely misunderstood before his time," and others have taken this explanation for granted. The medal may be found in most collections. It is in Plate viii. of Spence. There has been a great deal written about this passage, but I see no great difficulty in it. Juvenal must have seen a figure such as he describes like that on the above medal. 'Clipeo venientis et hasta' is the same construction as 'pugnanti Gorgone' in the next satire, v. 4. Many MSS. have 'fulgentis' for 'venientis.'

108. *Argenti quod erat*] This looks very like an interpolation, and so the modern editors view it [and Ribbeck also]. It is wanting in four or five MSS., and comes after 109 in several.

109. *Tusco farrata catino;*] Etruscan pottery was very common, as we know from the abundant specimens that remain. See Pers. S. ii. 60. 'Farrata' is equivalent to 'pultes' above, v. 58. 'Ponere' is used ordinarily for putting on the table. See Hor. S. ii. 2. 23: "posito pavone;" 4. 14: "Longa quibus facies ovis erit illa memento Ponere." Epp. i. 12. 7: "in medio positorum abstemius."

110. *Omnia tunc quibus invideas*] "Every thing in those days was such as you might envy if you are inclined to a little jealousy." [Jahn points thus: 'catino, Omnia tunc,' and Ribbeck 'catino Omnia tunc:']

Templorum quoque majestas praesentior et vox
Nocte fere media mediamque audita per Urbem,
Litore ab Oceano Gallis venientibus et dis
Officium vatis peragentibus. His monuit nos,
Hanc rebus Latiis curam praestare solebat
Fictilis et nullo violatus Juppiter auro.
Illa domi natas nostraque ex arbore mensas
Tempora viderunt: hos lignum stabat in usus,

111. *Templorum quoque majestas*] He says that in the old times the gods were nearer to men, they helped them more directly, and he refers to the story told by Livy (v. 32) of one having heard a voice louder than that of man in the dead of night, ordering him to report to the magistrates that the Gauls were coming. Cicero tells the same story in nearly the same way, de Divin. i. 45, and again ii. 32. An altar was raised on the spot where the voice was heard to the unknown god who uttered it, and who was called Aius Locutius from 'aio' and 'loquor.' [Ribbeck has placed vv. 111—119 after v. 107.]

113. *Litore ab Oceano*] The MSS. vary here, as in v. 94, between Oceani and Oceano. Ribbeck has 'Oceano' in both places; Jahn has 'Oceano' in v. 94 and 'Oceani' here. Lipsius (Epp. Quaest. iv. 25) supports the ablative, and there can be no doubt that it is supported by usage. See Forcellini for examples. Livy, with reference to the Gaulish invasion, speaks of "inusitato atque inaudito hoste ab Oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente" (v. 37). Cicero (de Div. i. 10) says, "Quum Summanus in fastigio Jovis Optimi Maximi qui tum erat fictilis e caelo ictus esset," &c. Valerius Maximus ("de Paupertate laudata," iv. 4. 11) says with reference to the Fabricii, Curii, and the rest, "per Romuli casam, perque veteres Capitolii humilia tecta et aeternos Vestae focos fictilibus etiamnum vasis contentos juro, nullas divitias talium virorum paupertati posse praeferri." 'Dii fictiles' are commonly referred to. 'Violatus' is 'wronged,' as if it was an insult to gild him. Juvenal says in S. iii. 20, "nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum."

114. *His monuit nos,*] I prefer the punctuation of the text to Heinrich's, which joins these words on with the preceding. But Heinrich says 'his' (the reading of all the MSS.) cannot be right. I think it is. It means, as Madvig explains (Opp. ii. p. 170), "hujusmodi signis." Heinrich suggests 'hinc.'

118. *hos lignum stabat*] Jahn's reading 'hoc' from P. and another is very bad. Hermann does well to condemn it. [Jahn and Ribbeck have also 'ad' for 'in.'] 'Stabat' is like 'exstabat.' There was wood for these purposes. He goes on to speak of the tables of the rich which used to be made of any common home-grown tree, as an old walnut blown down by the wind; but now they cannot eat their dinner unless they have handsome round tables with ivory stems. See S. i. 137, n.:

"Nam de tot pulcris et latis orbibus et tam
Antiquis una comedunt patrimonia mensa."

These round tables had a single stem which was carved in a variety of ways. It was commonly ornamented with ivory, and more commonly with silver. Lucian calls them τράπεζαι ἐλεφαντόποδες. Martial says to his friend Candidus (ii. 43):

"Tu Libycos Indis suspendis dentibus orbes,
Fulcitur testa fagina mensa mihi."

Juvenal had one in his eye which was supported by a leopard rampant, not a very natural position. Scented oils of various kinds, of which the nardum was most costly, were used by the Romans plentifully. At their evening parties after dinner, when they met to drink and play, 'unguenta' were commonly served out to the guests, and chaplets of flowers supplied by the host were put upon their heads: they were usually roses sewn on to a band of linden bark, 'philyra.' ("Displicent nexae philyra coronae," Hor. C. i. 38. See Juv. S. v. 36.) Roses were scattered on the floor at the regular dinner (see Becker's Gallus, Exc. on the Garlands). As to the 'rhombus' see iv. 39. 'Dama' is an antelope, which when young was and is a great delicacy.

Annosam si forte nucem dejecerat Eurus.
At nunc divitibus coenandi nulla voluptas,
Nil rhombus, nil dama sapit, putere videntur
Unguenta atque rosae, latos nisi sustinet orbes
Grande ebur et magno sublimis pardus hiatu
Dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes
Et Mauri celeres et Mauro obscurior Indus,
Et quos deposuit Nabathaeo bellua saltu
Jam nimios capitique graves. Hinc surgit orexis,
Hinc stomacho vires; nam pes argenteus illis
Annulus in digito quod ferreus. Ergo superbum
Convivam caveo, qui me sibi comparat et res
Despicit exiguas. Adeo nulla uncia nobis
Est eboris, nec tessellae, nec calculus ex hac
Materia: quin ipsa manubria cultellorum
Ossea; non tamen his ulla unquam obsonia fiunt
Rancidula, aut ideo pejor gallina secatur.
Sed nec structor erit cui cedere debeat omnis

124. *quos mittit porta Syenes*] Syene being a frontier town in Upper Egypt, through which the traffic from Aethiopia passed, is called 'porta.' So above he speaks of "Idumaeae Syrophoenix incola portae" (viii. 160, if the verse be genuine, which I doubt). The Nabathaei and Idumaei were not very clearly distinguished at the time Juvenal wrote, parts of Arabia Petraea being occupied by each. Arabia never produced elephants, and they are not now found and perhaps never were in the north of Africa. The elephant dropping his tusks when they grow too large for him is a fable. Pliny tells one or two more (H. N. viii. 3).

127. *Hinc surgit orexis,*] This gives them an appetite: "magis illa juvant quae pluris emuntur" (v. 16). 'Orexis' is used in vi. 428. Many MSS. have 'bilis' where others have 'vires.' In his second edition Ruperti adopts 'bilis.' But that could only mean a surfeit, and Juvenal does not mean to say that. The old-fashioned people and those who were not entitled to wear gold rings wore them of iron, the universal practice of the olden time. See note on Hor. S. ii. 7. 9.

130. *qui me sibi comparat*] P. and the Scholiast [and Jahn and Ribbeck] have 'comparet:' but there is no reason for the subjunctive here, and all the other MSS. have the indicative. 'Ergo' is used for summing up. He has described these fine people and their ways, and then says he will have nothing to do with them, for they would only despise his poverty; and then he goes back to describe his own fare and household.

131. *Adeo nulla uncia nobis*] "Such is my contemptible condition that I have actually not an ounce of ivory," which was a conventional quantity. It was the unit in many calculations. He says in iii. 84: "Usque adeo nihil est," is it so entirely nothing? 'Nec' is 'not even' (S. xi. 52; xiii. 97). 'Tessellae' are little dice. 'Calculus' is a counter for playing a game common among the Romans, and like our draughts. See Dict. Ant., arts. 'Tessera' and 'Latrunculi,' where an engraving is given from an Egyptian painting. The dice and men were made of various materials: ivory was a later substance for them. His very knife handles were of bone, he says: it must have been therefore more common for the rich to have them of ivory.

136. *Sed nec structor erit*] As to 'structor' see v. 120, n. 'Pergula' is properly some projecting part of a house, a verandah. The word came to be used in a variety of ways, particularly as a school, which is its use here (see Forcellini). He says his carver is not such that the whole school would acknowledge his superiority.

Pergula, discipulus Trypheri doctoris, apud quem
Sumine cum magno lepus atque aper et pygargus
Et Scythicae volucres et phoenicopterus ingens
Et Gaetulus oryx hebeti lautissima ferro
Caeditur, et tota sonat ulmea coena Suburra.
Nec frustum capreae subducere nec latus Afrae
Novit avis noster, tirunculus ac rudis omni
Tempore et exiguae furtis imbutus ofellae.
Plebeios calices et paucis assibus emptos
Porriget incultus puer atque a frigore tutus,
Non Phryx aut Lycius, non a mangone petitus
Quisquam erit et magno. Quum posces, posce Latine.

Trypherus is the name he invents for some master of the art of carving. It may be derived from τρυφή, as C. Valesius suggests. 'Apud quem' is 'in whose house.' The teats of a sow were a great delicacy. The boar was commonly the chief dish (caput coenae) of a large dinner, and served whole. 'Pygargus' was some sort of deer named from its white rump. 'Scythicae volucres' were pheasants (Phasianae aves), a delicacy only enjoyed by the rich. Of the 'phoenicopterus,' the flamingo, the brains and the tongue were considered particular delicacies, as the tongue is still. Martial has an epigram on the phoenicopterus (xiii. 71):

"Dat mihi penna rubens nomen: sed lingua gulosis
Nostra sapit: quid si garrula lingua foret?"

He means what would the gluttons have thought if it had been a singing bird, such as those of which Aesop ate a dishful (Horace, S. ii. 3. 245, n.: "Luscinias soliti impenso prandere coemptas"). The flamingo is found in the south of Europe, but the Romans probably got them most abundantly from the coast of Africa (Penny Cyclopaedia, art. 'Flamingo'). The 'oryx' was an African wild goat with one horn, which Juvenal says was a great delicacy. It is not mentioned as such elsewhere. 'Ulmea coena' is a collection of wooden models used for practising upon. They made such a clatter that the whole Suburra echoed with it. The school therefore was in that part of the town (S. iii. 5, n.).

142. *Nec frustum capreae*] He says his young beginner is not only a novice in carving, but in stealing too. 'Afra avis' is doubtful. See note on Horace, Epod. ii. 53: "Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum." It is supposed to be the guinea fowl. 'Ofella' is a chop, the diminutive of 'offa.' He says his boy is a novice in every thing, and has only got so far in thieving as to purloin a small chop. 'Et' is 'and only,' which is implied in 'exiguae.'

146. *a frigore tutus,*] The time is spring, and he says his servant is an uncouth boy and clad in warm clothes which the fine houses do not allow. The eastern slaves were paraded in their own dress, it seems, in all weathers. The vulgar cups are such as he describes in S. v. 46, and the slaves which are not his are such as the great man has in that satire:

"Flos Asiae ante ipsum pretio majore paratus
Quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci." (v. 56.)

His are country-bred slaves, and only know Latin; they were not bought for a large sum from a dealer. They are all dressed alike, and are not generally very particular about their hair, which does not flow over their shoulders in curls, but is cut close and straight, and is combed to-day as an exception because of the company coming. The three lines that follow are true and touching, the best sort of poetry.

148. *et magno.*] This is clearly the true reading. P. and the three other MSS. have 'in magno,' which is in the lemma of the Scholiast. Those words have no sense here. They are joined on to the following clause by Jahn, and Mr. Mayor says it is 'in magno poculo quum posces;' but the phrase he quotes from Cicero

Idem habitus cunctis, tonsi rectique capilli
Atque hodie tantum propter convivia pexi.
Pastoris duri est hic filius, ille bubulci:
Suspirat longo non visam tempore matrem
Et casulam et notos tristis desiderat haedos,
Ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris,
Quales esse decet quos ardens purpura vestit:
Nec pugillares defert in balnea raucus
Testiculos, nec vellendas jam praebuit alas,
Crassa nec opposito pavidus tegit inguina gutto.
Hic tibi vina dabit diffusa in montibus illis
A quibus ipse venit, quorum sub vertice lusit:
Namque una atque eadem est vini patria atque ministri.
Forsitan exspectes ut Gaditana canoro
Incipiat prurire choro plausuque probatae
Ad terram tremulo descendant clune puellae:

(Verr. ii. 1. 26) 'poscunt majoribus poculis' is nothing to the purpose. If any preposition were supplied there, it would be 'ex,' not 'in,' for 'bibere' is understood. And what would it signify whether he asked 'magno' or 'parvo?' All Juvenal says is, when you ask for any thing ask in Latin, or he will not understand you. Hermann rejects "non a—magno" [and Ribbeck also].

155. *Quales esse decet*] There is a play upon 'ingenuus.' His was an honest face and a frank modesty, such as boys who are born of free parents (ingenui) should have. Only they wore the 'toga praetexta' (which he calls the bright purple) in childhood. He goes on to say none of his slaves have learnt the filthy practices required of some for their masters' lusts. As to 'gutto' see iii. 363. [Jahn and Ribbeck have 'pupillares.']

159. *Hic tibi vina dabit*] The wine from the hills above Tibur was Horace's 'vile Sabinum,' which therefore had not increased in value. As to 'diffusa' see v. 30, n. Heinrich considers v. 161 spurious [and Ribbeck]. There is no harm in it. Heinrich commonly rejects lines in this position. They cannot be said to be necessary or always to help the sense much, and so they usually read rather feeble. But that may be said of most of those sentences which the grammarians call by the name of Epiphonema; and for this reason many lines, the genuine production of good authors, lines highly thought of and frequently quoted, might, when taken with their context and judged strictly, be consigned to the limbo of bathos. This line says what has been said before, but in fewer words, that his wine and his slaves are of domestic growth, plain and simple but good.

162. *ut Gaditana canoro*] The practice of having young dancers and singers and musicians of both sexes at dinner is sufficiently well known to those who are familiar with Horace. Livy (xxxix. 6) reckons it among the signs of Roman degeneracy since its connexion with Asia. The women of Gades are repeatedly mentioned by the writers of the empire as employed in this way. In Martial there is an invitation to a friend very like this of Juvenal's, in which he promises he shall have none of this wantonness:

"Nec de Gadibus improbis puellae
Vibrabunt sine fine prurientes
Lascivos docili tremore lumbos."
(v. 78.)

The inhabitants of Gades (Cadiz) were wealthy and largely engaged in naval and commercial pursuits. But they found time to make themselves a character for immorality. [Jahn and Ribbeck have 'incipiant.']

164. *Ad terram tremulo descendant*] Ruperti says this means they strike the earth with their foot. This is almost incredible. One would suppose he had never seen a woman dance or curtsey in his life. Horace (C. iii. 6. 21) says:

(Spectant hoc nuptae juxta recubante marito
Quod pudeat narrasse aliquem praesentibus ipsis)
Irritamentum Veneris languentis et acres
Divitis urticae. Major tamen ista voluptas
Alterius sexus: magis ille extenditur, et mox
Auribus atque oculis concepta urina movetur.
Non capit has nugas humilis domus: audiat ille
Testarum crepitus cum verbis nudum olido stans
Fornice mancipium quibus abstinet, ille fruatur
Vocibus obscoenis omnique libidinis arte,
Qui Lacedaemonium pytismate lubricat orbem.
Namque ibi fortunae veniam damus; alea turpis,

"Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo et fingitur artibus."

These women danced with lascivious skill, and were brought up to the trade. Martial speaks of "de Gadibus improbus magister" (i. 42), a trainer of these dancing girls. As to 'urticae' see ii. 128. The two verses 165, 166 are omitted in a few MSS., and in others are set down elsewhere in various places. They disturb the construction here unless they are made a parenthesis, which is awkward; and though they seem to be Juvenal's, I think it probable they have got out of their place. Heinrich and Jahn reject them. Hermann retains them with the punctuation from 165 to 171 awkwardly recast. 'Alterius sexus' means the women. See S. vi. 254: "nam quantula nostra voluptas." Elsewhere it means the men (vi. 341). 'Extenditur' means they are more on the stretch of excitement. [Ribbeck has omitted vv. 165—170.]

172. *Testarum crepitus*] These were castanets, which the Greeks called *ὄστρακοι*. See Aristoph. Ran. 1305, *ποῦ 'στιν ἡ τοῖς ὀστράκοις αὕτη κροτοῦσα*; quoted by Casaubon on Suetonius (Nero, c. 20), who says the emperor invented various ways of applause, which he called 'bombi,' 'imbrices,' and 'testae.' Why these instruments, which were made of bone or wood, were called 'testae' or *ὄστρακοι* is uncertain. Casaubon's explanation of the pattering of rain on the tiles is not satisfactory. He says the words of the song to which the 'testae' were an accompaniment were such as no slave girl standing naked at the door of the stews would utter. See vi. 122, and Hor. S. i. 2. 30: "Contra alius nullam nisi olenti in fornice stantem." 'Fornix' is properly an arched vault, of which there were many under the Circus and in various parts of the city which were let out for brothels.

175. *Qui Lacedaemonium pytismate*] From Taenarus in Laconia was got marble of a green colour and very valuable. 'Orbem' is the pavement, which was formed of small pieces, round or oval, of marble. He says the man who spits out his wine over his marble floor may like that sort of language, but plain men, living in their quiet way, do not. Heinrich quotes Terence (Heaut. iii. 1. 48): "pytisando modo mihi quid vini absumpsit." See note on Hor. C. ii. 14. 26: "et mero Tinget pavimentum superbo." An engraving of a Mosaic pavement with 'orbes,' found at Pompeii, is given in Dict. Ant., art. 'House (Roman).' See notes on Hor. S. ii. 4. 83, and Epp. i. 18. 19. The walls were also let in with pieces of marble, sometimes round, as Seneca (Ep. 86) says: "Pauper sibi videtur ac sordidus nisi parietes magnis et pretiosis refulserint orbibus, nisi Alexandrina marmora Numidicis crustis distincta sunt." Therefore some include the walls here, and some say he means the round tables (see above, v. 117). He means the floor, as 'lubricat' shows. A man cannot walk on it safely for the fellow's spitting.

176. *alea turpis,*] This is severe; we make allowance for his wealth; what is immoral for the poor man may be permitted to the rich; it is only cheerfulness and good breeding in them. 'Nitidus' has reference to manners and may be rendered well-bred. The dice used by the Romans were of two sorts, 'tali,' which had four flat sides, and 'tesserae, tessellae,' which had six. The former were made of the knuckle bones of animals, chiefly sheep,

Turpe et adulterium mediocribus. Haec eadem illi
Omnia quum faciunt hilares nitidique vocantur.
Nostra dabunt alios hodie convivia ludos:
Conditor Iliados cantabitur atque Maronis
Altisoni dubiam facientia carmina palmam.
Quid refert tales versus qua voce legantur?
  Sed nunc dilatis averte negotia curis
Et gratam requiem dona tibi, quando licebit
Per totum cessare diem: non fenoris ulla
Mentio, nec prima si luce egressa reverti
Nocte solet tacito bilem tibi contrahat uxor,
Humida suspectis referens multicia rugis
Vexatasque comas et vultum auremque calentem.
Protinus ante meum quidquid dolet exue limen;
Pone demum et servos et quidquid frangitur illis
Aut perit; ingratos ante omnia pone sodales.
Interea Megalesiacae spectacula mappae,

and answered to the ἀστράγαλοι of the Greeks. The latter were made of ivory (above, v. 131, n.) or wood, and corresponded to the Greek κῦβοι. 'Alea' was used generally for all games of chance. See S. i. 88, n.: "alea quando Hos animos." [Ribbeck has omitted vv. 176—179.]

181. *dubiam facientia carmina palmam.*] This is a Roman's judgment. The next line is a modest way of saying he does not profess to read well. Heinrich agrees with his dear friend M. Sebastiani in condemning it. I differ from him again.

183. *Sed nunc*] "But at any rate, however all this may be." This is a way of coming to the chief ostensible purpose. He says it is a holiday, and he must put away every anxious thought: they will not say a word about usurers nor of the suspicious conduct of his wife who goes out at dawn and comes back late at night, creating grave suspicion by her gown being wet and tumbled, and her face flushed, and hair disordered, and ears red. When a man can write thus to his friend, whether in joke or earnest, society must be in a bad way. 'Tacito' means he is not to come with suspicions and anger which he keeps to himself. As to 'multicia' see S. ii. 66, n. 'Rugae' is used by Pliny (H. N. xxxv. 8) as opposed to 'sinus,' and both together express the plaiting of drapery or a woman's dress, 'sinus' being the depressions between the 'rugae.' The climax of all griefs Juvenal makes the ingratitude of friends.

193. *Interea Megalesiacae*] On this subject see note on S. ii. 111: "Hic turpis Cybeles;" and vi. 69: "atque a plebiis longe Megalesia." He calls the games those of the Megalesian napkin, because a napkin was dropped by the praetor who presided as a signal for the beginning of each race or game. Before 'colunt' 'cives' must be understood. Some take 'spectacula' for 'spectatores,' as the subject. It is so used in S. viii. 205, but not here. The Megalesian games were not celebrated in the Circus before the time of the empire. They consisted in the earlier times of theatrical representations, and were presided over by the curule aedile. Under the empire this duty was performed by one of the praetors, who, it appears from this place, went in procession and presided in state as at the Ludi Circenses (see S. x. 36. n.). The praetor is called 'praeda caballorum,' Gronovius (Obs. iv. 24) supposes, because he had to spend so much money in providing horses for the games. The praetor is at once in the position of triumpher and prisoner, such as those who triumphed led in their procession. He is one "qui bona donavit praesepibus" (i. 59), though in a different way. Most MSS. have 'praedo;' but there is no meaning in that. Ruperti thinks Gronovius' idea far-

Idaeum sollemne, colunt, similisque triumpho
Praeda caballorum Praetor sedet ac, mihi pace
Immensae nimiaeque licet si dicere plebis,
Totam hodie Romam Circus capit et fragor aurem
Percutit eventum viridis quo colligo panni:
Nam si deficeret moestam attonitamque videres
Hanc urbem, veluti Cannarum in pulvere victis
Consulibus. Spectent juvenes, quos clamor et audax
Sponsio, quos cultae decet assedisse puellae:
Nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem
Effugiatque togam. Jam nunc in balnea salva
Fronte licet vadas, quanquam solida hora supersit
Ad sextam. Facere hoc non possis quinque diebus
Continuis, quia sunt talis quoque taedia vitae
Magna. Voluptates commendat rarior usus.

fetched, and proposes 'praeco.' [Ribbeck omits vv. 195, 196.]

195. *mihi pace Immensae*] 'Pace plebis' is by the leave of the people. It is most common in the combinations 'pace mea,' 'pace tua,' but it is used with the genitive as here and in Ovid, Amor. iii. 2. 60: "Pace loquor Veneris, tu dea major eris." He asks their leave to abuse them, for he says in the same breath they are a huge useless mob, and care for nothing but the Circus, as he has said often before (S. iii. 223, n.).

197. *fragor aurem Percutit*] He writes as if he heard the shout proclaiming that the green faction had won. The division of drivers in the Circus into four parties who were distinguished by the colour of their dress has been mentioned above. The favourite colour, which was particularly patronized it appears by some of the emperors, was the dark green (prasinus), and Juvenal says he gathers by the shout that green coat has won; for if that colour failed the whole town would go into mourning as they did after Cannae. This was the calamity the Romans felt most and longest; the consternation at the time was terrible, as it well might be (Livy xxii. 53, 54). The consuls defeated at Cannae were L. Aemilius Paulus and C. Terentius Varro, Livy, describing the battle (xxii. 43. 46), says that a wind arose blowing the dust in the face of the Romans and blinding them.

201. *clamor et audax Sponsio,*] 'Sponsio' here is a wager. He says shouting and wagering and sitting next to pretty girls is more fit for the young than himself, so he must have been advanced in life when this was written. 'Cultae' is equivalent to 'amatae.' 'Contracta cuticula' is a dried-up skin. Horace describes himself as "Corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum." In their houses the Romans did not wear the toga, but it was not decent to appear in public places without it (S. i. 96, n.). Ruperti asks, "An de toga meretricum cogitavit poeta?" On which Gifford remarks, "It will be yet some time before we know the utmost of which a commentator is capable." He might have seen some curious specimens in the present day.

204. *Jam nunc in balnea salva Fronte*] He says, "Although it wants a whole hour of noon, you may go to the bath without shame." 'Frons' is usually put for the seat of modesty. The usual dinner hour was the ninth (S. i. 49), and the Romans commonly bathed an hour before dinner. But this was on business days. The invitation is for a holiday, and men might do as they pleased without being afraid of seeming idle (Becker's Gallus, Exc. on the Baths, towards the end). He says it would not do, however, to begin bathing so early every day of the feast, which lasted six days, for even such a luxurious life as that would become very wearisome.

SATIRA XII.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS is a letter to a friend who is named Corvinus, explaining to him the reason of the poet's rejoicing on a particular occasion, which proves to be the safe arrival of his friend Catullus, after a stormy voyage in which he had encountered the usual dangers and displayed the usual amount of fear. There is some playfulness, though perhaps a little ponderous, in the description of his friend's conduct and sufferings; but the whole composition cannot have cost the writer much labour, and does not offer much entertainment. The last thirty or forty lines are occupied with a stroke at legacy-hunters, whom Horace handles so severely (particularly in S. ii. 5). This professes to be introduced lest Corvinus should suppose all this enthusiasm for Catullus' safety was pretended with an eye to his will. The short answer to this is that the man has three children, and that no one would think it worth his while to spend the worth of an old hen dying of pip upon a man so situated, if his only object was to be remembered in his will. This is the only part of the poem that belongs properly to satire, and it is only a side-blow.

ARGUMENT.

A day more pleasant this to me, Corvinus, than that which gave me birth. I've vowed a lamb to Juno and Minerva; a fresh young steer to Jove: were but my means as large as my affections a bull I'd offer, fat as Hispulla, fed by Clitumnus' stream, giving his neck to the great popa's stroke; for he I love has come, still trembling at the dangers he's escaped, the ocean and the lightning's stroke. The skies were dark, the lightning flashed, the sails caught fire, all like a poet's storm. And then another horror, such as the pictures show hung up in Isis' temple (the painter's maintenance, as all men know). When now the hold was full and all the pilot's skill was of no use, then like the beaver they began to make a bargain with the winds by tossing cargo overboard. "Throw over all I have," cried my Catullus, and gave to their fate his finest clothes, and then his silver dishes, huge bowls, baskets, a thousand dishes, cups of silver wrought from which the Macedonian had drunk. Who else in these degenerate days would venture to prefer his life to his silver? Nearly all things for use are thus disposed of, still to no purpose. At last the mast is cut away, and the ship rights: a sad resource is that which maims the vessel.

V. 57. Now go, commit your life to the winds, trusting a rough-hewn log, three or four inches from destruction at the best. And then remember what you have to carry when you go to sea, baskets of bread and a fat flagon and hatchets for the storm. But when the sea fell calm and the wind fair, and fates propitious, the ship went on its course with clothes spread out and but one foresail left. The sun brought hope, the Alban peak is seen and Ostia's basin entered, a nobler work than nature's: then the sailor lands and loves to tell the story of his dangerous voyage. Go, boys, with reverent lips and hearts, hang garlands on the shrines, sprinkle the knife with meal, set out the altars. I shall come presently, and when that duty's done I shall go home to my bright Lares: to these I'll offer and to Jove: the boughs are on the door, and morning lamps are hanging over it.

V. 93. Suspect me not, Catullus has three children. Who would expend the worth of a dying hen on friend so useless? no, not a quail. If rich Gallita catch a fever or

Pacuvius without children, their porticos are lined with praying tablets. Some vow a hecatomb (for elephants we have none in Latium, except the emperor's herd, the sons of those that carried Hannibal and Pyrrhus and our own great men). But Novius and Hister would have offered these. For one of them would sacrifice his finest slaves, or crown his maid for the altar or his child, though he must not expect a miracle. My countryman is right: a thousand ships are nothing to a will. For if the patient should recover, he will destroy the will and leave his money to Pacuvius, who prayed for his recovery and obtained it. And so Pacuvius triumphs, such return he gets for the mere killing of his daughter.

V. 128. Long live Pacuvius, three Nestors' lives; let all that Nero stole be his, gold mountains high, and not a friend in all the world.

NATALI, Corvine, die mihi dulcior haec lux,
Qua festus promissa deis animalia caespes
Exspectat. Niveam Reginae ducimus agnam;
Par vellus dabitur pugnanti Gorgone Maura:

1. *Natali, Corvine, die*] The welcoming of the day that reminds us of our birth, and assigning to it a gladness which it rarely inspires after childhood, is a conventionality as old as history. The Romans from the earliest times observed their birthdays and those of their rulers and great men and their friends, as religious holidays, with prayers and sacrifices, as we have seen in the last satire (v. 85. See also S. v. 37; ix. 51; and Horace's Ode on Maecenas' birthday, iv. 11):

> "Jure sollennis mihi sanctiorque
> Paene natali proprio, quod ex hac
> Luce Maecenas meus affluentes
> Ordinat annos."

As to 'caespes,' turf altars were commonly used by persons of moderate means. Horace offers victims to Venus (C. i. 19. 13) and to Liber (iii. 8. 4) "caespite vivo."

3. *Niveam Reginae ducimus agnam;*] White victims were offered to the gods above, and black to those below, χθόνιοι.

> "Quatuor hic primum nigrantes terga juvencos
> Constituit, frontique invergit vina sacerdos." (Aen. vi. 243.)

This was Aeneas' offering to the gods below. Dido offering to Ceres, Phoebus, and Lyaeus, offers a white cow.

> "Ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido
> Candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit."

The worship of Juno Regina was brought from Veii by Camillus, according to Livy, and a temple was built to her under that name on the Aventine (v. 22, &c.). Cicero speaks of her having temples at Melita and Samos: "Teque, Juno Regina, cujus duo fana duabus in insulis posita sociorum, Melitae et Sami" (In Verr. ii. 5. 72). She had many other titles, as Matrona (Hor. C. iii. 5. 59), Lucina, Moneta, &c. The Scholiast mentions a reading 'Fortunae,' but it is obviously false. She who fought with the Gorgon (that is on her 'aegis') was Minerva, to whom he has promised a like offering for the preservation of his friend. The gods to whom they offered on such occasions were perhaps chosen rather arbitrarily, or circumstances might direct the choice in some instances. Horace gives the credit of his own preservation now to the Muses (C. iii. 4. 27) and now to Liber (iii. 8. 5). But Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva were commonly worshipped together. The temple on the Capitoline hill consisted of three parts, of which the middle was dedicated to Jupiter Opt. Max., that on the right to Juno, and the other to Minerva. The Gorgon Medusa, whose head Perseus cut off and Pallas placed upon her 'aegis,' was by some traditions an inhabitant of Africa, and so Juvenal calls her 'Maura.' 'Pugnanti Gorgone' is in construction like 'clipeo venientis et hasta' (xi. 106). It is not the ablative of the instrument, as Mr. Mayor says: it is "fighting armed with the Gorgon" as the other is "coming armed with shield and spear."

Sed procul extensum petulans quatit hostia funem
Tarpeio servata Jovi frontemque coruscat;
Quippe ferox vitulus, templis maturus et arae
Spargendusque mero, quem jam pudet ubera matris
Ducere, qui vexat nascenti robora cornu.
Si res ampla domi similisque affectibus esset,
Pinguior Hispulla traheretur taurus et ipsa

5. *Sed procul extensum*] A young steer is tied and chafes at the length of the rope, and shakes his head with rage, waiting to be offered to Jupiter Opt. Max. The Capitoline hill was also called Tarpeian (Livy i. 55) from the treacherous Tarpeia who betrayed the citadel on that hill to the Sabines. The precipitous part of the hill from which criminals were thrown was more especially known by that name. 'Sed' means only that another victim was reserved for Jove more fitting than the lamb. 'Coruscare' is the same as 'vibrare.' Ruperti says so, and then gives a choice of other meanings, as usual. Wine was commonly poured on the head of the victim before it was killed, and on the parts that were sacrificed while they were burning on the altar (see last note). They were also sprinkled with meal (mola salsa) and 'thus.' Juvenal's description of his victim is like that of Horace (C. iv. 2. 54, sqq.):

"Te decem tauri totidemque vaccae,
Me tener solvet vitulus, relicta
Matre qui largis juvenescit herbis
In mea vota,
Fronte curvatos imitatus ignes
Tertium lunae referentis ortum,
Qua notam duxit niveus videri,
Caetera fulvus."

8. *ubera matris Ducere,*] The meanings of the word 'ducere' are very various. It is here used as it commonly is with 'pocula,' to drain (vi. 428). Above (v. 3) it is used for offering a victim, and so it is below (v. 112) and in x. 65: "duc in Capitolia magnum Cretatumque bovem." It is the ordinary word for marrying a wife (i. 22; vi. 28. 201), for moulding a statue (vii. 237), for burying the dead (i. 146; x. 240), for drawing lots (vi. 583), for dragging by the heels (v. 125; x. 66), for spinning (xii. 65), for contracting (as we say of a stain, &c.) (ii. 81; xiii. 215), and so Horace has it above. Juvenal also uses it for stealing (xiii. 152). The many other derived meanings of the word may be found in Forcellini. In many of its significations 'trahere' is used synonymously with it (v. 11). 'Quippe ferox vitulus,' 'sure 'tis a wild steer.'

11. *Pinguior Hispulla*] He says if his means were equal to his affection he would offer a bull fatter than Hispulla, which name we have had before (vi. 74). Heinrich says it is connected with Hispo (ii. 50) and a contraction of Hisponilla, as Marulla from Maronilla, Maro. The beast should be hardly able to carry its own weight (a prize ox), not reared in the pastures about Rome, but a white beast whose breeding (sanguis) should show that he came from the Clitumnus. This was a small stream in Umbria still called Clitunno. Rising near Trebia (Trevi) its course was very short till it joined the Tinia, a tributary of the Tiber. It flowed through a valley rich in pasture land, and celebrated for a breed of peculiarly white sheep and cattle, to which Virgil refers (Georg. ii. 146):

"Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxima taurus
Victima, saepe tuo perfusi flumine sacro
Romanos ad templa deum duxere triumphos."

And Propertius alludes to the same (iii. 10. 25, Paley):

"Qua formosa suo Clitumnus flumina luco
Integit et niveos abluit unda boves."

The stream was held in religious veneration, and there were many small temples near the source (Pliny, Epp. viii. 8). For this reason and from their colour, the animals bred on the banks were commonly used for sacrifice. In Horace's time the hills of Algidus and Alba furnished most beasts for this purpose. See C. iii. 23. 9:

"Nam quae nivali pascitur Algido
Devota quercus inter et ilices,
Aut crescit Albanis in herbis,
Victima pontificum secures
Cervice tinget."

Mole piger, nec finitima nutritus in herba,
Laeta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua sanguis
Iret, et a grandi cervix ferienda ministro,
Ob reditum trepidantis adhuc horrendaque passi
Nuper et incolumen sese mirantis amici.
Nam praeter pelagi casus et fulguris ictus
Evasit. Densae caelum abscondere tenebrae
Nube una subitusque antennas impulit ignis,
Quum se quisque illo percussum crederet et mox
Attonitus nullum conferri posse putaret
Naufragium velis ardentibus. Omnia fiunt
Talia, tam graviter, si quando poetica surgit
Tempestas. Genus ecce aliud discriminis; audi

14. *a grandi cervix ferienda ministro,*] Among the Greeks the victim was killed by the officiating priest. With the Romans this duty was performed by a person who bore the title of 'popa' (Persius, vi. 73, n.). It was the practice first to strike the victim on the head with a hammer to stun it, and then to cut the throat, or chop the neck with an axe. Suetonius says of Caligula that he acted as 'popa' on one occasion, and made the poor wretch who should have cut the animal's throat the victim (c. 32): "Admota altaribus victima succinctus poparum habitu elato alte malleo cultrarium mactavit;" where 'cultrarius' was the popa's deputy. The victim was 'mactata' after the blow of the hammer, which was administered by the 'popa:' the 'cultrarius' probably was a lower officer who finished the business. Juvenal speaks of him as a burly fellow, 'grandi.' See S. vii. 210.

15. *trepidantis adhuc*] Though the danger was past he was still trembling at the remembrance of what he had lately gone through.

17. *fulguris ictus Evasit.*] The Scholiast had 'fulminis ictus,' and so has P. Most MSS. have 'fulguris,' which probably was changed to 'fulminis' because of 'ictus:' but that expression is as proper as 'impulit ignis.' P. and two other MSS. have 'evasit.' Nearly all have 'evasi' with a different punctuation, which Ruperti has followed. Heinrich and Jahn have 'evasit,' which is the simplest.

19. *impulit ignis,*] This probably refers to the meteoric flashes known in the Mediterranean as the fire of St. Elmo, as explained on Horace, C. i. 3. 2: "Sic fratres Helenae lucida sidera." The flashes, he says, seemed to set the sails on fire, and the passengers all thought they themselves were struck, and that no shipwreck could be so bad as the burning of the vessel. As to 'attonitus' see xiv. 306, n.

23. *si quando poetica surgit*] This is the reading of nearly all the MSS. Jahn from a conjecture of Schurzfleisch, whose MS. omits 'si,' reads 'quam quando.' Juvenal says when a storm gets up in poetry all the incidents are the same and as terrible as in this storm. The other reading only reverses the order. But there is no authority or necessity for it.

24. *Genus ecce aliud discriminis;*] 'But here is another kind of danger,' which he relates at v. 30, introducing it with a little mock seriousness and a parenthesis about pictures of wrecks. The practice of shipwrecked sailors hanging up pictures in the temples (of Isis in particular) is often alluded to. See note on Hor. C. i. 5. 13.

"—— Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo."

They also carried such pictures about to get pity and alms. See xiv. 301, sq. What Juvenal says is "here is another sort of danger: listen and pity him again: though what follows is only a part of the same bad luck, terrible indeed, but familiar to many, and one which many a temple with its votive picture testifies to: for who does not know that the painters get their living by Isis? A like misfortune then befell our Catullus:" and then he goes on to say what it was: the throwing over of his goods, which no doubt would be introduced in

Et miserere iterum; quanquam sint cetera sortis
Ejusdem; pars dira quidem sed cognita multis,
Et quam votiva testantur fana tabella
Plurima. Pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?
Accidit et nostro similis fortuna Catullo.
Quum plenus fluctu medius foret alveus et jam
Alternum puppis latus evertentibus undis
Arboris incertae nullam prudentia cani
Rectoris conferret opem, decidere jactu
Coepit cum ventis, imitatus castora, qui se
Eunuchum ipse facit cupiens evadere damno
Testiculi; adeo medicatum intelligit inguen.
"Fundite quae mea sunt," dicebat, "cuncta," Catullus,
Praecipitare volens etiam pulcherrima, vestem
Purpuream teneris quoque Maecenatibus aptam,

many pictures of this sort, for the first expedient in danger was to lighten the ship, as in St. Paul's voyage. Jahn [and Ribbeck] have 'discriminis audi Et,' &c.; and also 'ejusdem pars dira.' The other editors have a stop at 'ejusdem.' As it is, I think there is something wrong in the passage.

30. *Quum plenus fluctu*] "When the hold was full of water, and when the waves were tossing up first this side and then that of the ship, a crazy tree, and the skill of the old pilot could not help her, he began to settle with the winds by tossing over the cargo." The words 'arboris incertae' have given a great deal of trouble, and various conjectural alterations have been suggested. Jahn has adopted 'arbori' from Lachmann. Heinrich proposes 'marmoris incerti.' I think the common reading may stand, 'arboris' being used in apposition with 'puppis.' He is abusing the ship, which he calls 'dolatum lignum' below, as we might call it a log. I know no other way of explaining the text. Cramer, who like some others takes 'arboris' for the mast, would read 'incerto,' and explains it 'from the crazy state of the mast,' quoting such places as Tac. Ann. iii. 54: "incerta maris." But this is not to the point. 'Incerto' is the reading however of several MSS. [and of Ribbeck]. 'Jactus' is explained on iii. 125: "nusquam minor est jactura clientis." 'Decidere' is the legal term for coming to terms with an opponent. See among other places Cic. in Verr. ii. 1. 48, Long's note. The fable that follows about the beaver is as old as Aesop, and was believed by the ancients. It is often alluded to. 'Adeo intelligit' is 'he so fully understands' (S. xi. 131). Heinrich thinks this verse an interpolation: if so, 'cupiens' belongs to Catullus. But I think it genuine.

39. *teneris quoque Maecenatibus*] See S. i. 66, n.: "Multum referens de Maecenate supino." This name it appears was long a proverb. He threw overboard his purple clothes and others made of fine Spanish wool, from sheep which he says were coloured by the quality of the rich grass, the fine water of the Baetis, with its hidden virtues, and the air of the country where they were bred, which was the modern Andalusia, called Baetica from the river Baetis (the Guadalquivir), by which and its tributaries it was watered. This valley has from the earliest times been the richest in Spain, and was famous for its breed of sheep. Martial addressing a toga sent him by a friend, asks (viii. 28):

"An Tartessiacus stabuli nutritor Iberi
Baetis in Hesperia te quoque lavit ove?"

He often mentions them elsewhere. Virgil's conceit about the golden age is that the wool will be dyed by the grass that feeds the sheep (Ecl. 4. 42, sqq.):

"Nec varios discet mentiri lana colores;
Ipse sed in pratis aries jam suave rubenti
Murice, jam croceo mutabit vellera luto;
Sponte sua sandix pascentes vestiet agnos."

Atque alias quarum generosi graminis ipsum
Infecit natura pecus, sed et egregius fons
Viribus occultis et Baeticus adjuvat aer.
Ille nec argentum dubitabat mittere, lances
Parthenio factas, urnae cratera capacem
Et dignum sitiente Pholo vel conjuge Fusci;
Adde et bascaudas et mille escalia, multum

The wool of Baetica it appears was of a yellow colour, and the colour was popularly attributed to the water of the river. Martial (xii. 99) addresses it thus:

"Baetis, olivifera crinem redimite corona,
Aurea qui nitidis vellera tingis aquis."

And on a 'lacerna Baetica' he says (xiv. 133):

"Non est lana mihi mendax, nec mutor aeno;
Si placeant Tyriae, me mea tinxit ovis."

43. *Ille nec argentum dubitabat mittere,*] 'Mittere' is used in this sense by Horace (iii. 24. 47):

"Vel nos in mare proximum
Gemmas et lapides aurum et inutile
• • • •
Mittamus, scelerum si bene poenitet."

The Scholiast says 'Parthenius' is the name of a 'caelator,' a worker in metal, which he guessed perhaps from this place. Grangaeus says he was a sculptor "de quo Plinius plura," which notion Heinecke (p. 100) is afraid must have come to the old commentator 'per portam eburneam,' for he cannot find such a passage in Pliny, nor can any one else. Ruperti and Heinrich say 'Parthenio' is equivalent to 'Samio,' 'Parthenia' being the old name for 'Samos,' which place was celebrated for its earthenware vessels. (The clay is mentioned in S. vi. 514.) Juvenal seems to be speaking throughout of silver. But the Samians were connected with the earliest history of metal-casting; and two Samian artists named Theodorus are mentioned. It was, it appears, the younger Theodorus, who was said by the Delphians (Herod. i. 51) to have made the great silver 'crater' given by Croesus to their temple. This 'crater' Herodotus says held 600 amphorae, about 1800 Roman urnae, or 5400 gallons, the urna being as nearly as possible 3 gallons (S. vi. 426, n.). This makes it the more probable that Parthenius here stands for Samius, which reason Heinrich seems to have overlooked. 'Crater' was the bowl in which the ancients mixed their wine and water (Hor. i. 20. 11, n.). 'Pholus' was a centaur whom Virgil among many others mentions (Georg. ii. 456). He is generally connected with drinking, as the centaurs commonly were. Whoever Fuscus or his wife may have been, perhaps she is the woman who sat for the picture in vi. 413—433. She is described as "totum Oenophorum sitiens plena quod tenditur urna." There are two Fusci mentioned, iv. 112 and xvi. 46.

46. *Adde et bascaudas et mille escalia,*] 'Bascauda' is a Celtic word, and originally belonged to certain vessels introduced from Britain. The word is the original of 'basket.' Martial has an epigram on one (xiv. 99):

"Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis:
Sed me nunc mavult dicere Roma suam."

The name must have afterwards been given to silver vessels made elsewhere. 'Escalia' (vasa) are dishes of whatever shape to hold meat, 'esca.' 'Lances' were flat. A large number of MSS. have 'escalia:' P. and many others 'escaria,' which is the reading of all the editions but Heinrich's, who compares with 'escalia' the German 'Schale.' 'Multum caelati' is 'a great quantity of chased silver cups.' As to Philip and his gold see note on Horace, C. iii. 16. 13:

"—— diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo et subruit aemulos
Reges muneribus."

Valerius Maximus admires the letter he wrote to Alexander, chiding him for trying to win the regard of the people by money, and asking how he could expect to get by money that fidelity which could only be gained by love. Valerius adds, "At vero ante Philippus majore ex parte mercator

Caelati biberat quo callidus emptor Olynthi.
Sed quis nunc alius qua mundi parte, quis audet
Argento praeferre caput rebusque salutem?
Non propter vitam faciunt patrimonia quidam,
Sed vitio caeci propter patrimonia vivunt.
Jactatur rerum utilium pars maxima; sed nec
Damna levant. Tunc adversis urgentibus illuc
Decidit ut malum ferro summitteret; hac re

Graeciae quam victor" (vii. 2. 10. Extera). This letter to his son is given by Cicero de Off. ii. 15. Olynthus in Chalcidice was besieged by Philip B.C. 348, and taken through the treachery of two of the inhabitants, Lasthenes and Euthycrates, whose services Philip bought. The city was destroyed and the inhabitants sold. All the cities in Chalcidice he gained at the same time and in the same way. He acted universally on the principle laid down for him by the oracle, ἀργυρέαις λόγχῃσι μάχου καὶ πάντα κρατήσεις. Philip had the reputation of being a hard drinker: Pliny says he slept with a gold cup under his pillow (H. N. xxxiii. 3).

48. *Sed quis nunc alius qua*] There is a mock seriousness about all this description of Catullus' sacrifice of his goods to save his life. The man must have been in a terrible fright, and went on throwing his things away recklessly, it would seem, in the hope of making the ship lighter or propitiating the elements. There is some humour therefore in the apparent earnestness with which he asks "Who else in these days and where, who, I say, has the boldness to prefer his life to his money?" τίς ποῦ; "Nay, take my life and all—you take my life when you do take the means whereby I live," says Shylock. The two next verses Heinrich says contain good sense, but in this place are very insipid. He and Jahn agree with Bentley, who on Hor. A. P. 387 pronounces them spurious. Bentley asks, "quorsum enim hic *Quidam*, quum jam dixerat ne unum quidem ulla mundi parte vitam patrimonio praeferre? Quale autem illud *facere patrimonia!* quae scabies locutionis! Quam alienum et pannosum illud *Vitio caeci!* quod eo tantum assuitur ut versiculi cento sarciatur—solebant olim sententiosa hujusmodi in margine allini quae postea in contextum irrepserunt." We may give the verses up without loss. The Scholiast however has them and all the MSS.

52. *Jactatur rerum utilium*] 'Res utiles' are all kinds of things used by man, including food. They are opposed to ornamental things. But all the losses do not lighten the ship enough. Ruperti thinks 'juvant' is the proper word. Heinecke quotes against him Virgil (Aen. i. 145, 146), "levat ipse tridenti; Et vastas aperit syrtes, et temperat aequor." But there the ship was aground. 'Levant' is the right word however. 'Nec' is 'not even.' (xi. 132.)

54. *Decidit ut malum*] This is the reading of most MSS. P. has 'recidit' and so has the Scholiast. The first syllable of that word is made long by Lucretius, Propertius, and Ovid (see Forcellini). Ruperti's rule (Var. Lect.) that in verbs compounded with 're,' that syllable is common, provided the simple verbs begin with a consonant, is not true. Here 'decidit' is probably the right word, in the sense in which the Greeks commonly use καταβαίνειν, 'he comes (or matters come) to this, that he must apply the axe to the mast.' So Suetonius says of Claudius, "ad eas rei familiaris angustias decidit," and Pliny, Epp. iv. 11, "nunc eo decidit ut exul de senatore, rhetor de oratore fieret" (Heinecke, p. 101). 'Recidit' [Ribbeck] might however be admitted [or 'reccidit,' Jahn], and if so, it would be like 'res redit' so common in Terence, as "in eum jam res rediit locum Ut sit necesse" (Heaut. ii. 3. 118). 'Hac re' is the reading of only one MS., which Ruperti praises highly, and attributes to the twelfth century. This reading is almost too good to be true on such slender authority. The other MSS. as well as the Scholiast have 'ac se' or 'at se.' [Jahn and Ribbeck have 'ac se.'] I have however followed Heinrich in a doubtful reading. The sense then is "by this act he got out of the difficulty: but the extreme of danger must it be when we apply means of relief which must take away part of the ship." 'Explicat' is used as Horace uses it in C. iv. 9. 44, n.:

Explicat angustum; discriminis ultima quando
Praesidia afferimus navem factura minorem.
I nunc et ventis animam committe dolato
Confisus ligno, digitis a morte remotus
Quatuor aut septem, si sit latissima taeda.
Mox cum reticulis et pane et ventre lagenae
Aspice sumendas in tempestate secures.
Sed postquam jacuit planum mare, tempora postquam
Prospera vectoris fatumque valentius Euro
Et pelago, postquam Parcae meliora benigna
Pensa manu ducunt hilares et staminis albi
Lanificae, modica nec multum fortior aura
Ventus adest, inopi miserabilis arte cucurrit

"per obstantes catervas Explicuit sua victor arma."

57. *I nunc et ventis animam committe*] As to 'I nunc' see x. 310, n. 'Dolato ligno' is not a smooth plank as Mr. Mayor says, but rough-hewn with a dolabra. (S. viii. 248.) A 'digitus' was one-sixteenth of an English foot: four or seven is a conventional way of speaking. See xiv. 289. Heinrich refers to the saying ascribed to Anacharsis by Diogenes Laertius (i. 103), *μαθὼν τέτταρας δακτύλους εἶναι τὸ πάχος τῆς νέως, τοσοῦτον, ἔφη, τοῦ θανάτου τοὺς πλέοντας ἀπέχειν.* Ruperti has abundance of quotations on the terrors of the deep, which Horace sums up in woful terms in the third ode of the first book. 'Taeda' is the generic name for the trees yielding tar, including several varieties of the 'pinus,' of which many were used in ship-building: for which reason 'pinus' is frequently used for a ship, though 'taeda' only here.

60. *Mox cum reticulis*] 'After you have thought of that, then look at what you have to take with you for the voyage, a bag of bread, a big lagena, and hatchets,' which makes a ludicrous climax. 'Reticulis et pane' is the same as 'reticulum panis' in Hor. S. i. 1. 47. 'Reticulum' is a netted bag, commonly used it seems for this purpose. The 'lagena' was the same as the 'amphora,' and 'ventre lagenae' is like 'Montani venter,' 'the big-bellied Montanus,' S. iv. 107.

62. *tempora postquam Prospera vectoris*] 'But when the passenger's lucky time arrived, and fate more mighty than the wind and sea;' that is, when the day came back and his fate began to prevail over the elements, where 'fatum' is used as in S. xi. 105, "ferae mansuescere jussae Imperii fato," and "fortuna ipsius et urbis Servatum victo caput abstulit" (x. 285). As to the Parcae and their spinning see S. iii. 27, n.; xiv. 249. Their spinning white threads was a good sign. See Martial iv. 73:

"Ultima volventes orabat pensa sorores,
Ut traherent parva stamina pulla mora,"

where the threads are black and life coming to an end.

67. *inopi miserabilis arte*] 'The wretched ship with beggarly shifts goes on, with clothes spread out and foresail, the only sail that's left.' 'Inopi arte' means such poor means as the storm had reduced her to. They spread clothes for sails, the only one that was left being that which ran out from the bows. Tacitus describes ships returning after a storm 'intentis vestibus' (Ann. ii. 24). The foresail was called 'dolo:' it was a fore and aft sail of small size. Livy mentions it (xxxvi. 44, 45). The rig of the Roman sailing ships however seems not to be very well understood. There was a sail called 'artemo,' which some think was the mainsail. So our translators render it in St. Paul's voyage (Acts xxvii. 40). It seems doubtful whether that can be right. They would be more likely under the circumstances to hoist the foresail or jib, as we call it, if they had one. The Scholiast says the 'artemo' is meant here. The larger ships had two square-rigged masts. 'Prora' is used generally for the ship and particularly for the fore part 'with its own sail.'

Vestibus extentis et, quod superaverat unum,
Velo prora suo. Jam deficientibus Austris
Spes vitae cum sole redit: tum gratus Iulo,
Atque novercali sedes praelata Lavino,
Conspicitur sublimis apex, cui candida nomen
Scrofa dedit, laetis Phrygibus mirabile sumen,
Et nunquam visis triginta clara mamillis.
Tandem intrat positas inclusa per aequora moles
Tyrrhenamque Pharon porrectaque brachia rursum,
Quae pelago occurrunt medio longeque relinquunt
Italiam—non sic igitur mirabere portus
Quos natura dedit—sed trunca puppe magister
Interiora petit Baianae pervia cymbae
Tuti stagna sinus, gaudent ubi vertice raso
Garrula securi narrare pericula nautae.

70. *tum gratus Iulo,*] When the sun rose they made out the heights of Alba. Where the Trojans landed in Latium Aeneas built a town and called it Lavinium after his wife Lavinia. Thirty years afterwards when the population of this town increased, his son Iulus or Ascanius left it to his stepmother, and founded Alba Longa. To the spot he was directed by a white sow with a litter of thirty pigs, such a sight as the Trojans had never seen: S. vi. 177: "Scrofa Niobe fecundior alba." The highest point of the group of the Alban hills, to which the Romans gave exclusively the name Mons Albanus (now Monte Cavo), and from the foot of which runs the ridge on which Alba Longa appears to have been built, is 3000 feet above the level of the sea, and a conspicuous object to ships approaching the coast.

75. *Tandem intrat positas*] The port of Rome was for some centuries Ostia, which was originally built at the mouth of the Tiber, but gradually became less accessible from the sea through the deposit of soil brought down by the river. In consequence of this the Emperor Claudius in the year A.D. 42 caused a basin to be dug two miles to the north, which was connected with the river by means of a canal. Here ships of large size were able to ride, the basin being protected by two moles which ran out into the sea, and between them there was a breakwater with a lighthouse upon it. This basin was called Portus Augusti (Dion Cass. 60, 11. Suet. Claudius, 20). Trajan increased and improved this artificial harbour (which Juvenal says you would admire more than any natural one) by the addition of an inner basin, as the Scholiast on this place mentions. This basin the pilot of Catullus' ship made for. It was such that a small boat might enter and lie there in safety, such a boat as plied upon the Lacus Lucrinus, by Baiae. The above account explains the text. 'Porrectaque brachia rursum' means that the moles were curved outwards beyond the breakwater and took a bend inwards behind it. 'Non sic igitur' is 'not so much then,' such being the character of the work. 'Sed' means that though the outer basin was safe, the pilot thought it better with his disabled ship to go into the other. (Dict. Geog., Ostia.) Gibbon (c. xxxi.), describing the second siege of Rome by the Goths, A.D. 409, gives an account of this port, which he calls "one of the boldest and most stupendous works of Roman magnificence." Juvenal calls the breakwater Tyrrhenam Pharon after the Alexandrian Pharos (vi. 83, n.), on which Ptolemy Philadelphus built his lighthouse. From this lighthouses in general got the name Pharos.

This allusion to Trajan's basin shows that the satire was not written before his time.

81. *gaudent ubi vertice raso*] Sailors saved from a wreck commonly cut off their hair as a thank offering to some god. Ruperti refers to the authorities on the subject. ['gaudent ibi' Pfr, Jahn and Ribbeck.]

Ite igitur, pueri, linguis animisque faventes,
Sertaque delubris et farra imponite cultris
Ac molles ornate focos glebamque virentem.
Jam sequar et, sacro quod praestat rite peracto,
Inde domum repetam, graciles ubi parva coronas
Accipiunt fragili simulacra nitentia cera.
Hic nostrum placabo Jovem Laribusque paternis
Tura dabo, atque omnes violae jactabo colores.
Cuncta nitent; longos erexit janua ramos
Et matutinis operatur festa lucernis.
  Nec suspecta tibi sint haec, Corvine; Catullus,
Pro cujus reditu tot pono altaria, parvos
Tres habet heredes. Libet exspectare quis aegram

83. *linguis animisque faventes,*] To the ordinary formula, 'favete linguis,' 'animis' was sometimes added, as in Ovid, Fast. i. 71:

"Prospera lux oritur, linguis animisque favete;
  Nunc dicenda bono sunt bona verba die."

It means to keep both tongue and thoughts in a reverential frame, as it is in Sophocles, Oed. Col. 131:

ἀφώνως, ἀλόγως, τὸ τᾶς
εὐφήμου στόμα φροντίδος
ἱέντες.

The knife as well as the burning flesh of the victim was sprinkled with 'mola salsa' (above 5, n.). The 'molles foci' are the turf altars (v. 2), of which there were three.

86. *et, sacro quod praestat*] He says, after performing the chief sacrifice, that which has precedence, he will go home and crown his Lares, which it seems to have been usual to rub with wax and polish. 'Fragili' seems to be only what is called an 'epitheton ornans.' Some take Horace's 'renidentes Lares' (Epod. ii. 66) in this way. The wax may have brightened them up, but that is not all Horace means. Horace describes his humble Phidyle as

"Parvos coronantem marino
  Rore deos fragilique myrto."
(C. iii. 23. 15.)

89. *Hic nostrum placabo Jovem*] The Penates of a house included one or more of the Dii Magni as well as the Lares, the spirits of their good ancestors. Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and Vesta, one or all, were most commonly included. As to the branches see ix. 85. 'Operari' is commonly used for offering sacrifice, or the performance of a religious duty. Here he means his door is doing its duty with its early morning lamps. On this subject see note on Persius, v. 180. Ruperti says 'operatur' means 'operam dat:' "h. e. servi occupati sunt in lucernis ad januam suspendendis et matutino jam tempore accendendis." 'Operatur' is 'operam dat,' but with a religious meaning. Lipsius (Elect. i. 8) proposes 'operitur,' 'is covered,' which is said to be in one MS. of R. Stephens. I am surprised 'oneratur' has never been suggested. I think it would be better than 'operitur.' But 'operatur' is the true word, I have no doubt.

95. *Libet exspectare*] "I shall be glad to see who will expend a sick hen, just closing its eyes, on a friend so fruitless as this." Cocks or hens were offered to Aesculapius in particular, but also to the Lares and other gods (xiii. 233). Pliny says of them, "Extis etiam fibrisque haud aliter quam opimae victimae Diis grati" (H. N. x. 21). He says not even a quail would be sacrificed for the father of a family. Of quails Pliny says they were not eaten because they were supposed to feed on poisonous berries, and were held in contempt because they were subject to epilepsy. They and the sparrows (S. ix. 54, n.) were types of debauched passion, and were never very well thought of. 'Cadere' is a common word in connexion with sacrifices. Horace says (C. iii. 18. 5), "Si tener pleno cadit haedus anno."

Et claudentem oculos gallinam impendat amico
Tam sterili. Verum haec nimia est impensa; coturnix
Nulla unquam pro patre cadet. Sentire calorem
Si coepit locuples Gallita et Paccius orbi,
Legitime fixis vestitur tota tabellis
Porticus; exsistunt qui promittunt hecatomben,
Quatenus hic non sunt nec venales elephanti,
Nec Latio aut usquam sub nostro sidere talis
Bellua concipitur, sed furva gente petita

98. *Sentire calorem*] He says if a rich person without children takes a fever, men hang their walls with tablets inscribed with prayers for his or her recovery, and vows of sacrifices, or whatever it might be, if the prayer should be granted. These tablets were common on all occasions of this sort or of other important prayers, and they were hung up in the house of the person praying, or in the temples, or on the statues of the gods, as above (x. 55): "Propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum." Tablets so inscribed were also carried before the victims to the altar. Pliny the Younger, writing to Trajan (Ep. x. 44), says: "Sollennia vota pro incolumitate tua, qua publica salus continetur, et suscipimus, domine, et solvimus, precati Deos ut velint ea semper solvi semperque signari." All such vows were made in public, a principle observed generally in respect to prayer, which was held suspicious if it were secret. As to 'porticus' see S. vi. 163, n.

101. *exsistunt qui promittunt hecatomben,*] 'Exsistunt qui' cannot properly be said to stand for 'sunt qui.' The rule in respect to 'sunt qui' is that it takes the subjunctive when the persons are indefinite, and the indicative when they are definite (Hor. C. i. 1. 3: "Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum Collegisse juvat"). [PSgs have 'promittant,' which is also the reading of Jahn and Ribbeck: the other MSS. have 'promittunt,' the better reading here.] "Persons start up who promise a hecatomb (that is a hundred bulls), since elephants are not for sale in these parts, and are not bred in Latium or any where under our skies." He means if there were elephants they would have been vowed instead. 'Quatenus' is used by Horace and others in this sense, as in S. i. 3. 78, "Quatenus excidi penitus vitium irae Cetera item nequeunt stultis haerentia," and elsewhere. 'Nec venales elephanti, Nec Latio aut usquam' is like Horace's

"Ac neque jam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni:
Nec prata canis albicant pruinis."
(C. i. 4. 2, and note.)

'Nec venales' is opposed to 'nec concipitur,' and 'aut' joins 'Latio' and 'usquam.' The change to the finite construction 'bellua concipitur,' where 'concepti' (elephanti) would be expected, is a common Latin usage. (S. xi. 32, n.)

104. *sed furva gente petita*] 'Petita' agrees with 'bellua,' and 'Caesaris armentum' is in apposition with it. 'Furva gente' are the Indians (S. xi. 125, sq.). He says the emperors kept herds of elephants in the country of the Rutuli in Latium and of Turnus who was their king. They were kept for public shows. These beasts are not prepared to serve any private person, since their ancestors obeyed the orders of Hannibal (whom he calls Tyrius, as Carthage was a Phoenician settlement), and Roman generals, and Pyrrhus the king of Epirus, to which country the Molossi belonged (S. xiv. 162). It was he who first brought elephants over into Italy, and the battle of Heraclea (B.C. 280), when it was almost decided against him, he turned with his reserve of elephants, which the Roman cavalry would not face. Livy (xxi. 28) describes how Hannibal got his elephants over the Rhone. They were thirty-seven in number. The appearance of these animals helped him in crossing the Alps by the terror they struck into the mountaineers. They suffered terribly on that march (see Polybius, iii. 54, 55). Livy (xxxv. 36) says that the Romans first used elephants in the war against Philip of Macedon B.C. 200. This was the year after the conclusion of the second Punic war, in which Livy says these elephants were taken. Elephants were first

Arboribus Rutulis et Turni pascitur agro,
Caesaris armentum, nulli servire paratum
Privato; siquidem Tyrio parere solebant
Hannibali et nostris ducibus regique Molosso
Horum majores ac dorso ferre cohortes,
Partem aliquam belli et euntem in proelia turrim.
Nulla igitur mora per Novium, mora nulla per Histrum
Pacuvium, quin illud ebur ducatur ad aras
Et cadat ante Lares Gallitae victima, sola
Tantis digna deis et captatoribus horum.
Alter enim, si concedas mactare, vovebit
De grege servorum magna et pulcherrima quaeque
Corpora, vel pueris et frontibus ancillarum
Imponet vittas, et si qua est nubilis illi
Iphigenia domi dabit hanc altaribus, etsi
Non sperat tragicae furtiva piacula cervae.
Laudo meum civem, nec comparo testamento
Mille rates: nam si Libitinam evaserit aeger,
Delebit tabulas, inclusus carcere nassae,
Post meritum sane mirandum, atque omnia soli

used in his African triumph by Cn. Pompeius (Pliny, H. N. viii. 2). C. Julius Caesar had forty of them carrying torch-bearers in one of his triumphs (Sueton. Julius Caesar, 37). Pliny says, on the authority of Fenestella, that elephants were first exhibited in the Circus in the year B.C. 99 (H. N. viii. 7).

111. *Nulla igitur mora per Novium,*] This means that Novius and Pacuvius (who may be any body, ii. 58, n.) are quite ready, and the difficulty is not on their part if it is not done, to offer elephants on the altar of Gallita's Lares. As to 'mora nulla' see vi. 333: "mora nulla per ipsam Quominus imposito," &c.

115. *Alter enim, si concedas*] 'Enim' means they would not hesitate about an elephant, for one of them would be quite ready even to offer human sacrifices for the life of the rich woman, or even his own child as Agamemnon did, though he could not expect her to be delivered and a hind substituted in her place, as the story is about Iphigenia. 'Tragicae' means that this is the story in the Tragedians, as in Euripides (Iph. in Tauris, 28): ἀλλ' ἐξέκλεψεν ἔλαφον ἀντιδοῦσά μοι Ἄρτεμις Ἀχαιοῖς, where ἐξέκλεψε explains 'furtiva' (v. 120). The offence requiring 'piaculum' was that Agamemnon had not fulfilled a vow he had made to Artemis to offer to her the most beautiful thing that should be born in the year his daughter was born: he or the Argives had also shot a hind loved by Diana.

121. *Laudo meum civem,*] So the master commended the unjust steward because he was wise in his generation: he says ironically the safety of a thousand ships is nothing compared with a will, for if the sick man recovers, he will unmake his will, caught in the snare of the fisherman. 'Nassa' is a snare made of ozier, and so contrived that the fish that got in could not get out again. Silius (v. 47, sqq.) describes the way of making it. (See Forcellini.) The best account of will hunting is in the 5th Satire of Horace's second Book, where the 'captator' appears as a fisherman, as he does here: "Plures adnabunt thunni et cetaria crescent" (v. 44). As to 'Libitina,' the goddess of funerals and all things pertaining to the dead, see note on Hor. S. ii. 6. 19: "Libitinae quaestus acerbae."

124. *Post meritum sane mirandum,*] After a service truly astonishing, that is the effectual vows of Pacuvius to which he

Forsan Pacuvio breviter dabit. Ille superbus
Incedet victis rivalibus. Ergo vides quam
Grande operae pretium faciat jugulata Mycenis.
  Vivat Pacuvius quaeso vel Nestora totum;
Possideat quantum rapuit Nero; montibus aurum
Exaequet; nec amet quenquam, nec ametur ab ullo.'

is ready to attribute his recovery. For this service perhaps he will make him his sole 'heres' (heres ex asse). 'Breviter,' 'in few words.' 'Rivalibus' is here used in an uncommon way. Its derived sense elsewhere has reference only to rivalry in love (see S. vi. 115, n.).

126. *Ergo vides quam Grande*] "So you see what a return for his sufferings the death of one Mycenaean damsel won." See xiv. 211, n. He supposes him to have had a 'nubilis Iphigenia,' and to have sacrificed her, and to have had his trouble soothed by the fruits of his devotion, in the old man's will. Iphigenia is represented in the story as having been sent for to Aulis by her father under the pretence that she was to be married to Achilles. 'Mycenis' is an adjective. Ovid calls her the same: "Supposita fertur mutasse Mycenida cerva" (Met. xii. 34. See Forcellini).

When Caligula fell ill the people passed the night near the palace, and some vowed they would fight to the death in the arena as an offering for the patient if he recovered; others devoted their lives, and carried a tablet with an inscription to that effect. (Suetonius, Calig. 14, where Casaubon has a note on human sacrifices and devotion to death.)

128. *vel Nestora totum;*] See note on x. 246. "Let him live a whole Nestor," which is expressive and intelligible. We need not look to the grammars for precedents. Some of Nero's robberies have been mentioned above (x. 15). "Hoc agamus ne quis quidquam habeat," "let it be our endeavour that no one shall have any thing," was his motto (Sueton. c. 32). He robbed provinces and he robbed rich citizens. No one could call his money his own.

130. *nec amet quenquam,*] We may understand 'tamen,' "and yet neither love nor be beloved by any." He asks the heaviest curse that could be inflicted on the man for his meanness: a long dreary life with heaps of stolen gold to look at, and not a friend in the whole world to exchange sympathy with.

SATIRA XIII.

INTRODUCTION.

A FRIEND of Juvenal's, whom he calls Calvinus, is in a state of great excitement about a fraud practised upon him by one to whom he had given in trust a sum of money (about 80*l*.), and who had denied the trust on oath. Juvenal writes to him ridiculing his wrath as mean and unphilosophical. He was not a poor man, and the sum was not worth so much vexation; and as to the offence, it was absurd to feel any surprise at a thing of every-day occurrence, a crime very small compared with the multitude that were daily committed in Rome. It was a bad age, and to look for honesty in that day was to dote. There was once a time when gods were fewer and men more primitive, and then dishonesty was rare; but all that was now changed, and men would swear to any lie at any altar; some having no belief in God, others having various means of putting conscience to sleep or else defying God and conscience too for gain. As to revenge, that was a mere

woman's cry: no sensible man thinks of that: what good would it do if he could torture the man to death? Besides, if he wanted revenge there was conscience to do that work for him, the haunting presence of the liar's guilt spoiling his meals, fevering his blood, disturbing his sleep, adding terror to the thunder and despair to sickness, hindering his prayers and standing for ever between himself and the gods he has offended. No fear of his repenting: nature will be too strong for him, and will go back to the guilt that conscience has condemned; and so he will go from sin to remorse, and back again to sin, till at last he will be caught in his own snare, and come to the punishment of the felon, and prove to the satisfaction of the vindictive soul that the gods are neither deaf nor blind.

The satire takes the form of expostulation and ironical consolation throughout. It is most familiarly known as dealing with the subject of an accusing conscience, which it does in a very powerful way from v. 192 to 235. But this is only one part of the whole. The character of the times and the contrast of the past and present occupy much of the poem, and there is a very fine passage describing the way in which men tamper with guilt and argue themselves into the commission of it, and put on a bold face as of innocence, from v. 86 to 119.

Gifford says, "Juvenal is here almost a Christian," and he speaks of the doctrines contained in this satire "as of such pure, such sublime morality" as "the light of nature alone was incapable of discovering; and which the author undoubtedly derived from that 'true light' which now began to glimmer through the Roman world," and more to that effect. I have made a remark on this subject in one of the notes (v. 209). But for the chronological difficulty there are many who would say that the same light glimmered in the mind of Socrates, whose views of the supervision of God and the power of conscience were not less clear than Juvenal's, though we have no such powerful exposition of his ideas as we have here. There never was a time when conscience did not exist in the mind of man, however completely the habit of guilt may have seared it in some and have given a colour of innocence to wickedness in the judgment of whole communities. What Juvenal says on the subject of conscience derives its only weight from its truth; and though he exaggerates when he leads to the inference that the stings of a guilty conscience must necessarily follow guilt, the picture he draws is taken from experience, not from revelation, the experience of those who were no Christians and had no knowledge to frighten them but that which was suggested from within. The soliloquy (v. 92—105) in which a man argues away the misgivings with which he enters upon crime or the denial of it, represents no doubt the conduct and feelings of many who have more light than that of conscience; but there too the man is not a bad Christian, but a bad pagan; and if we are surprised to read in Juvenal language or sentiments which if delivered from a Christian pulpit would be appropriate and searching, it is because we are apt to forget that human nature, with its desires, its corruptions, and its self-deceptions, has always been the same in the main, and that God has never been without his witness against guilt in the heart of man. That revenge is unphilosophical and vindictiveness the proof of a little mind may be affirmed without more light than man has always possessed. But this doctrine in particular it is of which Gifford declares that "neither Thales nor Chrysippus, no, nor his great master Zeno ever taught or even conceived" it. How does he know this? He does not add that Socrates did not act upon it, as Juvenal (who does not look to Christianity for his examples) says he was ready to do. And if he acted the doctrine he preached it, as, if Plato is to be trusted, he equally did in words: or if he did not Plato did it for him, and that comes to the same thing.

The sum of this is that the reader had better take up this satire as representing the common moral sense of mankind, and look to the law of Christianity as confirming the unwritten law of which conscience has always been the guardian and the exponent, and of which such writings as Juvenal's, especially this poem, are the clearest evidence.

Ruperti has pointed out what he considers defects in this satire. He says that the

force of the most weighty sentiments is broken by an ostentation of art, unseasonable learning, and frigid declamation, particularly in those parts which speak of the multitude of criminals every day produces (v. 23, sqq.), the multitude of gods (v. 40, sqq.), the prodigies to which honesty is likened (v. 62, sqq.), and the doctrine of the philosophers (v. 120, sqq.). The reader will judge for himself whether there is any thing frigid in these passages, or more artificial than every composition of the kind must be. He says v. 120, sqq. is an unpleasant repetition of v. 19, sqq., and v. 126, sqq. of v. 23, sqq.; that the order of the argument is interrupted, as for instance by the story of Glaucus (v. 199—208), which is denied in my note; and by the soliloquy, which occurred to the writer after he had described the shamelessness of a perjurer, but which his critic thinks he should have reserved for a later place, mistaking the course of the argument altogether, though it may be admitted that there is no "ostentation of art" in the arrangement of the poem, which as it professes to be a letter to a friend, and not "frigid declamation," is not unnatural. He also charges the satire with repetition, and it may be allowed that there is a summary of the argument in the first few lines which is afterwards amplified in its several parts. I suppose Juvenal thought it would be as well to state his doctrine and enlarge upon it afterwards. Others will think so too. He has delivered a discourse which the world have never ceased to admire, and of which, in spite of the blemishes he thinks he has found, Ruperti says it is "Satira egregia et plena salis sententiarumque gravissimarum."

From v. 17 it is commonly inferred that the poem was written in Hadrian's reign, about A.D. 119.

ARGUMENT.

Bad acts displease the doers. Conscience convicts them though the praetor's urn be false. All your friends feel with you; you are not so poor that you should sink with such a loss; besides the case is common, one out of fortune's heap. Put off excessive grief, the sorrow of a man should not blaze up too high, the pain should not be greater than the wound. A trifle, a mere scrap of ill you scarce can bear, and all your entrails burn because a friend will not give up a deposit, and you a man of sixty! Has not experience taught you? Wisdom is great, mistress of fortune: those we count happy too whom life has taught to bear the yoke of life.

V. 23. No day so holy but it puts forth thieves and liars. The good are rare, not more than gates of Thebes or mouths of Nile. We live in the ninth age, an age so bad no metal is so base that it should give its name. And yet we call upon the faith of gods and men as loudly as the clients of Faesidius when he pleads.

V. 33. Say, art thou in thy second childhood that thou knowest not the charms of other people's money, or how they laugh at your simplicity, expecting any man should not forswear himself or think that fanes and altars have their gods? The natives in the golden age thought so, before the skies were filled so full of gods and hell so full of victims. Then was dishonesty a prodigy. 'Twas a great crime if youth rose not to age, yea children to their seniors by four years. But now if friends should not deny a trust but pay it back entire, it is more wonderful than all the prodigies that ever were.

V. 71. Complain that you've been impiously cheated of ten sestertia! What if I tell of one who's lost two hundred, and another more than he can cram into his chest? 'Tis easy to despise the witness of the gods, if human there be none. See with what voice and face the man denies it. He swears by all the gods and goddesses, their bows, spears, tridents, all the armoury of heaven, yea, he will boil his son and eat him pickled, if he be a father.

V. 86. Some say chance governs all things, nature rules the world, and so they fearless go to any altar. Others believe in gods and punishment, but argue thus: "Let them do with my body what they will, and strike me blind, so that I keep my gains. We may bear all for that. Ladas if poor will pray for the rich man's gout, unless he be insane. The racer's barren crown, what does he get by that? The gods may punish, but they punish slow: my turn will not be yet; besides it may be they will pardon me; the fault is venial. It's all a chance, one gains a cross by his crimes and one a crown." 'Tis thus they quiet conscience, put a bold face upon it, go to the altar of their own accord, abuse or beat you for mistrusting them, and get believed for their audacity. And so they act their farce, while you cry out with voice like Stentor or like Mars, "Jove, hearest thou in silence? Why do we bring thee sacrifice and incense? As far as I can see your statues are no better than Vagellius'."

V. 120. Now take such comfort as you may from one unread in all philosophy. Patients in danger may consult great doctors, do you submit to a humbler. If you can prove there never was a crime so bad in all the world, I hold my peace, mourn as you will; I know the loss of money is a greater grief than loss of kindred; in that case mourning is not feigned, the tears are real. But if it's every where the same that men deny their hand and seal, are you, fine gentleman, to be excepted? How do you make yourself the chick of a fine bird and us the producé of a humble nest? It's but a small thing after all if you compare it with the greater crimes, the hired assassin, the incendiary, the sacrilegious robber who plunders temples, or the petty thief who scrapes the gold from statues; the poisoner, the parricide. How small a part is this of all the crimes the praefect listens to from morn till night! His court alone will teach you what men are. Spend a few days there and talk about your misery if you dare.

V. 162. None wonder at swelled throats in the Alps, coarse breasts in Egypt, or blue eyes and yellow curly hair in Germany, because they are all the same. So no one among the pigmies laughs at their battles with the cranes, though they are only a foot high.

V. 174. "But must not perjury and fraud be punished?" Suppose him carried off and put to death, your loss is still the same, and all you get is odium and a drop of blood shed from a headless corpse.

V. 180. "Oh! but revenge is pleasanter than life." This is fools' language, who flare up for nothing. Chrysippus, Thales would not say so, nor Socrates, who would not share his cup of poison with his enemy. Philosophy corrects our faults of nature and of practice: she first taught us right from wrong, for only little minds care for revenge, as you may see from women's love of it.

V. 192. But why think they escape whom conscience whips? Their punishment is worse than any down in hell, who night and day carry their witness with them. The Spartan once tempted the oracle and got his answer, which the event established, for he and all his house though old have perished. Such was the penalty of a bad desire. For he who thinks to do an evil deed incurs the guilt as if he'd done the deed. What if the man has carried out his purpose? Ceaseless anxiety haunts him at meals, parched mouth, contracted brow; bad dreams, through which the altars he has sworn by pass, and your tall ghost most terrible of all, and drives him to confession. 'Tis these who tremble at the storm and think each bolt a messenger of wrath. If one storm passes, then they fear the next, and tremble at the calm that goes before it. Every disease they count a stone or dart from heaven. They dare not sacrifice in sickness; what can the guilty hope for? What victim is not worthier to live than they?

V. 236. The wicked commonly are changeable; they are firm enough while they're

engaged in crime; when it is done they learn the difference between right and wrong. Yet nature will go back to its old ways. Who ever puts a limit to his guilt? Who ever got back modesty once lost? Who is contented with a single crime? He will be caught some day and pay for it by death or banishment. You shall be happy in the sufferings of him you hate, and shall confess at last the gods are neither deaf nor blind.

EXEMPLO quodcunque malo committitur ipsi
Displicet auctori. Prima est haec ultio, quod se
Judice nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis
Gratia fallaci Praetoris vicerit urna.
Quid sentire putas omnes, Calvine, recenti
De scelere et fidei violatae crimine? Sed nec
Tam tenuis census tibi contigit ut mediocris

1. *Exemplo quodcunque malo*] One sense of 'exemplum' is a pattern for imitation, and that which is done 'malo exemplo' is a bad action not fit to be imitated. Grangaeus quotes Seneca (Ep. xlii.): "Nec ulla major poena nequitiae est quam quod sibi ac suis displicet." Juvenal seems to have remembered these words. 'Exemplo' is the ablative of quality, as it is called.

2. *se Judice nemo nocens absolvitur,*] These words appear to have become proverbial. They are quoted by the Scholiasts on Statius (Theb. iii. 4) and Lucan (Phars. vii. 784), and by Macrobius (Somn. Scip. i. 10. 12) (Jahn, V. L.).

4. *Praetoris vicerit urna.*] In criminal trials a praetor usually presided. The judices were chosen by lot from the 'album judicum,' the names being drawn from an urn. It would be possible for the praetor to tamper with the urn as here supposed, and judices to be secured who would acquit the defendant against their oaths. Heinrich says this is the praetor's lying urn. Others take it for the urn into which the tablets of the judices were put. It does not matter much. I do not see however why the urn should be called 'Praetoris,' unless it was meant that he was a party to the crime. The Scholium (which seems to be from two hands) gives both explanations, "nihil prodest corrupisse judicem; vel subposuisse pro sorte." Ruperti says it is 'gratia Praetoris,' which would have no meaning. Juvenal says, the guilty man is his own judex, and is not acquitted though corrupt influence may win, through the praetor's lying urn: he has a judex within whom no influence can corrupt. 'Absolvo' was the legal word for acquittal, represented by a tablet with A upon it. Each judex had three, the other two marked C (condemno) and N. L. (non liquet) which was an open verdict. Many MSS. have 'fallacis,' which is also in nearly all the old editions. P. and some others have the ablative, which no doubt is right. 'Urnam' is in most MSS. and old editions. But it has no meaning. 'Vincere' is the technical word for winning a cause. See iv. 136, where it applies to a deliberation.

[Perhaps there is no evidence which shows how the 'judices' or 'jury' were named under the Empire, and it is possible that the manner of choosing them was not the same as in the times of the Republic. By the Lex Servilia of Glaucia, enacted between B.C. 106 and 100, the prosecutor and defendant each named one hundred 'judices' from the 'album judicum,' and the plaintiff and defendant severally rejected or challenged fifty. The jury voted on the guilt or innocence of the defendant by putting their tablets in a box named Sitella; and when all the votes were cast, the praetor counted them and pronounced the verdict. The fragments of this Lex have been published, restored, and explained by Klenze, Berlin, 1825.]

5. *Quid sentire putas*] He asks what he supposes his friends all think of the fraud that has been practised upon him; meaning it should be a comfort to him to think they sympathized with him and condemned the thief; but besides (he adds), your fortune is not so small that you should feel the loss much, and many others suffer as you are suffering. This is the connexion, which some have missed. 'Sed' and 'nec' often come together in this way where something is added. See xi. 136 and elsewhere.

Jacturae te mergat onus, nec rara videmus
Quae pateris. Casus multis hic cognitus ac jam
Tritus et e medio fortunae ductus acervo.
Ponamus nimios gemitus; flagrantior aequo
Non debet dolor esse viri nec vulnere major.
Tu quamvis levium minimam exiguamque malorum
Particulam vix ferre potes, spumantibus ardens
Visceribus sacrum tibi quod non reddat amicus
Depositum? stupet haec qui jam post terga reliquit
Sexaginta annos, Fonteio Consule natus?
An nihil in melius tot rerum proficis usu?
Magna quidem, sacris quae dat praecepta libellis,
Victrix fortunae sapientia: ducimus autem

8. *Jacturae te mergat onus,*] This is rather a confusion of metaphors. 'Jactura' is that which is thrown over to lighten a ship (iii. 125, n.). Here as in other places it means a loss, and he says his friend's fortune is not so small that the burden of a moderate loss should sink him.

10. *Tritus et e medio*] He means his misfortune is a common one, and taken at random out of the heap of ordinary accidents.

13. *Tu quamvis levium*] 'Be they as light as you will.' This is the primary meaning of 'quamvis,' as any one may see. Mr. Long has a note on "quamvis et te et patronos tuos ingeniosos esse dicito" (Cic. in Verr. ii. 3. 16), where 'quamvis' belongs to 'ingeniosos;' "call yourself and your supporters as clever as you please." Zumpt too has a note there saying that 'quamvis' is put for 'quantumvis,' which Mr. Long denies. I mention this lest Heinrich's note should mislead. He refers to S. viii. 15: "Euganea quantumvis mollior agna," which is different, as may be readily seen. Caesar says of the Suevi, "ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum quamvis pauci adire audent," "any number you please of cavalry that ride in saddles, be they as few as you please, they are bold to attack" (B. G. iv. c. 3).

14. *spumantibus ardens Visceribus*] Seneca gives it as one of the effects of violent anger "exaestuante ab imis praecordiis sanguine" (de Ira i. 1).

16. *Depositum?*] The law respecting 'deposita' is given in Dict. Ant., Mr. Long's article 'Depositum.' If the person receiving the deposit was guilty of fraud he incurred 'infamia.'

17. *Fonteio Consule natus?*] L. Fonteius Capito was consul with C. Vipsanius A.D. 59, and there is every reason to suppose this is the year Juvenal alludes to. If so, and it was sixty years at least before, this satire could not have been written before A.D. 119, which was the second year of Hadrian's reign. There was a Fonteius consul in Tiberius' reign, A.D. 12. If he be the person named here the satire was written in the third or fourth year of Vespasian. But that is not probable. There was a consul of the same name A.D. 67. Lipsius (Epist. Quaest. iv. 20) and other scholars prefer the second. (See Introductory Memoir.)

18. *tot rerum proficis usu?*] Cicero says of Cato (de Amicit. c. 2) that he was accounted wise "quia multarum rerum usum habebat," he had a large experience of the world, of life and its affairs; and that is the meaning here. The man had lived long enough to get experience of men and things, and yet he had profited by it so little as to be surprised at being cheated. Jahn from the Scholiast has 'proficit usus' [and Ribbeck]. All the MSS. have 'usu.' P. and a few others have 'proficit,' which Hermann has with 'usu.' In the same line the MSS. vary between 'an,' 'ac,' 'ad,' 'at' (which two last are meant for the same word), and 'a.' M. has 'at.'

20. *Victrix fortunae sapientia:*] 'Sapientia' is philosophy. See note on Hor. C. i. 34: "Insanientis dum sapientiae Consultus erro." 'Jactare jugum' is the opposite of 'ferre jugum' (vi. 208. Hor. C. i. 35: "Ferre jugum pariter dolosi").

Hos quoque felices qui ferre incommoda vitae
Nec jactare jugum vita didicere magistra.
Quae tam festa dies ut cesset prodere furem,
Perfidiam, fraudes, atque omni ex crimine lucrum
Quaesitum, et partos gladio vel pyxide nummos?
Rari quippe boni: numerus vix est totidem quot
Thebarum portae vel divitis ostia Nili.
Nona aetas agitur pejoraque secula ferri
Temporibus, quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa
Nomen et a nullo posuit natura metallo.

23. *Quae tam festa dies*] The dishonest did not stop their trade because it was a holiday: "the better the day the better the deed," as Grangaeus says, quoting the thieves' proverb. 'Pyxide' is a box, here for poisons. The number of gates of Boeotian Thebes was the same as of the Nile's mouths, which the ancients reckoned to be seven, taking the principal outlets of the river. They are now but two. [Ribbeck has removed vv. 23—27 and placed them after v. 158.]

The common reading in 26, which Jahn, Hermann [and Ribbeck] have followed, is "numero vix sunt totidem." Some good MSS. have 'numerus vix est.' It is probable that the other reading is an emendation by copyists who did not understand the construction. Ruperti quotes a like one from Cornelius Nepos (Iphic. c. 2): "Exercitui cujus numerus duodecim millium fuit." 'Totidem' is the genitive of quantity; their number consists of so many.

28. *Nona aetas agitur*] He puts the age very low. The third (S. vi. 23), or according to Hesiod the fifth (Op. et Di. 109, sqq.), or as Ovid says the fourth (Met. i. 89, sqq.) was iron, and what must the ninth be? In my Introduction to Horace's Carmen Seculare there are some remarks from Jahn on the notions said to be held by the Etruscans and Romans about the division of the Magnus Annus into ten ages, of which the last was to see the restoration of the universe to its original condition as it was in the first or golden age. Particulars are given in Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. i. 137, sq. Servius in his commentary on Virgil's 9th Eclogue, v. 47, "Ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum," says that when the star appeared which was seen in the middle of the day at the Ludi Seculares of Augustus, and which was said to be Caesar's star, Vulcanius an haruspex came forward and said that it was a comet sent to declare the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth age. Censorinus (de Die Natali, cap. 17) has a more detailed account of these ages, which he also makes ten. Plutarch in his life of Sulla (c. 7) says that certain prodigies which happened while Marius was laying his schemes against his country were interpreted by the Tuscan wise men as indicating the passing of the world into another age, for that there were eight periods, making up in their sum the Great Year, and that the gods marked the transition from one to the other by some signs from heaven. It is clear that some notions of this sort were received by such of the Romans as gave heed to these matters, but they were vague and to such men as Juvenal immaterial. It is the merest pedantry to judge his language here by any rule of accuracy or to reject his word 'nona' because it does not fall in with what is said by the above authorities on the subject. They differ among themselves, as well they might. All that Juvenal says is that the age stood very low in the downward scale of depravity, and that the iron age, which was bad enough, was not so bad as that. The ages went down according to the value of certain metals, but no metal was cheap enough to designate the age he wrote in. Ruperti thinks the verse is rather to be mended than explained. Heinecke's conjecture (Animadv. p. 19) of 'non' in the sense of 'nonne' Heinrich has answered. P. has 'nunc,' which Jahn [and Ribbeck] have adopted. All the other MSS. have 'nona' or 'nova' which is only a corruption of the same word. Hermann, though as zealous for P. as Jahn, keeps 'nona,' which he calls 'argutissimum epitheton.' I do not know exactly what he means. 'Nunc' he justly calls 'frigidissima particula.'

Nos hominum divumque fidem clamore ciemus,
Quanto Faesidium laudat vocalis agentem
Sportula. Dic, senior bulla dignissime, nescis
Quas habeat Veneres aliena pecunia? nescis
Quem tua simplicitas risum vulgo moveat, quum
Exigis a quoquam ne pejeret, et putet ullis
Esse aliquod numen templis araeque rubenti?
Quondam hoc indigenae vivebant more, priusquam
Sumeret agrestem posito diademate falcem
Saturnus fugiens, tunc quum virguncula Juno
Et privatus adhuc Idaeis Juppiter antris,
Nulla super nubes convivia caelicolarum,

31. *Nos hominum divumque fidem*] 'Pro deum hominumque fidem' and others of the same sort were common exclamations among the Romans. Juvenal says false and fraudulent as the age is, men are always calling loudly on all that is trustworthy and true in heaven and earth. 'Fides' is honesty, truth, that which may be relied upon (see Long's note on Cic. Div. in Verrem, c. 3). I do not agree with Heinrich, who like Ruperti says 'fidem' is equivalent here to 'auxilium.' They take 'nos ciemus' to mean that Calvinus does so, calling on the gods to help him to recover his money. See below, v. 78, sqq.

32. *Quanto Faesidium laudat*] Faesidius is a 'causidicus,' but a man of substance, who has clients that come into court and applaud him loudly. 'Sportula' means the clients who get the 'sportula' (S. i. 95, n.). The omission of 'tanto' before 'quanto' is common (see S. x. 13). Pliny (Epp. ii. 14) describes with a good deal of disgust how young men with no qualifications thrust themselves into the inferior courts, and adds what is to the point here: that these pleaders are followed by auditors of a like kind; slaves whom they have hired for the purpose: they collect in the middle of the basilica, where the 'sportula' is served out to them as openly as in the dining-room: these fellows go about from court to court for the same pay (the 'sportula'), from which they have got the name *σοφοκλεῖς* (because they cried *σοφῶς*, as we say 'bravo') or in Latin 'laudicani.' He says two servants of his own had been carried off for this use the day before at three denarii apiece, at which price a man may be most eloquent, and may fill as many benches as he pleases: for this enormous shoutings are got up at a signal given by the *μεσόχορος* (or leader of the chorus), and they need a signal, for they cannot hear what is said, and would not understand it if they could, and those applaud loudest who hear least. There is no more entertaining writer than this younger Pliny.

33. *senior bulla dignissime,*] He means he must be in his second childhood. The Scholiast quotes the Greek proverb, *δὶς παῖδες οἱ γέροντες*. 'Bulla' is explained on v. 164: "Etruscum puero si contigit aurum."

37. *araeque rubenti?*] "Sc. igne, vel potius sanguine victimarum" (Ruperti, after the Scholiast). Most editors would have suppressed the blunder, but that is not Ruperti's way. It is plainly the blood.

40. *Saturnus fugiens,*] That is before Saturnus was driven from Olympus by Jupiter (S. vi. 1, n.), and took to the reaping-hook in Latium, where he taught the natives agriculture and became king of the country. He is usually represented with a reaping-hook in his hand. The Greek legends varied as to the place where Zeus was brought up when his mother Rhea hid him from his father Cronus. The common story was that she took him to Crete, where he was educated. Ida was a mountain mass of considerable height in Crete. See xiv. 271, n.

42. *Nulla super nubes*] These feasts of the gods belong, he means, to a later age than that of Saturnus, to the age of heroes, which Hesiod places the fourth in his list. 'Puer Iliacus' is Ganymedes, who is alluded to in ix. 47: "et pulchrum et dignum cyatho caeloque." He is repre-

Nec puer Iliacus, formosa nec Herculis uxor
Ad cyathos, et jam siccato nectare tergens
Brachia Vulcanus Liparaea nigra taberna.
Prandebat sibi quisque deus, nec turba deorum
Talis ut est hodie, contentaque sidera paucis
Numinibus miserum urgebant Atlanta minori
Pondere. Nondum aliquis sortitus triste profundi

sented as the son of Tros, or of Ilus the son of Tros. Either way Troas was his native country, and he was carried off, according to the common account, from the Trojan Ida (Hor. C. iii. 20: "aquosa Raptus ab Ida"). He is said to have succeeded Hebe as cup-bearer of the gods. She was a daughter of Jupiter and Juno, and became the wife of Hercules. 'Ad cyathos' is the ordinary way of expressing this office. See note on Hor. C. i. 29: "Puer quis ex aula capillis Ad cyathum statuetur unctis."

44. *et jam siccato nectare*] Bentley on Horace, Epod. xvi. 6 and 8, changes 'que' into 've' in a like case with this where 'nec' goes before. He does not allow that 'et' can follow 'nec' and carry on the negation, on which account Ruperti would here have 'aut' or 'nec' for 'et.' But Heinrich quotes Ovid, Met. x. 92: "Nec tiliae molles nec fagus et innuba laurus;" and below, S. xv. 124: "Qua nec terribiles Cimbri nec Britones unquam Sauromataeque truces;" where however some MSS. read 've,' and Ruperti adopts it. But there is no variation in the MSS. in v. 185 of this satire, "dulcique senex vicinus Hymetto." In the places of Horace which Bentley corrects the MSS. are unanimous, and there is no reason to adopt his rule. Juvenal groups Hebe and Vulcan together, and they make a picturesque contrast. He comes in reeking from his work. She is at her task on Olympus, and hands him a cup to refresh him, which he first drains and then wipes off the sweat from his black arms. All this Juvenal says was after the simple days of Saturnus. I do not see any great difficulty about the words which Ruperti says are "explicatu difficillima," and Heinecke (Animadv. 103) can beat nothing out of them to satisfy him; "Ipse nihil quod satisfaciat extundere potui." But he justly ridicules Ruperti's 'tendens,' which he proposes for 'tergens,' supposing Vulcan to hold out the cup to some other god, because Homer makes him act as cup-bearer on one occasion (Il. i. 597). It was not very civil of him, Heinecke thinks, to empty the cup first. But Ruperti gets rid of this objection by changing 'siccato' into 'libato.' Heinrich, who takes the sense as I do, thinks Juvenal had in mind Homer's line, *σπόγγῳ δ' ἀμφὶ πρόσωπα καὶ ἄμφω χεῖρ' ἀπομόργνυ* (Il. xviii. 414). He was cleaning himself when Thetis visited him in his shop, as to which see S. i. 8, n.: "Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum Vulcani." The Scholiast here is unintelligible. Cramer agrees with Heinrich.

46. *Prandebat sibi quisque deus,*] 'Each god dined by himself.' He says 'prandebat' because the 'prandium' (which we call luncheon) was a plain meal. Gifford says "his satire is directly levelled at the frequent apotheoses of the Caesars." There is no allusion to them. Juvenal is clearly ridiculing the polytheism of the poets and the gigantic system of vice sanctioned by divine example.

47. *Talis ut est hodie,*] 'Talis' is equivalent to 'tanta.' This use of the word is less common where only quantity and not quality is expressed. Quality may be inferred here, but is not expressed or meant by 'talis.' 'Talis ut est' shows the connexion between 'ut' and the relative 'qui,' from which 'qualis,' the natural companion of 'talis,' is derived. The older form of 'ut' is 'cut' or 'quut.'

48. *miserum urgebant Atlanta*] The Atlas of the ancients was confined to that part of the great mountain range of North Africa which bounded Mauretania on the south. The poet's idea of the skies resting upon Atlas is stated in prose by the geographer Pomponius Mela (de Situ Orbis iii. 10), who says of it "caelum et sidera non tangere modo vertice sed sustinere quoque dictus est." See Virgil (Aen. iv. 482), "Axem humero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum," quoted by the Scholiast.

49. *triste profundi Imperium*] Before 'aliquis' must be supplied 'exstiterat' or 'erat.' 'Profundi' is the sea, if we would avoid tautology. So the Scholiast takes it. Mr. Mayor says it is the infernal

Imperium, aut Sicula torvus cum conjuge Pluton;
Nec rota, nec Furiae, nec saxum aut vulturis atri
Poena; sed infernis hilares sine regibus umbrae.
Improbitas illo fuit admirabilis aevo.
Credebant hoc grande nefas et morte piandum,
Si juvenis vetulo non assurrexerat et si
Barbato cuicunque puer, licet ipse videret
Plura domi fraga et majores glandis acervos.
Tam venerabile erat praecedere quatuor annis,
Primaque par adeo sacrae lanugo senectae!
Nunc si depositum non infitietur amicus,

regions, quoting after Grangaeus Horace's "tristia regna" (C. iii. 4. 46). 'Triste' does very well for the sea, which the Romans had a great dread of, as we saw in the last satire. Pluto carried off his wife Proserpina from Sicily. The wheel is Ixion's, the stone that of Sisyphus, the vulture the bird that ate the liver of Tityos. "Incontinentis nec Tityi jecur Reliquit ales" (Hor. C. iii. 4. 77). [Ribbeck has 'haud' for 'aut.']

54. *Credebant hoc grande nefas*] The law of Moses contained this precept, "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head and honour the face of an old man" (Levit. xix. 32). Ovid tells us as a feature of the good old times

"Magna fuit quondam capitis reverentia cani,
Inque suo pretio ruga senilis erat,"

and more to the same purpose (Fasti v. 57, sqq.). The story of the old man in the theatre at Athens to whom the Lacedaemonian strangers rose up and offered him the seat he could not get from his own countrymen is familiar to most readers. Cicero (de Senect. c. 18) and Valer. Max. (iv. 5. 2, ext.) use it to illustrate the subject Juvenal is speaking of. His words have been imitated by our own poets (see Gifford's note). A. Gellius says that among the earliest Romans age was more respected than rank or money, and that old men were honoured like gods or parents: in every situation and office they had precedence; they were allowed the first place at table, and they were attended by their juniors when they went abroad; which habit they derived from the Lacedaemonians. But this reverence for age gave way before the necessities of the state, which required that encouragement should be given to younger men that they might marry and get children (N. A. ii. 15). [Ribbeck and Jahn have a comma after 'aevo,' and read in the next line 'Credebant quo.' 'Quo' is the reading of P.; 'quod' of many MSS., and 'hoc' of some of the more recent.

After v. 59 Ribbeck has inserted vv. 28—30, with the feeble reading 'Nunc aetas.']

56. *Barbato cuicunque puer,*] 'Pueritia' ceased with the taking of the toga virilis about fourteen or fifteen. Respect for seniority was carried so far, he says, that a boy showed quite as much (par adeo) reverence for a youth not more than four years older than himself who had but just begun to show his early down, as for old age itself. It was usual to shave off the beard at about twenty-one, as stated on S. vi. 214. The next line means, though he lived in a richer house than the other. Wild strawberries (fraga) and mast were food for primitive times, and the consequence of the house is measured by the quantity of food stored for its consumption. As to 'cuicunque' see below, v. 89, n. The different sorts of 'glandes' are discussed by Pliny (H. N. xvi. 5, 6).

60. *Nunc si depositum*] See above, v. 16, n. He has just said that in former days the utmost reverence was paid to age, but now honesty is a portentous thing: he means then that such reverence was proof of an honest and single mind. 'Follis' is here used for a money-bag, as in xiv. 281, and Plaut. Aulul. ii. 4. 23: "follem obstringit ob gulam." It seems to have been commonly used in this way in later times, and as equivalent to money itself, as in Eastern countries a purse is a certain sum. See examples in Forcellini, English edition. 'Aerugo' is for 'aes,' contemptuously, the rust for the copper. Horace, A. P. 330, speaks of "aerugo et cura peculi."

Si reddat veterem cum tota aerugine follem,
Prodigiosa fides et Tuscis digna libellis,
Quaeque coronata lustrari debeat agna.
Egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
Hoc monstrum puero aut miranti sub aratro
Piscibus inventis et fetae comparo mulae,
Sollicitus tanquam lapides effuderit imber
Examenque apium longa consederit uva
Culmine delubri, tanquam in mare fluxerit amnis
Gurgitibus miris et lactis vertice torrens.
Intercepta decem quereris sestertia fraude

62. *Tuscis digna libellis,*] He says such honesty is a prodigy worthy to be recorded in the Etrurian books, that is the books of the prophets, "annosa volumina vatum" (Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 26, n., and Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. i. 507, there referred to). Cicero refers to the "libri Etruscorum" (de Div. ii. c. 23), and Pliny (H. N. ii. 83) speaks of a tremendous prodigy recorded "in Etruscae disciplinae voluminibus," two mountains falling into collision, and then separating and sending out fire and smoke. These books were full of mysterious prophecies, religious rites, and records of portentous events, and they were found, Niebuhr says, in every town of Etruria.

63. *lustrari debeat agna.*] A prodigy which was supposed to forebode ill was met by sacrifices, and this act was expressed technically by the word 'procurare.' The illustrations that follow are among the prodigies recorded by the Roman writers. Livy speaks of a two-headed boy (xli. 26), and Cicero (de Div. i. 53) of a two-headed girl as prodigies auguring evil. But Cicero denies that any event can be counted a prodigy: "nam si quod raro fit, id portentum putandum est, sapientem esse portentum est: saepius enim mulam peperisse arbitror quam sapientem fuisse" (de Div. ii. 28). This last was a proverb. Pliny (H. N. ix. 57) has a chapter on sea fish found inland, which he makes out to be rather common. Livy mentions such an event (xlii. 2) and refers to stone showers frequently; and bees swarming on temples and houses were equally ominous and still more common. Pliny (H. N. ii. 56) speaks of showers of blood and milk. Ruperti gives many references to Livy and others for all these portents. As to the form 'apium' for 'apum,' the variation of the MSS. makes it doubtful whether it occurs in the prose writers. Ovid (Met. xv. 383) has "foetus Melliferarum apium sine membris corpora nasci." The word 'uva' was used by the Romans for a cluster of bees as the Greeks used *βότρυς*, as Servius says on Virg. Georg. iv. 559: "lentis uvam demittere ramis." Homer (Il. ii. 89) has *βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν.*

65. *aut miranti sub aratro*] The MSS. vary a good deal here. 'Aut' is the reading of a few, and appears to me more in Juvenal's style than another 'et,' which appears in a larger number. 'Vel' is in some, which may have been invented for the sake of the metre; it is not the right word here. 'Miranti' is the reading of most and the best MSS., except P., from which Jahn, Hermann [and Ribbeck] have 'mirandis.' 'Miranti' is clearly better. Heinrich quotes Virgil (Georg. ii. 82): "Exiit ad caelum ramis felicibus arbos, Miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma." The astonishment of the plough is a natural idea; but it displeases Heinecke, who approves of Gataker's correction 'liranti.' [Gataker, Antoninus viii. 15, p. 300, 2nd ed., when he proposes 'liranti,' prudently adds, 'si quid mutandum fuerit.'] Some MSS. have helped the metre with 'jam.' M. has 'et miranti jam;' but the reader has not now to be reminded of the frequent recurrence of hiatus in Juvenal.

70. *lactis vertice torrens.*] The MSS. vary as usual between 'vortice' and 'vertice.' The editors generally have the latter form. The other is supported by Forcellini. See note on Hor. C. ii. 9. 22: "Victis minores volvere vertices." ['Gurgitibus miniis,' Ribbeck, following Porson who seems to have founded this bad conjecture on the Scholiast's words 'aut lacteis aut sanguineis.']

71. *Intercepta decem quereris*] Here

Sacrilega? Quid si bis centum perdidit alter
Hoc arcana modo? majorem tertius illa
Summam, quam patulae vix ceperat angulus arcae?
Tam facile et pronum est superos contemnere testes,
Si mortalis idem nemo sciat! Aspice quanta
Voce neget, quae sit ficti constantia vultus.
Per Solis radios Tarpeiaque fulmina jurat
Et Martis frameam et Cirrhaei spicula vatis,
Per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellae,
Perque tuum, pater Aegaei Neptune, tridentem;
Addit et Herculeos arcus hastamque Minervae,
Quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli.
Si vero et pater est, "Comedam," inquit, "flebile nati
Sinciput elixi Pharioque madentis aceto."
Sunt in Fortunae qui casibus omnia ponunt
Et nullo credunt mundum rectore moveri,
Natura volvente vices et lucis et anni,
Atque ideo intrepidi quaecunque altaria tangunt.

then we have the sum his friend had lost, between 80*l.* and 90*l.* But suppose I tell you (he adds) that another man has lost twenty times as much in the same way, and a third still more, so much that a big chest could not hold it? He says the corner of a chest could hardly hold it; that is every corner of the chest was full. 'Arcana' is 'arcanum depositum,' a trust given in private. By 'tam facile' we are to understand that he is putting not a hypothetical but a real case. [Ribbeck has placed vv. 86—90 after v. 74.]

76. *Aspice quanta Voce neget,*] 'Aspice' serves to make the object present, and it is conventionally no contradiction to say, See how loudly he denies it. The man is put before us, and we see him swearing to his lie without changing colour or flinching. In vi. 261 we have "Aspice quo fremitu monstratos perferat ictus," 'see with what cries she deals her tutored blows.'

78. *Tarpeiaque fulmina*] The bolts of Jupiter Capitolinus (S. xii. 6, n.). 'Framea' was a German name for a spear. Augustin (Epp. xvi. 120, quoted by Forcellini) says it was a sword, and so it may have been in Africa, in his day, as Forcell. says, but Tacitus, Germ. 6, says it is a spear. As to Cirrha see vii. 64, n. Poseidon according to the Greeks was especially the god of the Aegean Sea, in which he had his residence under the waters, off the coast of Euboea. The bow of Hercules is that on the recovery of which for the destruction of Troy Sophocles' play Philoctetes is founded.

83. *Quidquid habent*] There is no need to supply 'et,' as Heinrich directs; it is a summary way of dismissing a long catalogue of armour—'in short all the weapons in the armoury of heaven.' Heinrich is right in taking 'flebile' with 'sinciput.' Jahn's [and Ribbeck's] 'inquit flebile' is bad. The man says he will boil his son and eat his poor head if he is not speaking the truth, first dipping it in Egyptian vinegar, which the Scholiast says is strong vinegar. So Martial (xiii. 122) says, "Amphora Niliaci non sit tibi vilis aceti." As to Phario see vi. 83, n.

86. *Sunt in Fortunae qui*] The MSS. vary between 'ponant' and 'ponunt,' 'credant' and 'credunt.' Ruperti, Jahn, Hermann [and Ribbeck] have the subjunctive, Heinrich the indicative. I think he is right, for Juvenal seems to mean a particular class of thinkers, the Epicureans (see xii. 101, n.). He goes on to show how men make up their minds to this wickedness, some believing there are no gods, others that there are gods, but their anger is not to be compared with the pleasures of possession, or it will not come, or at least not yet, and so on.

89. *altaria tangunt.*] See note on Hor.

Est alius metuens ne crimen poena sequatur;
Hic putat esse deos et pejerat, atque ita secum:
"Decernat quodcunque volet de corpore nostro
Isis et irato feriat mea lumina sistro,
Dummodo vel caecus teneam quos abnego nummos.
Et phthisis et vomicae putres et dimidium crus
Sunt tanti. Pauper locupletem optare podagram
Nec dubitet Ladas, si non eget Anticyra nec

Epp. ii. 1. 16, and above, iii. 144, n., and xiv. 219. 'Quaecunque' is not commonly used without a verb, like 'quaevis.' It is so above, v. 56, and in the following places: S. iii. 156, twice in iii. 230, x. 359, xiv. 210. Here it might be taken with 'tangunt,' whatever altars they touch, but Juvenal's practice makes it probable he meant the other construction.

91. *esse deos et pejerat,*] 'Et' is equivalent to 'et tamen,' as "probitas laudatur et alget" (i. 74). He believes there are gods, and yet he forswears himself. The deity he challenges is Isis (see vi. 526, n.). 'Sistrum' (σείω) was a rattle much used at Isis' festival. He says Isis may strike her angry 'sistrum' on his eyes and blind him, still the temptation is too strong; he had rather lose his sight and keep the stolen money than keep his eyes and lose the money. The Latin name of the 'sistrum' is 'crepitaculum.' Ovid (Amor. iii. 9. 34) says, "Quid vos sacra juvant? quid nunc Aegyptia prosunt Sistra?" There are representations of 'sistra' on the obelisks in the British Museum.

95. *Et phthisis et vomicae putres*] 'Consumption and putrid abscesses and a broken leg' (S. xv. 57, n.).

96. *Sunt tanti.*] Ruperti and Heinrich have a (?) after 'tanti,' and Ruperti's note is, "Sunt tanti aestimanda ut non eligantur cum opibus et patienter ferantur?" He adds immediately the Scholiast's note, which might have corrected him: "Melius est aegrotare cum divitiis quam esse sanum pauperem." 'Tanti' may be translated "are worth bearing," where we understand readily that they are worth bearing for the sake of money. It may not be easy to extract this meaning from the sentence grammatically, but Madvig (Opusc. ii. 187, sqq.) has shown by abundant examples that 'tanti,' which at first meant the worth of the thing for which a price is given, came conventionally to be joined with the price itself, as here. Among the examples he gives, two are from Cicero's orations against Catiline. Cicero says he knows the storm of unpopularity that will burst upon himself if Catiline is forced to go into exile by his threats; and adds, "Sed est tanti, dummodo ista privata sit calamitas et a rei publicae periculis sejungatur:" "but it is worth bearing if it be only the calamity of a private person, and involve the commonwealth in no danger" (i. 9). In the second oration (c. 7) he repeats the same sentiment thus: "Est mihi tanti, Quirites, hujus invidiae falsae atque iniquae tempestatem subire, dummodo a vobis hujus horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur:" "it is worth my while to sustain the storm of this groundless and unjust unpopularity, if the danger of this horrible and wicked war can be averted from you" (Long). Here the sentence is more complete, and we naturally translate "est mihi tanti" "it is worth my while" when the subject is the penalty that is paid. An instance of the primary use of 'tanti' is found in S. iii. 54: "Tanti tibi non sit opaci Omnis arena Tagi—ut somno careas." Madvig refers to x. 97: "Sed quae praeclara et prospera tanti Ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum?" but I have followed the common reading 'tantum' there. Professor Key (L. G. 946, n.) supposes that 'tanti,' 'quanti,' and other words of price, generally considered to be genitives, may be old datives; in support of which he quotes Hor. S. ii. 3. 156: "Quanti emptae? Parvo. Quanti ergo? Octussibus."

97. *Nec dubitet Ladas,*] Not even Ladas would hesitate to pray for the rich man's gout, unless he is mad. There were two celebrated Greek runners of this name, which was proverbial in this line. Gout, it appears, has always been the rich man's disorder. It is here treated as the penalty for ill-gotten riches, but the man says Ladas if he be poor might well pray for the gout rather than miss the money: "better to run on one leg than live poor,"

Archigene. · Quid enim velocis gloria plantae
Praestat et esuriens Pisaeae ramus olivae?
Ut sit magna tamen certe lenta ira deorum est.
Si curant igitur cunctos punire nocentes
Quando ad me venient? sed et exorabile numen
Fortasse experiar; solet his ignoscere. Multi
Committunt eadem diverso crimina fato;
Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema."
Sic animum dirae trepidum formidine culpae
Confirmant. Tunc te sacra ad delubra vocantem

the Scholiast says, on which Schurzfleisch observes, "Germanum ex Germanismo olet." Archigenes the physician is mentioned above, vi. 236. The final 'e' is long, corresponding to the Greek form ῃ, as in 'Bellerophonte,' Hor. C. iii. 12. 8. As to Anticyra, the town of Phocis, the neighbourhood of which abounded in hellebore, the supposed remedy for insanity, see Hor. S. ii. 3. 83: "Nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem." Erasmus quotes as a Greek proverb corresponding to 'Archigene eget' Ἀσκληπιοῦ δεῖσθαι.

99. *Pisaeae ramus olivae?*] The plain of Olympia in which the Olympic games were held was very little west of the town of Pisa in Elis, and the names are sometimes confounded. It was at these games both the Ladae on record won their prizes. His success cost one of them his life. The branch of the olive which, as before mentioned, was used for the crowns at Olympia (viii. 226, n.), Juvenal calls 'hungry' because it bore no fruit.

100. *Ut sit magna tamen*] "But grant the wrath of heaven is great, it certainly is slow." Sophocles calls the Ἐρινύες, λωβητῆρες ὑστερόφθοροι (Antig. 1074). See other places quoted on Hor. C. iii. 2. 32: "Raro antecedentem scelestum Deseruit pede poena claudo." Juvenal's word 'lenta' makes it probable he may have remembered Seneca's sentence (Contr. lib. v. Praef.): "Sunt dii immortales lenti quidem sed certi vindices humani generis," quoted by Grangaeus. As to 'diadema' see viii. 259, n. It is not hard to find cases in point. The Scholiast is safe and goes back as far as Romulus.

103. *solet his ignoscere.*] "He is wont to pardon such faults as these." This is the common salve for conscience. Men make most allowance for their own besetting sins, and think the Almighty does so too. They think also they can get pardon whenever they please for asking, and so they put off the asking; and few think otherwise than that their own day of account is some way off. To make a lottery of wickedness and trust to prizes turning up and risk the fatal blank is common enough. Solomon, who understood these matters, says, "Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil" (Eccles. viii. 11). When the heart is "trepidum formidine culpae," trembling with fear of its own great guilt, it would seem the shortest and easiest course to abandon it: but it is more convenient to argue away such fear than to put away the cause of it. Juvenal knew what he was writing about.

107. *sacra ad delubra vocantem*] "If you mistrust him and bid him come to the temple and swear by the altar, he will go there before you, nay will be the first to challenge you to go there, and will abuse and perhaps strike you for doubting his honesty." 'Trahere' is not 'trahere in jus,' as Ruperti says. There is nothing here about legal proceedings. The offended liar taking the character of injured innocence is amusingly illustrated in Falstaff. 'Superest' means 'is added to,' not 'abounds,' as Mr. Mayor says, and 'to press' which he gives for 'vexare' has no meaning. 'Fiducia' is confidence in a good sense, confidence in his own honesty. [Ribbeck has given the true interpretation of 'superest.' Gellius informs us (i. 22) that a misuse of the word 'superest' came into fashion, as in the expression 'hic illi superest,' 'this is that man's advocate.' On some occasion the praetor in reply to an advocate who said 'ego illi supersum' wittily retorted, 'tu plane superes, non ades,' a joke difficult to translate; but he meant to say that the advocate was quite useless, for he was not doing an advocate's duty (adesse). Juvenal, according to Rib-

Praecedit, trahere immo ultro ac vexare paratus.
Nam quum magna malae superest audacia causae,
Creditur a multis fiducia. Mimum agit ille,
Urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli.
Tu miser exclamas ut Stentora vincere possis,
Vel potius quantum Gradivus Homericus: "Audis,
Juppiter, haec nec labra moves, quum mittere vocem
Debueras vel marmoreus vel aeneus? aut cur
In carbone tuo charta pia tura soluta
Ponimus et sectum vituli jecur albaque porci
Omenta? Ut video, nullum discrimen habendum est
Effigies inter vestras statuamque Vagelli."

beck, has not been guilty of this misuse of 'superesse,' for the writer of this Satire is a declamator. But still Ribbeck adds that Augustus (Sueton. c. 56) spoke in this way. If Augustus used 'superesset' in place of 'adesset,' the writer of this Satire might do so.]

110. *Mimum agit ille,*] 'All the while he is only acting like the runaway slave in some mimus of Catullus,' referred to on S. viii. 186, with his plays Phasma and Laureolus. The Scholiast there says 'scurra' in this verse is a slave (and conversely 'verna' is used for 'scurra;' see note on ix. 10). Catullus he calls Q. Lutatius. If that was his name he was Catulus, which was a cognomen of the Lutatii. The name of the slave in the play the Scholiast says was Voranus. He was a great thief and stole some money from a banker, on which there is a joke of which the point does not appear. Gellius (xix. 9) quotes some loose verses of Catullus, which he praises above their merits. Martial speaks of "facundi scena Catulli" (v. 30). Very little is known of him. 'Urbani' is 'witty.'

112. *ut Stentora vincere possis,*] Stentor was the Greek herald with the mighty voice in Homer (Il. v. 785): *Στέντορι χαλκεοφώνῳ Ὃς τόσον αὐδήσασχ' ὅσον ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα.* But Ares beat him all to nothing when Diomed wounded him: *ὁ δ' ἔβραχε χάλκεος Ἄρης, ὅσσον τ' ἐννεάχιλοι ἐπίαχον ἢ δεκάχιλοι ἀνέρες ἐν πολέμῳ* (Il. v. 859, sq.).

113. *Audis, Juppiter, haec*] See note on S. ii. 131. 'Labra movere' is opposed to 'mittere vocem:' the one is a suppressed cry hardly audible, the other loud. So Horace says (Epp. i. 16. 60), "Labra movet metuens audiri;" and Persius (v. 184), "Labra moves tacitus." 'Nec' is 'not even.'

115. *Debueras*] This is the reading of some MSS., and is right. 'It had been thy duty to speak out hadst thou been marble or bronze.' See note on Hor. C. ii. 17. 27:

"Me truncus illapsus cerebro
Sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
Dextra levasset;"

and C. iii. 16. 3: "Tristes excubiae munierant satis." Jahn [and Ribbeck] have 'debueris' from P. and other MSS. and the Scholiast. As to Vagellius, the name occurs below, xvi. 23. Other names appear in the MSS., Bathylli, and sundry variants corrupted from it. But they bring us no nearer to the person intended. The writer must have had some statue in his mind. The Scholiast says Vagellius was a great fool, but like the gods he got a statue.

116. *charta pia tura soluta*] The paper in which the grocers wrapped their spices, and which Grangaeus says was usually covered with the verses of lame poets, was called 'cucullus,' and from this a hood was so called. Martial iii. 2: "Vel thuris piperisque sis cucullus:" and Horace, Epp. ii. 1. 267, sqq.:

"Cum scriptore meo capsa porrectus aperta
Deferar in vicum vendentem thus et odores
Et piper et quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis."

Also Catullus xcv. 9: "Et laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas;" and Persius i. 43: "nec scombros metuentia carmina nec thus." 'Omentum' is properly the membrane that covers the bowels, and is so used still. Here it means the entrails, as also in Persius, S. ii. 47.

Accipe quae contra valeat solatia ferre
Et qui nec Cynicos nec Stoica dogmata legit
A Cynicis tunica distantia, non Epicurum
Suspicit exigui laetum plantaribus horti.
Curentur dubii medicis majoribus aegri;
Tu venam vel discipulo committe Philippi.
Si nullum in terris tam detestabile factum
Ostendis taceo; nec pugnis caedere pectus
Te veto, nec plana faciem contundere palma,
Quandoquidem accepto claudenda est janua damno,

120. *Accipe quae contra*] He begs him to accept such consolation as even he, who professes to be no philosopher, never to have read the dogmas of Cynics or Stoics, and to be no admirer of Epicurus, may be able to offer him. The name of the Cynics was given them in the time of their founder, Antisthenes, immediately after the death of Socrates, his teacher. But the popular idea of their character is derived more from Diogenes of Sinope, the crabbed disciple of Antisthenes. The Stoic school was founded full three quarters of a century after the Cynic by Zeno, who had in his earlier studies attached himself to the Cynics, but modified his opinions and gave to the views of that school a more general and expansive character. But the Stoics too became more contracted under the successors of their founder, and in the popular notions of Juvenal's time, as in our own, there was not much difference between the two systems. Juvenal professes to know them merely by name, and says they only differed by a tunic. The Cynics were called διπλοείματοι from wearing the cloak or rug which formed their only covering double, that it might serve as a bed and blanket at night. They wore this rug (abolla) so that the right shoulder was bare, as the Scholiast says, and Ferrarius, de Re Vest. i. 15. Horace speaks of the Cynic as one "quem duplici panno patientia velat" (Epp. i. 17. 25). They were also called familiarly ἀχίτωνες, which explains Juvenal's meaning. He probably had not read more of Epicurus' 'dogmata' than of Antisthenes' or Zeno's. But their character as generally understood was enough for his purpose, as it would be under the same circumstances now. Any of these schools would have blamed Calvinus for his repining, one from contemptuous disregard for money and disbelief of all honesty, the second from professedly higher philosophical motives, and the third because such vexation and all sorts of excitement only interfered needlessly with the enjoyment of life. The contrast between the Cynic and man of pleasure is well described in the above epistle of Horace. Epicurus opened his school at Athens B.C. 306, and taught there about thirty-six years till his death. [For 'et qui' (v. 121) Ribbeck has 'is qui.']

123. *Suspicit exigui*] 'Suspicit' is looks up to. Epicurus, though he advocated animal pleasure, was an abstemious liver upon principle, and fond of gardening: and it was in a garden he bought in the middle of Athens that he taught all the time he lived there; his successors taught there too, for he left it to his school. Pliny says he was the first that introduced gardens in Athens (H. N. xix. 4). See S. xiv. 319.

124. *Curentur dubii*] 'Dubii' means in a critical state. As to the combination 'dubii aegri' see note on ix. 16: "Quid macies aegri veteris." Mr. Mayor is consistent, and says 'aegri' is used as a substantive, which he said of 'nobilis,' viii. 49, n. Juvenal says patients in a dangerous state may apply to great doctors, but his friend's disorder is slight and he may trust to the phlebotomy of a pupil of Philippus, who represents some small or bungling practitioner of the day.

126. *Si nullum in terris*] Juvenal may or may not have had in mind Stertinius' words to Damasippus about madness: "hoc si erit in te Solo, nil verbi pereas quin fortiter addam" (Hor. S. ii. 3. 41).

129. *claudenda est janua damno,*] Grangaeus quotes the proverb about shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen; but it is nothing to the purpose here. Roman houses were shut when one of the family died, as with us; and he says if his friend can show that the robbery he has suffered is worse than ever was heard of, he may beat

Et majore domus gemitu, majore tumultu
Planguntur nummi quam funera. Nemo dolorem
Fingit in hoc casu, vestem diducere summam
Contentus, vexare oculos humore coacto.
Ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris.
Sed si cuncta vides simili fora plena querela,
Si decies lectis diversa parte tabellis
Vana supervacui dicunt chirographa ligni,
Arguit ipsorum quos littera gemmaque princeps
Sardonychum, loculis quae custoditur eburnis,
Te nunc, delicias, extra communia censes
Ponendum? Qui tu gallinae filius albae,
Nos viles pulli nati infelicibus ovis?

his breast and his cheeks as much as he pleases, for when a great loss has been sustained it is right to shut up the house. The loss of money, he continues, is even more loudly lamented than the loss of friends, for the tears in the one case are real, in the other they may be forced. 'Hoc' (v. 132) does not refer to the latter clause, but to that which is most prominent in the writer's mind. See x. 326, and notes on Hor. S. ii. 2. 29, 36. The reading 'in occasu' in several MSS. and editions, and approved by Achaintre, is abominable. Heinrich puts a full stop at 'damno.' In that case 'et' which follows must be construed 'even.' He is not content to tear only the top of his tunic instead of rending it from top to bottom and to torment his eyes with forced tears (crocodile's tears). 'Deducere' has no meaning here. Heinrich considers v. 134 feeble, and that it had better perhaps be away. I think he is wrong.

135. *Sed si cuncta vides*] 'Sed' goes back to v. 129, after what Heinrich calls a Juvenal-like digression. 'Sed' is commonly used after digressions. See note on Hor. S. i. 1. 27: "Sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo" (S. xv. 38, n.). As to 'cuncta fora' see S. ii. 52, n.

136. *Si decies lectis*] This is a difficult sentence. 'Decies' seems to be put for any large number of times, and 'diversa parte' in different parts of the town. The meaning then would be, "if it often happens, not here or there but in various places (in all the fora), that debtors when their acknowledgments are read over to them say their bonds are void, and the tables they are written upon are worthless, though their own writing and their own choicest seal convict them, do you think you, my fine gentleman, are to be placed beyond the common pale of suffering?" 'Chirographa' and 'syngraphae' were used in later times as equivalent words for bonds, notes of hand, or agreements. In Cicero's time 'chirographa' had not this legal sense, but 'syngraphae' had. See Long's note on Cic. in Verr. ii. 1. 36. 'Ligni' is the wooden waxed tablets (tabellae) on which they wrote. The very writing convicted the man, his acknowledgment of the deposit (Hor. S. ii. 3. 69, n.: "scribe decem Nerio"). It was sealed with his own seal, the chief of gems, which he carried about in a little ivory purse. As to 'sardonychum' see vi. 382, n. It is the genitive plural. Most MSS. have 'sardonicus' or 'sardonichus,' or with a 'y.' But that form is not found elsewhere. P. has 'sardonichum,' and one Paris MS. of the 9th century. As to 'loculi' see above, xi. 38, n. As to 'delicias' see vi. 47: "delicias hominis." It is an ironical exclamation. "Perhaps however *del.* means rather presumption" (Mayor). How would he translate it? ['Teno delicias' Ps. Jahn and Ribbeck accordingly have 'ten o delicias.']

141. *Qui tu gallinae filius albae,*] The eggs of a white hen, it appears, were held in higher estimation than others. Columella says white hens do not lay often. The bird must have been more or less rare, or the distinction would not have arisen. Not much more to the purpose can be said about it. 'Qui' is 'how.' Most MSS., followed by Jahn, Hermann, [and Ribbeck,] have 'quia,' which requires the (?) after 'ponendum' to be removed. Heinrich proposes 'quid.'

Rem pateris modicam et mediocri bile ferendam,
Si flectas oculos majora ad crimina. Confer
Conductum latronem, incendia sulfure coepta
Atque dolo, primos quum janua colligit ignes:
Confer et hos veteris qui tollunt grandia templi
Pocula adorandae robiginis et populorum
Dona vel antiquo positas a rege coronas.
Haec ibi si non sunt, minor exstat sacrilegus qui
Radat inaurati femur Herculis et faciem ipsam
Neptuni, qui bracteolam de Castore ducat.
An dubitet solitus totum conflare Tonantem?
Confer et artifices mercatoremque veneni
Et deducendum corio bovis in mare, cum quo

145. *sulfure coepta Atque dolo,*] 'Sulfure atque dolo' is one subject, 'sulfure doloso' or 'cum dolo posito,' sulphur stealthily laid, matches perhaps like our own.

146. *quum janua colligit ignes:*] These incendiary acts seem to have been not uncommon. Accidental or malicious fires were so frequent that they are counted among the vexations of the city from which the man in Sat. iii. chose to retire (v. 7), and he who has trusted a secret to a friend is said to be ready to set fire to his house, "candelam apponere valvis" (ix. 98), a sort of revenge that would not occur to our minds now. Grangaeus says Nero's mad freak of setting fire to the city is referred to here, and that Nero is the actor in the cases of sacrilege that follow, which I suppose Mr. Mayor means too when he refers to xii. 129, and says "Offerings were made to the Pythian Apollo by Midas (Herod. i. 34), Gyges (ib.), Croesus (id. i. 50, sq.), &c." Nero plundered the temple at Delphi, and it is possible Juvenal had him in mind, but I doubt it. The first syllable in 'robigo' (as the best MSS. here and elsewhere I believe have it, not 'rubigo') is long. The examples produced from good poets to show that it is common are not correct (see Forcellini).

150. *minor exstat sacrilegus qui Radat*] 'There starts up a petty thief to scrape the thigh of a gilt Hercules.' This is the subjunctive of the purpose (see Key's L. G. § 1179).

152. *bracteolam de Castore ducat.*] 'And strip off a thin leaf of gold from Castor's statue.' There was a collegium of 'bractearii,' gold-beaters and gilders, at one time, as appears from an inscription in Gruter's collection, quoted by Forcellini.

153. *An dubitet solitus*] I can make no sense out of this line as it stands. He says compare with your man those who carry off great venerable cups from temples. If these are not to be found, then comes a thief in a lower way, to scrape the gilding from the statues. Would he hesitate, seeing it is his wont to melt down an entire Jove? There is no sense in this that I can see. So H. Valesius thought, and proposed to change 'solitus' to 'stolidus,' which would not mend matters, nor would 'solus,' the reading of two MSS. He speaks of the men who steal cups, then of him who scrapes statues, and then says of course he would scrape them because he was in the habit of melting down statues. Gifford puts it down as "another striking specimen of Juvenal's negligence or want of taste," faults few are less guilty of than this author. 'Solitus' must be wrong, I think.

154. *mercatoremque veneni*] 'Mercatorem' is equivalent to 'emptorem' here. See note on S. xii. 47: "callidus emptor Olynthi." The Scholiast says it is doubtful whether the seller or buyer is meant. But the makers (artifices) are coupled with the buyers. The crime alluded to in the next line is 'parricidium' (S. viii. 213, n.). Though 'parricidium' included the murder of relations to some distance in point of consanguinity, this punishment only applied to the murderers of father or mother, grandfather or grandmother (see Long's article Cornelia Lex de Sicariis et Veneficis, Dict. Ant.). 'Fatis' is the ablative of quality.

Clauditur adversis innoxia simia fatis.
Haec quota pars scelerum quae custos Gallicus Urbis
Usque a Lucifero donec lux occidat audit?
Humani generis mores tibi nosse volenti
Sufficit una domus. Paucos consume dies, et
Dicere te miserum postquam illinc veneris aude.
Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus? aut quis
In Meroe crasso majorem infante mamillam?
Caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam
Caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro?
Nempe quod haec illis natura est omnibus una.
Ad subitas Thracum volucres nubemque sonoram
Pygmaeus parvis currit bellator in armis;
Mox impar hosti raptusque per aera curvis

157. *custos Gallicus Urbis*] Rutilius Gallicus was Praefectus Urbi in the reign of Domitian. Respecting that office see note on S. iv. 77. Statius wrote a poem in honour of him (Silv. i. 4). Juvenal says in his house his friend might hear such a catalogue of crimes as would teach him a little more of human nature than he was yet acquainted with. After spending a few days there ('ibi' may be inferred from 'illinc') he would hardly venture to call himself a miserable man. As to 'quota pars' see S. iii. 61, n.: "quota portio faecis Achaei?" The name of Domitian's Gallicus is used for the Praefectus Urbi of the day, whoever he was, if the date apparently pointed out by v. 17 be the true one.

162. *Quis tumidum guttur*] This is the disease known as goître, or by medical men as bronchocele. There is an article on the subject under the latter name in the Penny Cyclopaedia. The sufferers were called 'gutturosi.' As to the swelled breast in Meroe nothing is known. The country is mentioned in vi. 528. Some commentators suppose Juvenal speaks from observation. As to his supposed residence in Egypt see Introduction. Tacitus says of the Germans, "habitus corporum quanquam in tanto hominum numero idem omnibus; truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida" (Germ. c. 4, where Lipsius has a long note on hair). Horace speaks of "fera caerulea Germania pube" (Epod. xvi. 7). Ruperti has given a large supply of references. 'Germanum' must be supplied for 'torquentem.'

166. *Nempe quod haec illis*] Heinrich rejects this verse. I think it necessary to the argument. 'Nempe quod' assumes that the answer to the foregoing questions is 'Nemo,' and his meaning is that as some one feature runs through each of these different peoples, and therefore nobody is astonished when he sees it among them, so it is at Rome where villainous characters abound, and nobody is surprised to find them; any more than among the pigmies any body laughs at the ridiculous fights between those little people and the cranes. The point of the illustration is in the last line, the size of the people. They are all one height, and so they are not remarkable. It is a curious thought. Something that does not appear may have suggested it.

167. *Ad subitas Thracum volucres*] These are the cranes of which Threiciae, Strymoniae, are perpetual epithets. The pigmies have been referred to before (vi. 506). Their home the fable leaves uncertain. The cranes' crooked talons have scandalized some commentators. I dare say Juvenal believed they had talons. It answered his purpose at any rate to represent them so, and he thought nothing more about it. In the East the sudden appearance of clouds of birds, no one can tell where from, when any prey is to be got, is very surprising. This is expressed in 'subitas.' The cry of the crane is such that the flock may be heard very high up in the air after it has passed out of sight.

Unguibus a saeva fertur grue. Si videas hoc
Gentibus in nostris, risu quatiare: sed illic,
Quanquam eadem assidue spectentur proelia, ridet
Nemo, ubi tota cohors pede non est altior uno.
"Nullane perjuri capitis fraudisque nefandae
Poena erit?" Abreptum crede hunc graviore catena
Protinus et nostro (quid plus velit ira?) necari
Arbitrio; manet illa tamen jactura, nec unquam
Depositum tibi sospes erit, sed corpore trunco
Invidiosa dabit minimus solatia sanguis.
"At vindicta bonum vita jucundius ipsa."
Nempe hoc indocti, quorum praecordia nullis
Interdum aut levibus videas flagrantia causis.
Quantulacunque adeo est occasio, sufficit irae.
Chrysippus non dicet idem nec mite Thaletis

171. *Gentibus in nostris,*] See viii. 239, n.

172. *Quanquam eadem assidue*] 'Though they watch the fights intently no one laughs.' So Heinrich takes 'assidue.' Most take it to mean 'continually.' 'Tota cohors' is the whole army, that is each soldier in it. 'Ubi' is 'because there.'

175. *Abreptum crede hunc*] This is the answer. "Suppose he is carried off to prison with a heavy chain on him and put to death in any way we may choose (and spite itself can wish for nothing more), what do you gain by that?"

178. *sed corpore trunco*] "But all you'll get will be the odious consolation of a very little blood shed from a headless corpse." This is the meaning. 'At' in the next line is the common introduction to an objection or reply. "But you will allow revenge to be a blessing pleasanter than life itself."

181. *Nempe hoc indocti,*] After 'hoc' 'arbitrantur' or 'dicunt' is readily supplied. This ellipse is common, as for instance Cicero (de Am. c. 4) speaks of Socrates as one "qui non tum hoc tum illud, ut in plerisque, sed idem semper, Animos hominum esse divinos." He says, no doubt this is the doctrine of the ignorant, for they are ready to blaze up for little or no cause. By 'indocti' the Roman writers commonly meant those who had not become acquainted with the doctrines of the philosophers. Equability of temper was a fundamental doctrine in the teaching of nearly all the schools, and nothing could be more opposed to that teaching than the excitement of a passionate vindictiveness. Juvenal writes as a philosopher and quotes philosophers to support him. See Introduction, and note on Hor. Epp. i. 6. 1:

"Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
Solaque quae possit facere et servare beatum."

183. *Quantulacunque adeo*] Heinrich charges this verse on the monks. I have already remarked on his over-acuteness; I think he shows it here again. 'Adeo' strengthens 'quantulacunque.'

184. *Chrysippus non dicet idem*] Chrysippus succeeded Cleanthes the successor of Zeno, as the head of the Stoic school. Juvenal says above he had never read the Stoics' works, and he probably takes Chrysippus' name at random. The legends of Thales were all more or less fabulous, and his person being uncertain his character is still more so. He is represented as having been very active in political life and to have directed his people, the Milesians, in their wars. As to the form of words see note on S. iv. 39. Socrates has been mentioned in this way in S. vii. 206. There is no warrant for supposing that his accuser, like Judas, wanted to destroy himself, and that Socrates refused him a share of his poison, as the Scholiast says. Juvenal says he would not have given him a share if he had wanted it, as Schurzfleisch observes. Horace calls him 'Anyti reum.' Three persons got up the case against him: the other two were Meletus and Lycon.

Ingenium dulcique senex vicinus Hymetto,
Qui partem acceptae saeva inter vincla cicutae
Accusatori nollet dare. Plurima felix
Paullatim vitia atque errores exuit omnes,
Prima docet rectum Sapientia; quippe minuti
Semper et infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas
Ultio; continuo sic collige, quod vindicta
Nemo magis gaudet quam femina. Cur tamen hos tu
Evasisse putes quos diri conscia facti
Mens habet attonitos et surdo verbere caedit,
Occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum?
Poena autem vehemens ac multo saevior illis,
Quas et Caedicius gravis invenit aut Rhadamanthus,
Nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.
Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates,

Hymettus, greater and lesser, is the range that bounds the plain of Athens on the S.E. The honey for which it was famous got it the epithet 'dulcis.'

185. *dulcique senex vicinus Hymetto,*] According to Bentley's rule noticed above on v. 44, 'que' should be 've.' But the MSS. are unanimous.

187. *Plurima felix*] He says, "Philosophy is the means of happiness, and by degrees divests us of the greater part of natural defects and all our faults of judgment; 'twas she first taught us right from wrong, for certainly it's only dwarfed, infirm, and little minds that love revenge; which you may gather straight from this, that no one likes it better than a woman." 'Minutus' is a participle, and had better here be rendered as such. 'Vitia' are faults of nature some of which cannot be eradicated. 'Errores' correspond to 'culpas,' and are faults of practice. See Horace, S. ii. 6. 7: "Nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem." As to 'Sapientia' see v. 20, n. There is no necessity for a conjunction before 'prima.'

192. *Cur tamen*] These lines are very vigorous. He says, "But suppose you must have revenge, why should you think they escape whom conscience keeps in fear and always under the noiseless lash?" (See xiv. 306.) He here begins to illustrate what he said in the first four lines. As to 'tortor' and 'flagellum' see vi. 474, n. On 'surdo' see S. vii. 71. Heinrich takes 'occultum' with 'caedit.' But 'surdo' expresses enough, and 'occultum' belongs to 'flagellum.' Who Caedicius was it is impossible to say. The Scholiast tells us he was a courtier and most cruel satellite of Nero.

199. *Spartano cuidam respondit*] This story is put by Herodotus (vi. 86) into the mouth of Leotychides the Spartan in an address to the Athenians. He warns them against breaking their faith by relating the fate of one Glaucus who bore the highest reputation for honesty in all Sparta. A man of Miletus came to him and said, that in consequence of his reputation for just dealing he wished to deposit half his fortune with him. Glaucus accepted the deposit and promised to restore the money to any one who should produce certain tokens and claim it. This the man's sons afterwards did, but Glaucus professed to have forgotten all about the matter and required four months to refresh his memory; this time he employed in consulting the oracle at Delphi as to whether he might not keep the money and swear he had never received it. The answer of the oracle was conveyed in seven hexameters denouncing dreadful punishment on the breaker of oaths; and Glaucus begging pardon of the god paid the money. The priestess did not let him go without a wholesome warning, saying, τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι, he who tempts God is as bad as he who does the wickedness which it is in his mind to do. Leotychides winds up his story by saying that Glaucus had not one descendant left, but his whole house was extinct,

Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret
Depositum retinere et fraudem jure tueri
Jurando : quaerebat enim quae numinis esset
Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo.
Reddidit ergo metu non moribus ; et tamen omnem
Vocem adyti dignam templo veramque probavit
Exstinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque
Et quamvis longa deductis gente propinquis.
Has patitur poenas peccandi sola voluntas.
Nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum
Facti crimen habet. Cedo si conata peregit?
Perpetua anxietas nec mensae tempore cessat,
Faucibus ut morbo siccis, interque molares
Difficili crescente cibo : sed vina misellus

and his moral is *οὕτω ἀγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοέεσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης ἄλλο γε ἢ ἀπαιτεόντων ἀποδιδόναι*. This narrative Juvenal has made good use of, I think; but Mr. Blakesley says it is not very aptly introduced, and Ruperti says the same. Juvenal advises his friend to leave the man to the punishment of the gods and his own conscience, and he produces a well-known story to show that such crimes do not go unpunished. This is to the purpose, and the connexion is maintained so as to be quite intelligible.

200. *quod dubitaret Depositum retinere*] We should say 'dubitavit reddere,' he hesitated about restoring. But he also hesitated about keeping the money, and that was his offence. [In v. 208 Ribbeck has '*saeva*' for '*sola*.' '*Saeva*' is the reading of P. and some other MSS.]

209. *Nam scelus intra se tacitum*] Gifford is persuaded Juvenal could not have got this sentiment without the light of Christianity, in the moral teaching of which no doubt it is a fundamental rule. But the ethics of Christianity are no new invention. They do but enforce the teaching of conscience, which has only to be free and it will tell a man, without further revelation, that evil desires are sin, especially in the case that Juvenal supposes, where cowardice not principle (moribus, v. 204) prevents the accomplishment of them. (See Introduction.)

[The Roman law adopted the principle of punishing for the intention to commit a crime, just the same as if the crime were committed. But as a man's intention (voluntas) cannot be discovered unless he shows it by some act, the law properly looked to what the man did as the evidence of what he intended to do; and accordingly if he failed to do what his act showed that he intended to do, he was punished just as if he had accomplished his purpose. See Cicero pro Milone, c. 7; Dig. 48. 8. 1. § 3, and 48. 8. 14.]

210. *Cedo si conata peregit?*] "Come tell me what if he has accomplished his purpose?" He means Calvinus' man. '*Cedo*' is used in S. vi. 504 in this way (see note). The man's condition under the effects of a bad conscience is powerfully imagined: anxiety haunts him at meal times, his meat seems tough and sticks to his fevered jaws and appears to swell as he tries to bite it; the finest wine is sour to his taste; and if you offer him still better, his brow nevertheless is contracted with inward pain. If he goes to sleep for a moment, he begins to dream of the altars by which he has perjured himself, and the image of the man he has wronged comes up preternaturally large to frighten and make him confess his guilt. He trembles at every flash of lightning and the first faint sound of thunder, and thinks the storm is sent in wrath to judge him. If it passes he thinks the calm is a momentary lull to be succeeded by a worse tempest; every sickness takes the form of a message of anger from heaven: he dare not even sacrifice when he is ill, for how can he expect to be accepted?

213. *Difficili crescente cibo:*] This expresses a common feeling which I have never seen expressed in modern books, the jaws weary with weakness and want of ap-

Exspuit; Albani veteris pretiosa senectus
Displicet; ostendas melius, densissima ruga
Cogitur in frontem velut acri ducta Falerno.
Nocte brevem si forte indulsit cura soporem
Et toto versata toro jam membra quiescunt,
Continuo templum et violati numinis aras
Et, quod praecipuis mentem sudoribus urget,
Te videt in somnis; tua sacra et major imago
Humana turbat pavidum cogitque fateri.
Hi sunt qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent,
Quum tonat, exanimes primo quoque murmure caeli;
Non quasi fortuitus nec ventorum rabie sed
Iratus cadat in terras et judicet ignis.
Illa nihil nocuit, cura graviore timetur

petite trying vainly to grind the meat that mocks them. Sick persons and those in grief know what this means. Ovid makes Paris describe his jealousy so (Heroid. xvi. 225, sq.):

"Lumina demitto cum te tenet arctius ille;
Crescit et invito lentus in ore cibus."

— *sed vina misellus*] 'Sed' means 'not only so, but even his wine the poor wretch cannot swallow.' See S. xiv. 117. Heinrich says it means 'sed tamen,' but yet though his jaws are dry he cannot swallow his wine. 'Setina' for 'sed vina' has been invented by "Cl. Herel" as Ruperti calls him, approving his conjecture but not adopting it. Jahn, Hermann, [and Ribbeck] are bolder, and do so against all the MSS. and the Scholiast. [Jahn and Ribbeck put a large stop after 'cessat,' and a comma after 'cibo,' and thus spoil the passage.] Ruperti says 'sed' is 'h. l. ineptum.' I think not. The Alban wine is mentioned in S. v. 33. Falernian wine was strong and required keeping. Horace therefore makes the epicure say

"Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno,
Mendose, quoniam vacuis committere venis
Nil nisi lene decet."
(S. ii. 4. 24, n.)

He says elsewhere (C. i. 27. 9):

"Vultis severi me quoque sumere
Partem Falerni?"

and again (C. ii. 11. 18):

"—— quis puer ocius
Restinguet ardentis Falerni
Pocula praetereunte lympha?"

218. *jam membra quiescunt,*] 'Jam' is 'at length.'

220. *mentem sudoribus urget,*] This is a strong and expressive word for 'terroribus,' but not so used elsewhere I believe. 'Sacra' is explained by 'major humana.' The old poets would render it "thy religious ghost." 'Imago' is the unsubstantial body (εἴδωλον) of the dead. See Hor. C. i. 24. 15, n. Here it is used for a supernatural vision of the living.

225. *Non quasi fortuitus*] 'Fortuitus' is pronounced as a word of three syllables. Horace makes the 'i' long in "Nec fortuitum spernere caespitem" (C. ii. 15. 17). Forcellini however thinks it is common. The authorities except these two places are inferior writers. The ancients believed that thunderbolts, lightning, and meteors either came from the stars with messages to mankind or arose from accidental physical causes, which Pliny describes (H. N. ii. 43). These latter they called 'bruta fulmina' or 'fortuita,' the others 'fatidica.' 'Judicet' means 'it comes to judge and punish men.' [Ribbeck has 'vindicet ignis.' See Servius ad Aen. iv. 209; vi. 179. H. Valesius, quoted by Jahn, suggested 'ut vindicet.']

227. *Illa nihil nocuit,*] 'Suppose that has done him no harm he is all the more anxious, waiting for the next storm, as if it was only kept off by this short lull.' Those who have witnessed a tropical storm know, without the help of a guilty con-

Proxima tempestas, velut hoc dilata sereno.
Praeterea lateris vigili cum febre dolorem
Si coepere pati, missum ad sua corpora morbum
Infesto credunt a numine; saxa deorum
Haec et tela putant. Pecudem spondere sacello
Balantem et Laribus cristam promittere galli
Non audent; quid enim sperare nocentibus aegris
Concessum? vel quae non dignior hostia vita?
Mobilis et varia est ferme natura malorum:
Quum scelus admittunt superest constantia; quid fas
Atque nefas tandem incipiunt sentire peractis
Criminibus. Tamen ad mores natura recurrit
Damnatos, fixa et mutari nescia: nam quis
Peccandi finem posuit sibi? quando recepit
Ejectum semel attrita de fronte ruborem?
Quisnam hominum est quem tu contentum videris uno
Flagitio? Dabit in laqueum vestigia noster

science, the ominous character of the first lull.

230. *missum ad sua corpora morbum*] See note on Hor. C. ii. 8. 1:

"Ulla si juris tibi pejerati
Poena, Barine, nocuisset unquam,
Dente si nigro fieres vel uno
Turpior ungui,
Crederem."

233. *Laribus cristam promittere galli*] See note on xii. 96, and as to 'sacello' see S. x. 354, n. With 'nocentibus aegris' compare v. 124. It means 'the sick if they be guilty.'

235. *vel quae non dignior hostia vita?*] This is most severe of all. The life of any animal that could be offered in sacrifice was worth more than his. The theory of sacrifice rests upon the innocence of the victim, and mischievous animals would not be accepted.

236. *Mobilis et varia est*] He says by way of consoling his friend that the man who has cheated him is sure to come to punishment; for such is generally (ferme) the nature of the wicked that they fluctuate between sin and remorse: while their crime is doing they are firm enough; but when it is done they find out when it is too late (tandem) the difference between right and wrong; but then again they go back to the practices conscience had condemned, as Horace says in a different connexion, "Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret" (Epp. i. 10. 24). The Jewish proverbs, "As a dog returneth to his vomit, so a fool returneth to his folly," and "the sow that was washed has returned to its wallowing in the mire," will occur to every one. 'Fas nefasque' are often joined, as in Hor. Epod. v. 87: "Venena magnum fas nefasque non valent," &c.

240. *mutari nescia:*] See S. xiv. 231, n.

242. *attrita de fronte*] This is like 'frons durior' in S. viii. 189. 'Dabit in laqueum vestigia' is he will put his foot in his own snare, he will be caught in his guilt some day and suffer for it, he will be strangled in prison and dragged out with a hook as criminals were (see S. x. 66, n., "Sejanus ducitur unco;" and Cic. pro C. Rabirio, c. 5, "a verberibus, ab unco, a crucis denique terrore," Long's note), or banished to Seriphos or some of those places. See note on S. i. 73: "Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum." Ruperti says 'uncum' is a hook or ring in the prison wall to which the man's chain was attached. 'Exsulibus magnis' does not mean that they were great in any thing but wickedness. 'Nominis' means the man, a common use of ὄνομα, but not of 'nomen.' Tiresias the prophet of Thebes was blind. His story is told by Ovid in the 3rd book of the Metamorphoses, 316—338.

Perfidus, et nigri patietur carceris uncum,
Aut maris Aegaei rupem scopulosque frequentes
Exsulibus magnis. Poena gaudebis amara
Nominis invisi, tandemque fatebere laetus
Nec surdum nec Tiresiam quenquam esse deorum.

SATIRA XIV.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS satire contains some golden rules and is throughout written in Juvenal's best style. It exposes one of the radical causes of the prevailing immorality, which was the contagious example and bad teaching of parents, acting from their earliest years upon their children. In a vicious home nothing but vice can be learnt: the sin of the father is visited upon the son because the son contracts and exaggerates the father's vices: the gamester begets gamesters; the licentious beget profligates; the spendthrift is the father of spendthrifts and the miser of misers; partly from the force of infection and partly because teaching cannot as a general rule rise above practice, and he who parades his faults before his child cannot even reprove that child if he adopts them. There is not a more pregnant sentence in any author than that, "Maxima debetur pueris reverentia." It is a truth which the better instincts of mankind at once acknowledge, and it could not have been better expressed or supported in more dignified language than Juvenal has here used. It would have been pleasant if his experience or the scope of his satire had admitted of his drawing a picture of a home in which virtue grows by the same means as vice grows by in others, and showing us how domestic example and the influence of a happy home act on the characters of men and the well-being of society.

The inherited vices Juvenal speaks of are gaming, luxurious living, violence of temper, contempt for inferiors, sensuality, extravagance, superstition, and avarice. The greater part of the satire is taken up with the last, and the love of getting, for the sake of having or for display, is traced from its earliest impression on the young mind, to which in general it is not natural, through injustice, selfishness, crime, and danger, to the miserable anxiety that waits upon possession after all has been done to secure it. Once only he touches shortly on the influence of mothers' example on their daughters. There is as might be expected a reference to the simplicity of the olden time, and there are one or two pictures, as of the anxious host (v. 59, sqq.) and the soldier's family (166, sqq.) such as Juvenal sketches with peculiar power.

ARGUMENT.

There's many an act of foul report, Fuscinus, leaving its stain for ever on young minds, which parents teach their children both by precept and example. The old man games, his boy too shakes the dice. What hope is there of him who learns in youth to season fig-peckers and mushrooms, taught by his father? Give him a thou-

sand teachers he will never cease to love good living. Does Rutilus train his son to gentleness, holding that slaves and masters are one flesh, or cruelty, when all he loves is the sweet sound of the lash, the monster of his trembling household, happiest when a wretch is tortured for a trifle? What does he teach his boy who loves the grating of the chain, the brand, and workshop? Shall Larga's child be pure who cannot count her mother's paramours? She was her confidante, and now she writes her own love letters at her dictation, and sends them by her filthy menials.

V. 31. It is but nature, home examples come with great authority, and so corrupt more speedily than any. One or two of better sort may spurn them, but others follow in their fathers' footsteps and the old track of crime long put before them. So keep from wrong, if for no other reason yet for this, that those who are born of us will imitate our faults, for all are teachable in vice; a Catiline you'll find in every town, a Cato or a Brutus nowhere.

V. 44. Let nothing foul approach that house that holds a boy. Away ye girls and parasites: great reverence is due to boys. If you are meditating wickedness think not the child too young to see it. Whatever wrong you do he'll grow up like you not in face alone and stature but in morals, and follow in your footsteps: and after this you'll punish him and disinherit him forsooth! How can you act the father when you the sire are worse, an empty-headed madman?

V. 59. When guests are coming you will sweep your house and scold and rave for fear a speck of dirt offend the company, and yet you care not that your son should see his home all spotless. You give your country a great boon if you shall make him a good citizen. It matters much how you shall train him up. The bird when fledged will seek the food his mother brought him in the nest.

V. 86. Cetronius took to building every where grand marble houses, and so broke his fortune: but he left his son no small inheritance, which he wasted in his turn in building finer houses than his father.

V. 96. The father shows respect to the Jews' worship, the son becomes a Jew and goes all lengths with Moses' law.

V. 107. But though the young are prone to imitate all other vices, to avarice they're forced against their will. They're cheated with the show of gravity it wears, the praise it wins for carefulness and skill in getting. These are the craftsmen to make fortunes grow! Yes, any how, the forge and anvil working on for ever. The father too thinks only misers happy, and bids his boys go on that road with those philosophers. All vices have their rudiments, in these he trains them first and afterwards they learn the insatiable desire for money. He pinches his slaves' bellies and his own: saves up the fragments and puts them under seal for next day's supper, a meal the beggars would not share.

V. 135. What worth is money got at such a price? What madness is it to live a pauper's life in order to die rich! As money grows the love of it grows too. He wants it least who has it not. So you go adding house to house and field to field, and if your neighbour will not sell, you send your beasts to eat his crops. 'Tis thus that many properties change owners.

V. 152. But what will people say? "And what care I for that? I do not value at a beanshell all the world's praise if I am to be poor to earn it." Then you are to escape the pains and cares of life and live for many a year, because you've land as much as Rome possessed when Tatius reigned! And after that two jugera was counted ample for old soldiers broken in the wars, and they were well content. For us 'tis not enough for pleasure-ground.

V. 173. Hence come more murders than from any cause, for he who would be rich would be so quickly. And who that hastens to be rich cares aught for laws? The old Sabellian spake thus to his sons: "Be happy with your cottages and mountains:

let the plough get us bread; so shall we please the country gods, whose help and favour got us corn for mast. That man commits no crimes who wears rough boots and clothes himself in hides. Outlandish purples lead to every crime." Now all is changed: the father wakes his son at midnight. "Up, get out your tablets, write, read, study law, petition for a centurionship: let the commander see you rough and hairy. Go fight and in your sixtieth year you'll get the eagle. Or if your courage fails turn merchant, don't be particular, stinking hides will do. Money smells sweet wherever it may come from. The poet's words be ever on your lips, well worthy of the gods and Jove himself,—'whence you get no one asks, but get you must.'" This is what nurses teach, the boys and girls learn this before their alphabet. When I hear fathers urging thus their sons, I answer, Fool, what need of all this haste? I warrant you the pupil will outstrip his teacher. Make yourself easy, he'll surpass his father, as Ajax Telamon, Achilles Peleus. He's young, when he begins to shave he'll swear and lie for a mere trifle. Woe to his wife if she is rich! He knows a shorter way to wealth than ranging sea and land. Crime is no trouble. "I never taught him this," you'll say some day. But you're the cause of all his wickedness. Who trains his son to avarice gives him the reins, and if he tries to check him he refuses and spurns his driver and the goal. He thinks it not enough to err as far as you will let him. Tell him the man's a fool who helps his friend, teach him to rob and cheat, by every crime get money, which you love as ever patriot loved his country, and then you'll see the spark yourself have lighted blown to a flame and carry all before it: you'll not escape yourself, the lion you have reared will tear his keeper. Your horoscope is told, you say: but he'll not wait, you'll die before your thread of life is out. He's weary of your obstinate old age. Buy yourself antidotes, such as kings and fathers should take before their meals.

V. 256. No play is half so good as to look on and see what risk they run to increase their store. Can the petaurus or the rope-dancer amuse us more than he who lives at sea, a wretched trafficker in perfumed bags or raisin wine from Crete? The dancer does it for a livelihood, you but for countless gold and houses. The sea is full of ships; more men there than ashore; wherever gain may call them there they go. A fine return for all your toil, to come with full purse back and boast you've seen the monsters of the deep. Madness may vary, but that man is mad who fills his ship and risks his life for silver cut in little heads and letters. The clouds are lowering, "'tis nothing," cries the master, "mere summer thunder," and that night perhaps his ship is wrecked and he himself must swim for life; and he who thought the gold of Tagus and Pactolus little must beg in rags carrying his picture with him.

V. 303. What danger gets anxiety must guard. Licinus posts his regiment of slaves with buckets all the night, in terror for his plate and marble and all his finery. The Cynic's tub burns not; break it and he will make another or patch up the old one. So Alexander when he saw the man who made that tub his home, then learnt how happier far was he who wanted nothing, than he who coveted a world and went through every toil to get it. All gods are there where Prudence is; 'tis we who make Fortune a goddess. If any ask me what is the measure of a private fortune, I tell them just as much as nature wants, or Epicurus for his little garden, or Socrates before him. Nature and Philosophy always speak alike. But if I seem too hard upon you, mix a little from our habits with the old. Make up an eques' fortune: if that be not enough, then two, or even three. If that does not suffice, then will not Croesus' treasures or Persia's kingdom or Narcissus' wealth.

Plurima sunt, Fuscine, et fama digna sinistra
Et nitidis maculam haesuram figentia rebus,
Quae monstrant ipsi pueris traduntque parentes.
Si damnosa senem juvat alea, ludit et heres
Bullatus parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo.
Nec melius de se cuiquam sperare propinquo
Concedet juvenis, qui radere tubera terrae,
Boletum condire et eodem jure natantes
Mergere ficedulas didicit nebulone parente

2. *maculam haesuram*] This appears to be the true reading, but it is preserved only in P. The other MSS. have 'ac rugam' or 'et rugam,' which reading Heinrich conjectures with great probability the monks introduced from the Vulgate, where St. Paul says (Eph. v. 27), "ut exhiberet ipse sibi gloriosam ecclesiam non habentem maculam aut rugam aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed ut sit sancta et immaculata." Forcellini, whose lexicon is of less service for Juvenal than for other authors, quotes and explains this place thus: "nitidis rebus maculam et rugam figere: h. e. res bonas corrumpere, ut rugae in vultu pulcritudinem oris corrumpunt." A similar perversion, noticed by Bentley, is found in Hor. C. iii. 18. 12, where "Festus in prato vacat otiosus cum bove pagus" is changed into "cum bove pardus." The Scholiast quotes Hor. C. iv. 4. 36: "Utcunque defecere mores Indecorant bene nata culpae." Juvenal says there are many habits which deserve to be evil spoken of and which fasten a stain upon fair things that will never leave them. The fair things are the unspoilt minds of children. These habits corrupt their minds and get them bad repute. 'Figere' and 'haerere' both express the lasting mischief these practices do. 'Monstrant traduntque' is, they not only show these practices in their own conduct but teach them to their children. 'Tradere' is a common word for teaching, as above, S. vi. 239, and in Cicero, de Divin. ii. 1: "Nulla major occurrebat quam si optimarum artium vias traderem meis civibus." As to 'alea' see S. xi. 176, n., and i. 88, n. The kind of gaming here alluded to is explained in the next verse, where 'arma' means the 'tali' or 'tesserae,' and 'fritillus' was the box from which they were thrown. Other names for the box were 'pyrgus' (πύργος) or 'turricula' and 'phimus' (φιμός). See note on Hor. S. ii. 3. 171, "te talos, Aule, nucesque," and 7. 17, "mitteret in phimum talos." 'Heres' is equivalent to 'filius,' here and in S. xii. 95, since a man's children were all his 'heredes' if they were in his power at his death (x. 237, n.). As to 'bullatus' see S. v. 164.

7. *qui radere tubera terrae,*] See S. v. 116, n., "tradentur tubera;" and v. 147, n., "Boletus domino." 'Juvenis' is opposed to 'heres bullatus.' 'Eodem jure' is the mushroom sauce, not "in eodem quo parens mergebat," as Ruperti says (after Britannicus). He immediately afterwards explains 'mergere' by 'devorare;' "nam ficedulae totae a gulosis comedi solebant." They swallowed them therefore swimming in the same sauce as their fathers swallowed them in. Any one will see what 'mergere' is. The 'ficedula' is the 'beccafico' of modern Italy, which is also a regular visitor of this country, and one of our sweetest songsters in spring and summer. Pettychaps is the English naturalist's name for it. By the older English writers it was called Cyprus-bird, and they speak of it as a great delicacy (Penny Cyclopaedia). It feeds upon different fruits, such as the currant and grape; but its partiality for the fig is shown by the circumstance that it is found in England most abundantly on the coast of Sussex, where that fruit is finest. Gellius (xv. 8) says that epicures would not have the whole of any birds eaten but the 'ficedula,' "negant ullam avem praeter ficedulam totam comesse oportere" (not swallowed at a mouthful as Ruperti's language would lead one to suppose). Martial makes the second syllable long:

"Cerea quae patulo lucet ficedula lumbo
Cum tibi forte datur, si sapis, adde piper." (xiii. 5, see also 49.)

Perhaps therefore 'ficedulas' should be pronounced as a word of three syllables.

9. *nebulone parente*] I do not understand Heinrich's explanation "a patre guloso." 'Discere aliquo' is not Latin, as

Et cana monstrante gula. Quum septimus annus
Transierit puero, nondum omni dente renato,
Barbatos licet admoveas mille inde magistros,
Hinc totidem, cupiet lauto coenare paratu
Semper et a magna non degenerare culina.
Mitem animum et mores modicis erroribus aequos
Praecipit, atque animas servorum et corpora nostra
Materia constare putat paribusque elementis,
An saevire docet Rutilus, qui gaudet acerbo
Plagarum strepitu et nullam Sirena flagellis
Comparat, Antiphates trepidi Laris ac Polyphemus,

far as I know. 'Nebulone parente' should be taken with 'monstrante,' a profligate father and an old man's throat showing the way, that is by example, as in v. 3.

10. *Quum septimus annus*] Children for the first seven years were 'infantes.' 'Pueritia' was not a legal term, and was loosely employed, though it was commonly used for those 'impuberes' who were not 'infantes,' that is from seven to fourteen, or when the 'toga virilis' was taken. The MSS. have 'puero,' except P., which has the accusative. The copyist may have found 'puero,' and supplied or found the common mark of the accusative over the 'o' (ō). But I do not think Juvenal meant it, or that 'puero' should be joined with 'admoveas,' as Ruperti suggests. 'Barbatos' is equivalent to 'wise and learned.' See notes on Hor. S. ii. 3. 16, 35. [Ribbeck has 'puerum.']

13. *lauto coenare paratu*] The common word is 'apparatus,' as in Horace, C. i. 38, "Persicos odi puer apparatus," and Cic. Cat. ii. 9, where the participle is used, "conviviis apparatis." Elsewhere Cicero says "licuit ornare et apparare convivium" (Verr. ii. 4. 20).

[After v. 14 Ribbeck inserts vv. 73—85.]

15. *Mitem animum*] He asks whether Rutilus (any passionate savage master) teaches his son the value of a gentle temper and a calm habit that seldom goes wrong, and that slaves are, body and soul, made of the same material as ourselves ('nostra materia'), or to act the ruffian like himself, when he sets him the example of flogging them and delights in the sound of the lash. Horace says of himself, thanks to his father's example and training,

"—— ego sanus ab illis
Perniciem quaecunque ferunt; mediocribus et quis
Ignoscas vitiis teneor."
(S. i. 4. 129, sqq.)

And elsewhere he gives his good father the credit, "si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis Mendosa est natura, alioqui recta" (6. 65). His father taught him chiefly by example, his own and others'. He was his "custos incorruptissimus," and kept him "ab omni Non solum facto verum opprobrio quoque turpi."

"—— mi satis est si
Traditum ab antiquis morem servare tuamque
Dum custodis eges vitam famamque tueri
Incolumem possum." (S. i. 4. 116.)

This father's conduct and language were what Juvenal wished to see. The woman in S. vi. thought it was an extravagant absurdity that a slave should be called a man: "O demens, ita servus homo est?" (v. 222.) The Sirens have been mentioned before, S. ix. 150, n., and 'flagellum' in vi. 479, n.

20. *Antiphates trepidi Laris*] He says he is the Antiphates and Polyphemus of his trembling household. The first was king of the giant Laestrygones in Sicily, who sunk Ulysses' ships and ate up one of his men (Odyss. x. 80—132). As to 'tortor' see S. vi. 480, n. Cicero speaks with horror of "ignes candentesque laminae caeterique cruciatus" being applied to a Roman citizen (In Verr. ii. 5. 63). They were commonly applied to slaves to obtain evidence, and so Cynthia's ghost calls on Propertius to torture her slave on suspicion of poisoning her wine: "Lygdamus uratur, candescat lamina, vernae" (iv. 7. 35). See Lucretius iii. 1030. This poor wretch of Rutilus' is supposed to be put to this torture for the loss of a couple of towels. There were no legal limits to the

Tum felix quoties aliquis tortore vocato
Uritur ardenti duo propter lintea ferro?
Quid suadet juveni laetus stridore catenae,
Quem mire afficiunt inscripta ergastula, carcer
Rusticus? Exspectas ut non sit adultera Largae
Filia, quae nunquam maternos dicere moechos
Tam cito nec tanto poterit contexere cursu
Ut non ter decies respiret? Conscia matri
Virgo fuit; ceras nunc hac dictante pusillas
Implet, et ad moechum dat eisdem ferre cinaedis.
Sic natura jubet: velocius et citius nos
Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
Quum subeunt animos auctoribus. Unus et alter
Forsitan haec spernant juvenes, quibus arte benigna
Et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan;

torturing of slaves, at least till the time of the Antonines.

23. *laetus stridore catenae,*] See S. xi. 80: "Squalidus in magna fastidit compede fossor," and vi. 151, n. on 'ergastula.' 'Inscripta' means the brand upon the forehead of the slaves, as F for 'fugitivus' and so forth. The branded 'ergastula' are the branded slaves who worked there. See Lipsius, Elect. ii. 15. To my ear it is incredible that Jahn and Hermann should have separated 'Rusticus' from 'carcer' and put the (?) there. They conceive that Juvenal is imitating Horace's "Rusticus exspectat dum defluat amnis" (Epp. i. 2. 42). Doederlein is the author of this pointing [which Ribbeck follows]. Nothing can be plainer than that Juvenal adds 'carcer Rusticus' to 'ergastula' by way of comparing those dens of suffering with the 'carcer' at Rome.

27. *tanto poterit contexere cursu*] She cannot string them together at such a pace (as we say) but that she must take breath three times in the telling. When she was quite a girl she was her mother's accomplice; now she writes at her mother's dictation her own little love letters, and sends them by the same wretches her mother had employed before her (vi. 233, "missis a corruptore tabellis"). In this satire on parents this is the only reference to mothers. 'Cinaedis' is here only a term of disgust. He had said before,

"Scilicet exspectas ut tradat mater honestos
Atque alios mores quam quos habet: utile porro
Filiolam turpi vetulae producere turpem."
(vi. 239, sqq.)

33. *Quum subeunt animos*] P. has 'subeunt.' Most of the MSS. have 'subeant,' which Jahn has adopted against his own MS., as in xi. 178 he has taken the indicative where P. has the subjunctive. In the latter case he is right; in the other I believe he is wrong. Juvenal says "more rapidly and suddenly are we corrupted by the examples of vices when they are found in our own home, that is when they enter our minds with the weight of great authority;" the second clause is supplemental to the first. 'Quum subeant' would be 'because they enter,' which would be good sense, but the other is more terse, and like Juvenal's style, and if ever Jahn was to trust his MS. he might have done so here. "Vitiorum exempla domestica" may be compared with "fraternum nomen populi Romani" (Caesar, B. G. i. 36, and Long's note). Hermann has 'subeunt,' putting the comma before 'domestica,' which appears to me to spoil the verse. As to 'auctoribus' see viii. 216, "deis auctoribus," 'on the authority of the gods,' and Horace, C. i. 28. 13, n., "non sordidus auctor."

35. *finxit praecordia Titan;*] That is Prometheus. See S. vi. 13, n.; viii. 133, n. He says some few young men may reject these examples, who are made of better stuff than others, but the rest follow in

Sed reliquos fugienda patrum vestigia ducunt,
Et monstrata diu veteris trahit orbita culpae.
Abstineas igitur damnandis; hujus enim vel
Una potens ratio est, ne crimina nostra sequantur
Ex nobis geniti: quoniam dociles imitandis
Turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus, et Catilinam
Quocunque in populo videas, quocunque sub axe;
Sed nec Brutus erit Bruti nec avunculus usquam.
Nil dictu foedum visuque haec limina tangat
Intra quae puer est. Procul hinc, procul inde puellae
Lenonum et cantus pernoctantis parasiti.
Maxima debetur puero reverentia. Si quid

their fathers' steps which they ought to avoid, and the track of vice which has been long before their eyes. 'Orbita' is properly the track of a wheel.

38. *damnandis; hujus enim vel*] Many MSS., and most of the old editions have "damnis; hujusce etenim." Achaintre has that reading on the authority of all the Paris MSS. P. has the reading of the text. In the next line P. has 'nec' for 'ne,' which Hermann has rather perversely adopted. 'Hujus' depends upon 'potens:' there is one reason (even if there were but one, 'vel una') that commands this.

41. *Turpibus ac pravis*] Both these words are applied to the human shape, and they may be here translated as they come together 'ugly and deformed.' 'Pravus' is 'awry.'

42. *quocunque sub axe;*] See viii. 116, n., "Gallicus axis," and xiii. 89 as to 'quocunque.' He says a Catiline you may find in any clime, a Brutus or a Cato nowhere. M. Porcius Cato of Utica was the half-brother of Servilia, mother of M. Junius Brutus the murderer of Caesar. These two men bear no comparison in point of character. It was enough for Juvenal and those who thought and felt with him that they were both opponents of Caesar and reputed friends of liberty. Cato was a man of rigid virtue and a suitable example for this place. Brutus had less that was noble in his private character. Juvenal does not always choose his examples very fitly. Catilina was as depraved in private as in public life, and his dissolute morals and extravagance led him into those desperate acts that cost him and his friends their lives. Cato's parents both died when he was a child, and in this matter the examples are not well chosen. The father of Brutus was a respectable man, though of his mother much scandal was spread in connexion with C. Julius Caesar.

[After v. 43 Ribbeck inserts vv. 59—72.]

44. *Nil dictu foedum*] This means 'foul language.' 'Auditu' would be more in accordance with 'visu' and the sense. In the next line P. and a few other MSS. have 'pater' where most MSS. have 'puer.' The Scholiast's reading in his lemma is 'pater est,' but his note is 'ubi filios habes.' He must therefore have read 'es.' Jahn and Hermann have 'pater est,' the other editors 'puer.' Those two editors have adopted from Cramer's conjecture (on the Scholiast in loco) 'ah' for 'hinc' [and Ribbeck has the 'ah']. The MSS. have 'hinc,' 'hac,' and 'ac,' which is in P. The two last have no meaning and seem to confirm the first, which if written 'hc̄,' would readily be changed into 'hac,' and the tendency of the MSS. to drop the 'h' is common. For 'inde,' 'ite' is found in two Paris MSS. according to Achaintre. The wonder is it does not appear in more: the common reading is sufficiently confirmed. The language is that of the priests at the mysteries. See S. ii. 89, n. 'Hinc—inde' is equivalent to 'ubique.' 'Puellae lenonum,' as the Scholiast says, are 'meretrices.' 'Pernoctantis parasiti' is the contemptible guest who for a dinner sits up all night drinking or gaming or both, and singing low songs, with the master of the house, to his shame before the children. 'Pernoctare,' Britannicus says, is to pass the night away from home. It is always so used.

Turpe paras, ne tu pueri contempseris annos,
Sed peccaturo obsistat tibi filius infans.
Nam si quid dignum Censoris fecerit ira
Quandoque et similem tibi se non corpore tantum
Nec vultu dederit, morum quoque filius et qui
Omnia deterius tua per vestigia peccet,
Corripies nimirum et castigabis acerbo
Clamore ac post haec tabulas mutare parabis.
Unde tibi frontem libertatemque parentis
Quum facias pejora senex, vacuumque cerebro
Jam pridem caput hoc ventosa cucurbita quaerat?
  Hospite venturo cessabit nemo tuorum.

48. *ne tu pueri contempseris annos,*] "Do not despise the child's age or think he is too young to take notice:" an excellent remark as every parent knows. 'Tu' is commonly used to give point to a general piece of advice. The reading of P. and nearly all the MSS. is 'nec' for 'ne,' and Hermann adopts it. It could only mean 'nor even,' and so Hermann takes it. But it only weakens the clause, I think.

49. *obsistat*] P. and some others have 'obstet,' which was the Scholiast's reading; most have 'obsistat.' The hiatus is so unnecessary and sounds so bad from the meeting of the same vowel, that with Heinrich I have adopted 'obsistat.' [Ribbeck has 'obstet.']

51. *Quandoque*] P. has here preserved the true reading. Most MSS. have 'quandoquidem,' which gives no sense. 'Quandoque' is like 'olim,' 'some day.' He says "if your boy some day does something worthy of the censor's displeasure, and not only shows himself like you in form and face, but as the son and inheritor of your character, and one to follow in your steps and exaggerate all your faults, then of course you will take him up and reproach him loudly and bitterly and threaten to alter your will." He speaks ironically.

56. *Unde tibi frontem*] Horace uses this sort of idiom twice, S. ii. 5. 102: "Unde mihi tam fortem tamque fidelem?" and 7. 116: "Unde mihi lapidem?—Quorsum est opus? Unde sagittas?" 'Para' may be understood here and 'parabo' there. The Scholiast quotes Terence (Phormio, v. 8. 53): "quo ore illum objurgabis?" 'Frontem' is here the commanding brow of one in authority. In xi. 204, "salva fronte" means 'without shame.'

57. *vacuumque cerebro*] This means that the man is mad and wants cupping. 'Cucurbita' is a cupping glass, so called from its having the shape of a gourd which is the first meaning of the word. The 'cucurbita' is called 'ventosa' from ignorance of the principle on which it acts. Instead of being 'plena aeris,' as Ruperti says, a partial vacuum is created in the cup, which being so applied to any part of the body removes the pressure of the air from that spot and causes a rush of blood to it. The ancients used both dry cupping and bleeding as we do for affections of the head in particular. The cup was usually of bronze or of horn. 'Caput hoc' is dramatic, as if he put his finger on the man's forehead.

59. *Hospite venturo*] He goes on to say that a great fuss is made when company is coming, to get the house in order and to make a show with the plate, furniture, and marble. The master rushes about like a madman with a stick in his hand, calling to the slaves to do their work. But is it not of more consequence, he asks, that your son should see your home free from vice and spotless, than that your friend should see your furniture in that condition? The picture is well drawn and the moral well applied. As to the rich pavements of the Romans see notes on Hor. S. ii. 4. 83: "Ten' lapides varios lutulenta radere palma," and Epp. i. 10. 19: "Deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?" As to 'columnas' compare Horace, C. ii. 18. 3:

"Non trabes Hymettiae
  Premunt columnas ultima recisas
Africa."

'Vasa aspera' are opposed to 'vasa pura.'

"Verre pavimentum, nitidas ostende columnas,
Arida cum tota descendat aranea tela;
Hic leve argentum, vasa aspera tergeat alter,"
Vox domini furit instantis virgamque tenentis.
Ergo miser trepidas ne stercore foeda canino
Atria displiceant oculis venientis amici,
Nec perfusa luto sit porticus, (et tamen uno
Semodio scobis haec emendat servulus unus,)
Illud non agitas ut sanctam filius omni
Aspiciat sine labe domum vitioque carentem.
Gratum est quod patriae civem populoque dedisti
Si facis ut patriae sit idoneus, utilis agris,
Utilis et bellorum et pacis rebus agendis.
Plurimum enim intererit quibus artibus et quibus hunc tu
Moribus instituas. Serpente ciconia pullos

See S. x. 19, n. These are here expressed by 'leve argentum,' which is the reading of P. and the lemma of the Scholiast, whose note however belongs to 'aspera'—"Anaglipha sigillis: Virgilius, *et aspera signis*" (Aen. v. 267). Nearly all the MSS. have 'lavet,' which Lubinus has and most of the old editions, but none of the modern except Achaintre. 'Arida' may apply to the spider in the sense of lean and withered, or to the web, for which it is a fit epithet, as 'dry.'

66. *Nec perfusa luto*] The reading of most MSS. and all the modern editions but Heinrich's is 'Ne;' but 'Nec' seems to be wanted. He would not have the 'atrium,' which was the first room the guests would enter, show that dogs had been there, nor have him see the 'porticus' even splashed with rain. It was outside the house, or he means the 'peristylium' or else the galleries on each side of the 'impluvium,' and in any case it was open to the weather. The plural 'atria' is commonly used by the poets for the convenience of their verse; but as the room had two wings (alae) opening upon it, and the whole formed one apartment, the plural is not without meaning. This being the most public room in the house and open to the sky, dogs may have had greater licence there than in other rooms.

— *uno Semodio scobis*] With half a modius of saw-dust, which the Romans commonly used for cleaning the floors, especially after dinner when the scraps were cleared away, and usually it was scented. See note on Hor. S. ii. 4. 81. The 'semodius' was very nearly a gallon of our measure. 'Unus' twice repeated, 'semodio,' and 'servulus' are all emphatic, to mark the trifling character of the job and the folly of the master's excitement.

70. *patriae civem populoque dedisti*] "You have given your country (and a welcome gift it is) a good citizen, if you have made him (your son) fit for her service." The construction is a little irregular: 'dabis si feceris' would be more exact, but the perfect 'dedisti' supposes a thing done which is however only hypothetical. 'Idoneus' is explained by what follows. 'Civis' is emphatic, as in S. iii. 3; iv. 90, and 'Quiritem,' viii. 47. 'Civis' is a word always used with respect. The formula 'patriae populoque' is used by Horace, C. iii. 6. 20: "In patriam populumque fluxit," and in Ovid. Met. xv. 572: "patriae laetum populoque Quirini." Bentley (on Hor. l. c.) would change 'patriae' in Ovid and this place of Juvenal ("Vah! quam inficeta et inconcinna repetitio est *patriae, patriae*") into 'patribus,' and in Horace he has changed it into 'Inque patres.' The formula, as Gronovius says on Livy xxv. 6, is equivalent to 'Senatus populusque.'

73. *Plurimum enim intererit*] 'Enim' means that it depends upon the father whether the son proves a good citizen, for it will make a great difference in what way he trains him. There is this force in 'tu.'

74. *Serpente ciconia pullos*] Pliny (H. N. x. 23) says that in Thessaly storks

Nutrit et inventa per devia rura lacerta;
Illi eadem sumptis quaerunt animalia pinnis.
Vultur jumento et canibus crucibusque relictis
Ad fetus properat partemque cadaveris affert.
Hic est ergo cibus magni quoque vulturis et se
Pascentis, propria quum jam facit arbore nidos.
Sed leporem aut capream famulae Jovis et generosae
In saltu venantur aves; hinc praeda cubili
Ponitur: inde autem, quum se matura levabit
Progenies stimulante fame, festinat ad illam
Quam primum praedam rupto gustaverat ovo.
Aedificator erat Cetronius, et modo curvo

were held in such esteem for destroying snakes that it was a capital offence to kill them. One MS. has 'nidos' for 'pullos,' on which Ruperti (V. L.) has one of his notes: he thinks Schrader is right in supposing that 'pullos' has crept in from a gloss, and yet (says he) you may suspect that 'nidos' was interpolated by a learned hand from v. 143: "ipse loquaci Gaudebit nido."

77. *crucibusque relictis*] Lipsius (de Cruce, ii. 13) quotes Horace (Epp. i. 16. 48): "Non hominem occidi. Non pasces in cruce corvos;" and Prudentius (Hymn. xi. περὶ στεφάνου): "Crux illum tollat in auras Viventesque oculos offerat alitibus:" and from the Acts of the Martyrs this sentence on three Christians: "Claudius, Asterius, Neon, cruci affigantur et corpora eorum avibus laceranda relinquantur." Apuleius (de Asino l. vi. fin.) speaks of "patibuli cruciatum cum canes et vultures intima protrahunt viscera." Poor wretches dying by inches were probably watched for days by these ravenous birds, who never attack a body while the life is in it.

79. *Hic est ergo cibus*] 'Ergo' is 'for this reason,' because the vulture is so fed when young, when it grows to full size it seeks the same food; but the eagles seek prey in the woods, and their young ones learn to do the same. The first three stanzas of Hor. C. iv. 4. 1, "Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem—Egit amor dapis atque pugnae," will occur to the reader. 'Ponitur' is used in some sort as it is commonly used for serving up food or putting it before the guests (see xi. 109, n.). 'Se matura levabit' is like Horace's "Olim juventas et patrius vigor Nido laborum propulit inscium" (l. c.). Grangaeus reminds us that vultures do not build their nests in trees but in rocks. Gifford too observes that "the eagle is scarcely more delicate in the choice of his food than the vulture," and that it is a vulgar prejudice to suppose he will not touch carrion. 'Et' couples 'generosae aves' with 'famulae Jovis.' Only the eagle is meant. P. has preserved the true reading 'hinc' (82) against that of most MSS. and old editions, 'tunc.'

83. *quum se matura levabit*] P. has 'levaret,' a few 'levarit,' which Jahn has taken, with Pithoeus and Ruperti. Hermann deserts them for 'levabit,' comparing vi. 660, "si praegustabit Atrides." [Ribbeck has 'levavit.'] The future is used with 'si' or 'cum' when a future event is spoken of on which another event depends. See note on Horace, Epp. i. 7. 10: "Quod si bruma nives Albanis illinet agris, Ad mare descendet vates tuus."

86. *Aedificator erat Cetronius,*] 'Aedificator' is used for one who is too much given to building, as Horace uses 'amator' for one who is given to lust: "Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator" (Epp. i. 1. 38). Forcellini gives examples from Cornelius Nepos (vit. Attici, c. 13), "nemo illo fuit minus emax, minus aedificator," and Columella (i. 4), "eleganter aedificet agricola, nec sit tamen aedificator." The Scholiast's note is "cupidus fabricae," a word only met with in the late writers for a building. The Romans suffered from the passion for building. See above i. 94, "Quis totidem erexit villas;" x. 225, "Percurram citius quot villas possideat nunc Quo tondente," &c. Horace often alludes to this, as in C. ii. 18. 20, sq.; iii. 1. 33, sqq.; 24. 3, sq. Epp. i. 1. 83, where he is speaking of the rich man's caprices:

Litore Caietae, summa nunc Tiburis arce,
Nunc Praenestinis in montibus alta parabat
Culmina villarum, Graecis longeque petitis
Marmoribus vincens Fortunae atque Herculis aedem,
Ut spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides.

"Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis praelucet amoenis,
Si dixit dives, lacus et mare sentit amorem
Festinantis heri; cui si vitiosa libido
Fecerit auspicium, Cras ferramenta Teanum
Tolletis, fabri."

Martial has this epigram on one Gellius (ix. 47):

"Gellius aedificat semper: modo limina ponit,
Nunc foribus claves aptat emitque seras;
Nunc has nunc illas mutat reficitque fenestras;
Dum tamen aedificet quidlibet ille facit;
Oranti nummos ut dicere possit amico
Unum illud verbum Gellius, Aedifico."

This is like Horace's description of caprice: "Diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis" (Epp. i. 1. 100). In short there were as many who ruined or hampered their estates by this tempting folly in Rome as in this country.

87. *Litore Caietae,*] Caieta (Gaeta) was on the promontory that bounds the gulf of the same name at the southern extremity of Latium. It was four miles from Formiae which now bears the name (Mola di Gaeta). At Formiae Cicero had a villa, and between those two places the shore was covered with houses. There are remains of a palace supposed to have been that of Antoninus Pius at Gaeta. As to 'Tiburis arce' and 'Praeneste' see S. iii. 190, 192.

89. *Graecis longeque petitis*] The Greek marbles used by the Romans were from Hymettus and Pentelicus in Attica, from Taenarus in Laconia, from Carystus in Euboea, and from the island of Paros. The other foreign marbles were chiefly African, from Syene and from Numidia; there was stone also from Synnada in Phrygia.

90. *Fortunae atque Herculis aedem,*] There was a very ancient temple of Fortuna at Praeneste, which Ovid alludes to as "Praenestinae moenia sacra deae" (Fast. vi. 62). It was here that the Praenestinae Sortes, a famous oracle down to a very late period, were delivered. The temple was much beautified by Sulla who, Pliny tells us (H. N. xxxvi. 25), laid there the first mosaic pavement known in Italy. It was extant in his time, and a pavement (the Barberini at Rome) has been found there of very finished workmanship, which is supposed by some to be Sulla's, but by others of later date, the reign of Hadrian, that is not far from the time when this satire was written. (Cramer's Italy, ii. 71.) We learn from Cicero (de Div. ii. 41) that Fortuna was represented in this temple suckling the infant Jupiter, and was most piously worshipped by mothers. One of the Scholiasts refers to this temple as a thing of former times. It probably did not escape the barbarians.

The cathedral of Tivoli is built on the foundations of the temple of Hercules, who was worshipped above other gods at Tibur. For this reason it is often called 'Herculeum.'

The enormous buildings erected by Hadrian at the foot of the hills of Tibur could hardly have been built when Juvenal wrote these verses, or they would probably have been referred to, for in magnificence they surpassed any thing in Italy. Their ruins are the admiration of travellers.

91. *Ut spado vincebat*] Posides is mentioned by Suetonius (c. 28) as a freedman of Claudius the emperor, favoured and afterwards suspected by him. In the emperor's triumph for his conquest of Britain, he distinguished Posides by the gift of a 'hasta pura,' a spear without a head, which was a common mark of favour for military services. Pliny (H. N. xxxi. 2) speaks of warm baths at Baiae, "quae Posidianae vocantur, nomine accepto a Claudii Caesaris liberto." Where he built his magnificent house does not appear. It may have been near his baths. 'Capitolia nostra' is here opposed to the temples at Praeneste and Tibur; but large temples of Jupiter in other towns besides the great temple in Rome were sometimes called Capitolium. Tiberius, for instance, dedicated a Capitolium at Capua (Suetou. Tib. c. 40). The plural is used (as in x. 65) because of the

Dum sic ergo habitat Cetronius, imminuit rem,
Fregit opes, nec parva tamen mensura relictae
Partis erat; totam hanc turbavit filius amens,
Dum meliore novas attollit marmore villas.
Quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem
Nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant,
Nec distare putant humana carne suillam,
Qua pater abstinuit; mox et praeputia ponunt.
Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges
Judaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt jus,
Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses;
Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,

tripartite character of the building (xii. 3, n.).

93. *Fregit opes,*] This is the common verb in this case. We use the same when we speak of breaking. Horace has "Postquam omnis res mea Janum Ad medium fracta est" (S. ii. 3. 18).

94. *turbavit filius amens,*] See vii. 129, "Sic Pedo conturbat," and Forcellini. The use of 'dum' with the present followed by a verb in the perfect tense, which here occurs twice over, is common. See i. 59: "Qui bona donavit praesepibus—dum pervolat axe citato," and elsewhere. In ix. 8 there is the imperfect.

96. *metuentem sabbata patrem*] See notes on vi. 159, 542, and Persius v. 184. He goes on to say that some men whose fathers were superstitious and paid respect to the Jewish religion go further and turn Jews. 'Metus,' 'metuo' are ordinarily used for religious fear (v. 101). From the courts of the temple being uncovered the Jews were supposed by the vulgar to worship the skies. Lipsius on Tacitus, Hist. v. 5, "Judaei mente sola unumque numen intelligunt," quotes a fragment of Petronius about them: "'et caeli summas advocat auriculas,' quasi putarent caelum aures habere idque invocarent." Achaintre, who is the feeblest of commentators, supposes that Juvenal in 'nubes' alludes to the cloud that led the Israelites through the wilderness. He thinks Juvenal is going out of his way for an example, because a man may be moral whatever his religion may be. But Juvenal thinks he must be a fool if he turns Jew, and irreligious too. Pliny calls them "gens contumelia numinum insignis" (H. N. xiii. 4 sub fin.).

98. *Nec distare putant*] That is, they abstain from hog's flesh as they would from man's. See vi. 160: "Et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis." Tacitus gives the Roman explanation of this—"sue abstinent memoria cladis, qua ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat cui id animal obnoxium" (Hist. v. 4). The quadrupeds forbidden to the Israelites for food were all who did not chew the cud and were not cloven-footed (Levit. xi.). The cause of this distinction is not given and cannot easily be conjectured.

99. *praeputia ponunt.*] "Circumcidere genitalia instituere ut diversitate noscantur. Transgressi in morem eorum idem usurpant; nec quicquam prius imbuuntur quam contemnere deos, exuere patriam, parentes, liberos, fratres vilia habere" (Tac. Hist. v. 5). Tacitus must have known that many other Eastern nations practised circumcision, but it was nevertheless true that this rite was the distinctive symbol of the Jewish covenant, by which they continued to be a separate people.

102. *Tradidit arcano*] This is merely random talk. There was nothing analogous in the books of Moses to the 'arcana' of the Roman worship, though they were looked upon as unintelligible and therefore supposed to have a mysterious meaning only revealed to the initiated.

103. *Non monstrare vias*] He says the law of Moses teaches Jews not to show any one the way except he be a Jew, nor to tell the tired traveller where he may quench his thirst. The Scholiast says on 'Quaesitum ad fontem,' "ubi baptizantur." It is curious to compare this Scholium with that on v. 102, where Moses is spoken of as "Sacerdos vel rex ejus gentis (Judaeorum) aut ipsius religionis inventor, cujus Cornelius etiam Tacitus meminit." These notes are not from

Quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.
Sed pater in causa, cui septima quaeque fuit lux
Ignava et partem vitae non attigit ullam.
 Sponte tamen juvenes imitantur cetera, solam
Inviti quoque avaritiam exercere jubentur.
Fallit enim vitium specie virtutis et umbra,
Quum sit triste habitu vultuque et veste severum.
Nec dubie tanquam frugi laudatur avarus,
Tanquam parcus homo et rerum tutela suarum
Certa magis quam si fortunas servet easdem
Hesperidum serpens aut Ponticus. Adde quod hunc de

the same hand evidently. The writer of the last was not a Christian, as Cramer observes. He might have added that the other was a Christian, but not a judicious one. 'Verpus' is 'circumcised.' Martial uses it several times. The Romans might be forgiven for this interpretation of the law of Moses when the Jews' own traditions and teachers told them they must love their neighbour and hate their enemy; and Jew and Samaritan thought it strange that our Saviour asked for water from a Samaritan woman and talked with her. A Christian bishop too (Jeremy Taylor, Duct. Dub. ii. 2. 4), says, "The Jews might hate their enemies, but Christians have none. So that by alteration of the subject matter the old law is become new; that is we have a new law." This is not true. "If thine enemy be hungry give him bread to eat, and if he be thirsty give him water to drink" is Solomon's interpretation of the law, and the parable of the good Samaritan succouring a Jew was invented to illustrate the fundamental rule, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Gifford has a good note on this subject.

107. *Sponte tamen juvenes*] But though young men are only too prone to imitate, yet there is one vice of which this cannot be said; to avarice they are not only not prone but even averse ('inviti quoque'). This is true generally but not universally. Horace (S. ii. 3. 168, sqq.) tells a story of one Servius Oppidius of Canusium who had two sons, one of whom carried about his nuts and his dice in a careless way, and gave them away to any one who came, while the other counted his and hid them, always wearing a serious face. This led him to think the one had a natural tendency to extravagance and the other to saving; and those who have watched the different characters of children know that there are some in whom this selfish propensity exists by nature, and has to be checked by generous teaching. Juvenal says that young men are cheated into covetousness by its respectable appearance. There is a gravity and show of self-denial about it. So Oppidius describes his covetous son, "vidi Te, Tiberi, numerare, cavis abscondere tristem." 'Fallit enim' is elliptical, they are bid and they do as they are bid, for they are deceived by the appearance of virtue, though it is but the shadow, which this vice wears. 'Habitu' is the general appearance, and applies equally to 'vultu' and 'veste.' See S. ix. 20: "sumit utrumque Inde habitum facies." 'Frugi' is always used in a good sense for 'prudent.' See Horace, S. ii. 5. 77, n. 'Tutela' is used for 'tutor' by a common figure of speech. Horace has "rerum tutela mearum Cum sis" (Epp. i. 1. 103).

111. *laudatur*] ['laudetur' P., Jahn, Ribbeck. If 'laudetur' is preferred, there must be a comma after 'severum,' and 'nec dubie,' &c. is a continuation of the sentence.]

114. *Hesperidum serpens aut Ponticus.*] The Hesperides watched the apples and the serpent Ladon watched the Hesperides, on Juvenal's principle: "Quis custodiet ipsos Custodes?" Hercules killed him. The golden fleece of Colchis in Pontus was also guarded by a serpent, but Medea put him to sleep and Jason got the fleece. The miser watching his treasures is said to watch better than this. As to the Hesperides see above S. v. 152, n.

—*hunc de Quo loquor*] Juvenal supposes a respectable-looking person of this sort, such as the father might point out to

Quo loquor egregium populus putat acquirendi
Artificem: quippe his crescunt patrimonia fabris:
Sed crescunt quocunque modo, majoraque fiunt
Incude assidua semperque ardente camino.
Et pater ergo animi felices credit avaros,
Qui miratur opes, qui nulla exempla beati
Pauperis esse putat; juvenes hortatur ut illam
Ire viam pergant et eidem incumbere sectae.
Sunt quaedam vitiorum elementa; his protinus illos
Imbuit et cogit minimas ediscere sordes;
Mox acquirendi docet insatiabile votum.
Servorum ventres modio castigat iniquo

his son, as an instance of the benefits of thriftiness.

115. *putat acquirendi*] 'Atque verendum' is the reading of some MSS., of Britannicus and some of the other old editions, and Achaintre who defends it. The reading probably arose out of another 'atque verendi,' which is in some MSS. of repute, and this seems to be a corruption of the true reading in the text, which the modern editors, except Achaintre, have all adopted. 'Artificem' requires a genitive. It treats the man as a workman diligent in his calling, which is to make money, which he gets any way he can ("rem facias, rem, Si possis recte, si non quocunque modo rem," Hor. Epp. i. 1. 65), plying the anvil and working the forge from morning till night.

119. *Et pater ergo*] "The father too, as I said," another instance of 'ergo' in this sense (see x. 54, n.). I do not take it (like Mr. Mayor) to mean because the people admire therefore the father does. The young are taken in by the reputation the miser gets, and also they are influenced by their fathers' example and precept. P. has the true reading 'felices:' most MSS. have 'felicis,' to which, though he does not adopt it, Ruperti affixes his absurd "non male!"

120. *Qui miratur opes,*] Most MSS. have the plural for the singular in this and the two next verbs. P. has the singular. All the Paris MSS. being in favour of the plural, Achaintre has adopted that number and put a full stop at 'avaros.' In this way 'qui mirantur' and 'qui putant' are the subject of 'hortantur.' This makes the three last lines a feeble piece of bathos as ever was written. Madvig (Opp. ii. p. 202) would have the plural in 'mirantur' and 'putant,' but the singular in 'hortatur,' by which 'qui mirantur—putant' is no more than a description and a weak one of 'avaros.' He is not speaking of all fathers, for some are extravagant, but of the money-loving father. And so he says the father thinks the covetous happy, that is, he who admires wealth and thinks there never was an instance of a man who was at once poor and favoured by heaven; such a man advises his sons to go that road and adhere to that sect (as if they were the only philosophers). 'Felices' are happy men; 'beati' are those who prosper or are favoured by the gods. 'Pauper' is not used for an indigent person, but one of small means, and such may prosper; but this father thinks not, because the more a man has the more he gets. As to 'pauper' see Horace, C. i. 1. 18, n.; S. ii. 2. 45.

122. *Ire viam pergant*] P. has 'peragant.' Jahn and Hermann however have the right word.

123. *Sunt quaedam vitiorum elementa;*] He says all vices have their elements as every science has, and in teaching their children this vice of covetousness fathers begin with petty acts of meanness, and afterwards teach it them on the largest scale.

126. *Servorum ventres*] He here gives a description of avarice, such as these fathers would furnish examples of, and the form of the satire changes. He is speaking of the domestic arrangements of the miser, in which he punishes himself not less than his wretched slaves. He serves out their allowance of corn in a false measure, while he starves himself. Theophrastus says of such a man that he knocks in the bottom of the measure and carefully wipes off all that overtops it (Charact. xi.), where

Ipse quoque esuriens; neque enim omnia sustinet unquam
Mucida caerulei panis consumere frusta,
Hesternum solitus medio servare minutal
Septembri, nec non differre in tempora coenae
Alterius conchem aestivam cum parte lacerti
Signatam vel dimidio putrique siluro,
Filaque sectivi numerata includere porri.
Invitatus ad haec aliquis de ponte negabit.
Sed quo divitias haec per tormenta coactas,
Quum furor haud dubius, quum sit manifesta phrenesis,
Ut locuples moriaris egentis vivere fato?
Interea pleno quum turget sacculus ore,
Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crevit;

Casaubon quotes this verse of Juvenal's. As to 'modius' see above, v. 67; and on the slaves' rations see S. vii. 120, "Afrorum epimenia;" and Hor. S. i. 5. 69, n., "cui satis una Farris libra foret."

127. *neque enim omnia sustinet*] 'Neque' is 'not even' (v. 66). 'Sustinere' is often used in this way, as the Greeks used τλῆναι, and as we say 'a man cannot bear to do a thing.' 'Minutal' is minced meat mixed with chopped vegetables and other things. To keep this from one day to another in the closest month of the year was a dirty trick. As to 'conchem' and 'sectivi porri' see S. iii. 293, "Cujus conche tumes? quis tecum sectile porrum," &c. 'Lacertus' was the name of some coarse sea fish which they used to salt and dry. The 'silurus' has been mentioned before, iv. 33. This man seals up the fragments of his miserable supper, at a time of the year when they cannot fail to stink next day, and counts every leek on his rope, and shuts them up in the cupboard too. Juvenal perhaps had in mind Theophrastus' description of the miser (ubi sup.), which ends thus: τὰ δὲ καταλειπόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἡμίση τῶν ῥαφανίδων ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἵνα οἱ διακονοῦντες παῖδες μὴ λάβωσιν, 'to count half the radishes that are left from the table that the servants may not steal them.' Plautus speaks of "triparcos, vetulos, avidos, aridos, qui Salinum servo obsignant cum sale" (Persa ii. 3. 14).

131. *conchem aestivam*] Jahn and Hermann go against their MS. in favour of the common reading 'aestivi' [which Ribbeck also has]. P. has the accusative. Many MSS. have 'concham,' which is not the form Juvenal uses (see last note).

134. *aliquis de ponte*] See iv. 116, n., "dirusque a ponte satelles."

135. *Sed quo divitias*] As to 'quo' see viii. 9. 142, n. Horace says the miser is more mad than any:

"Danda est hellebori multo pars maxima avaris;
Nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem."
(S. ii. 3. 82.)

'Phrenesis' seems to have been borrowed from the Greek after Cicero's time. It was a general term for insanity, while 'furor' commonly and in legal language meant madness with violence.

137. *egentis vivere fato?*] 'Egenti' is the common reading; and Ruperti says it is "rectius forsan, certe doctius." It seems however he preferred the less learned form, for, like the other editors, except Achaintre, he has the genitive, the chief authority for which is P.

138. *quum turget sacculus*] He begins with a small bag, and when that is full he wants more. 'Sacculus' occurs above, xi. 27. 'Crescit' is the reading of most MSS. and old editions; and Ruperti says "forte rectius," but he takes 'crevit.' P. has 'crevit.' Juvenal refers to that which has grown, for the bag is full. The perfect is right. Instead of spending his fortune the man invests it in farms, like those persons whom Horace speaks of, "quorum Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis" (Epp. i. 15. 46, n.). The 'villa' here meant is a 'villa rustica,' a farm house, as opposed to 'villa urbana' a suburban house. It is equivalent to 'fundus,' a farm and the buildings on it. See Hor. S. ii. 5. 108, n.

Et minus hanc optat qui non habet. Ergo paratur
Altera villa tibi quum rus non sufficit unum,
Et proferre libet fines, majorque videtur
Et melior vicina seges: mercaris et hanc et
Arbusta et densa montem qui canet oliva.
Quorum si pretio dominus non vincitur ullo,
Nocte boves macri lassoque famelica collo
Jumenta ad virides hujus mittuntur aristas;
Nec prius inde domum quam tota novalia saevos
In ventres abeant, ut credas falcibus actum.
Dicere vix possis quam multi talia plorent,
Et quot venales injuria fecerit agros.
Sed qui sermones! quam foedae buccina famae!

142. *majorque videtur*] This is what Horace says:

"Quid quod usque proximos
Revellis agri terminos et ultra
Limites clientium
Salis avarus?" (C. ii. 18. 23.)

"—— O si angulus ille
Proximus accedat qui nunc denormat agellum!" (S. ii. 6. 8.)

He says if he wants a field and the owner will not let him have it at any price, he will send his lean hungry cattle on to his ground with the young corn just springing, and they will soon clear it of every blade: and he adds, it is hardly possible to say how many fields have changed hands by such mischief. It seems scarcely credible, but Juvenal writes as if he knew what he was saying. The common reading is 'mittuntur.' Jahn, Hermann, [and Ribbeck] from P. have the future. The common practice is better expressed by the present.

149. *In ventres abeant,*] Again P. preserves the true reading. The common word is 'habeant.'

150. *Dicere vix possis*] Heinrich thinks these two verses heavy, and probably a later addition to the text. It would be hard to say why any body should have taken the trouble to add them, or how they should have occurred to any one but the author. After 'talia' we must understand 'damna,' or something like it. The 'injuria' is a wrong like that just mentioned.

152. *Sed qui sermones!*] "But what talk there will be! what a foul blast will rumour blow!" "What harm can she do me?" says the other; "I do not value at a bean-shell the praise of the whole neighbourhood if I am to be owner of no more than a miserable little farm." (That is, if they will only praise me on those terms.) "Of course then (is the rejoinder) you will gain exemption from the sufferings of humanity, and have your life prolonged and happier than you have ever known it, while you have got as much land under cultivation as the Romans had in the time of Tatius the Sabine king;" that is, at the time when, according to the received story, Tatius and the Sabines were inhabiting the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, and Romulus the Palatine, and the two peoples joined and became one under their respective kings. The extent of land possessed by the Romans at that time, which represents the earliest period of their history, must have been very small. The 'ager Romanus' at a period much later did not extend above five miles from the Pomoerium (the enclosure of the city) towards the sea, and the Romans had then no territory on the other side of the Tiber. Juvenal's conception probably is that of the Romans and Sabines living on the hills they had respectively occupied, and possessing no more than the land immediately at the foot of them. The Roman historians are confused upon this point, and it is one on which very little can be said to any purpose. The Scholiast says, "Si tantum possides solus quantum Populus Rom. possedit, Campum Martium."

— *quam foedae buccina*] P. has 'foede,' which Jahn [and Ribbeck] have adopted but Hermann has not. The adverb is out of place, and it is plainly an error of the copyist. In the next line the common reading is 'quid nocet hoc.' 'Haec' is

"Quid nocet haec?" inquit. "Tunicam mihi malo lupini
Quam si me toto laudet vicinia pago
Exigui ruris paucissima farra secantem."
Scilicet et morbis et debilitate carebis
Et luctum et curam effugies, et tempora vitae
Longa tibi post haec fato meliore dabuntur,
Si tantum culti solus possederis agri
Quantum sub Tatio populus Romanus arabat.
Mox etiam fractis aetate ac Punica passis
Proelia vel Pyrrhum immanem gladiosque Molossos
Tandem pro multis vix jugera bina dabantur
Vulneribus. Merces haec sanguinis atque laboris
Nullis visa unquam meritis minor aut ingratae
Curta fides patriae. Saturabat glebula talis
Patrem ipsum turbamque casae, qua feta jacebat
Uxor, et infantes ludebant quatuor, unus
Vernula, tres domini; sed magnis fratribus horum
A scrobe vel sulco redeuntibus altera coena

the reading of P., which has also 'lupina' (meant for 'lupinae,' the reading of some MSS. and editions).

161. *Mox etiam fractis aetate*]

"'O fortunati mercatores!' gravis annis
Miles ait multo jam fractus membra labore." (Hor. S. i. 1. 4.)

To soldiers who had served their time and were discharged (emeriti) a bounty was given either in money or land. When it was in land the quantity commonly given was two 'jugera' to each man, that is, about an acre and a quarter. This was believed to have been the original allotment of land to citizens by Romulus, and it was retained in the formation of colonies to a late period. (See Livy, vi. 36. Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. ii. p. 48, Engl. Trans.) As to 'Molossos' see note on S. xii. 108. Pyrrhus he calls 'immanis' by way of amplifying. His name never was to the Romans what Hannibal's became. 'Tandem—multis—vix' are all thrown in to strengthen the case.

165. *Nullis visa*] Heinrich thinks it should be 'nulli,' which would sound better. The MSS. have the plural.

166. *Curta fides patriae.*] "A breach of faith on the part of their thankless country" (Mayor). It means rather a scant, shabby discharge of their promise: like 'curta supellex,' 'curto centusse' in Persius (iv. 52; v. 191). So Cicero opposes "curta sententia" to "perfecta atque plena" (de Fin. iv. 14). It makes no material difference if we render 'curta' as a participle, which in fact it is; "nor did their country appear ungrateful or their promise curtailed," that is, of its full accomplishment. 'Gleba' is used for a farm commonly in the law writers. 'Saturabat' is a strong word. They were rewarded to their hearts' content.

168. *unus Vernula, tres domini;*] The slave played with the man's sons, who are called 'domini,' as appears to have been common. Plautus says of the slave who carried off his master's son, "Domo quem profugiens dominum abstulerat vendidit" (Capt. Prol. v. 18). Their grown-up brothers come home from ditching or ploughing, and get a late supper after the others have done (altera coena) of porridge smoking hot in great earthen pots. Juvenal shows great power in these pictures of rude life. Pictures they are and very complete. As to 'puls' see xi. 58. 'Horto' is emphatic. What was enough for their entire subsistence we do not consider enough for a pleasure garden. "Bene dixit plus nunc possideri in horto quam tunc in agro" (Schol.). Horace complains of the waste of useful land upon pleasure grounds and flower gardens, "Jam pauca aratro jugera regiae Moles relinquent" (C. ii. 15).

Amplior et grandes fumabant pultibus ollae.
Nunc modus hic agri nostro non sufficit horto.
Inde fere scelerum causae; nec plura venena
Miscuit aut ferro grassatur saepius ullum
Humanae mentis vitium quam saeva cupido
Immodici census; nam dives qui fieri vult,
Et cito vult fieri. Sed quae reverentia legum,
Quis metus aut pudor est unquam properantis avari?
"Vivite contenti casulis et collibus istis,
O pueri," Marsus dicebat et Hernicus olim
Vestinusque senex; "panem quaeramus aratro
Qui satis est mensis: laudant hoc numina ruris
Quorum ope et auxilio gratae post munus aristae
Contingunt homini veteris fastidia quercus.
Nil vetitum fecisse volet quem non pudet alto
Per glaciem perone tegi, qui summovet Euros

174. *ferro grassatur*] 'Grassor' is only another form of 'gradior,' and properly means no more than 'to go.' But it is commonly used where violence is meant. To go with the sword is to use it. [See S. iii. 305, 'grassator.']

176. *Immodici census;*] This is the reading of P. and a large number of MSS. and of Henninius' and other old editions. From other MSS. and many editions Ruperti has adopted 'indomiti,' thinking "immodici haud dubie ex interpretibus orta. Illam certe librariorum ingenio deberi quis sibi persuadeat?" There is weight in this argument sometimes, but not here, where 'indomiti' has no meaning. Pliny speaks of "indomita prela" (H. N. xvii. 10). But the epithet is more applicable to a wine-press than a man's fortune. It may be observed that Horace always uses 'cupido' in the masculine gender when he is speaking of the love of money.

178. *properantis avari?*] See note on S. ix. 16. Solomon says in his proverbs, "He that hasteth to be rich hath an evil eye" (xxviii. 22). As to 'metus' see above, v. 96, n.

180. *Marsus dicebat et Hernicus*] These were all of that stock, the Sabellian, which was proverbial for the severity and simplicity of their way of living. See S. iii. 169, n. The Vestini reached from the Sabini to the coast of the Hadriatic, including all the country between the rivers Vomanus and Aternus.

183. *gratae post munus aristae*] 'After the welcome gift of corn man despised the old oak that once fed him with acorns.' (See S. vi. 10, and Horace, S. i. 3. 100: "glandem atque cubilia propter," &c.) 'Ope' means the instruments they gave to men, and 'auxilio' is their help, teaching, favour. Virgil has

"Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista." (Georg. i. 7.)

And Ovid (Fasti i. 673, sqq.) says,

"Officium commune Ceres et Terra tuentur:
Haec praebet causam frugibus, illa locum.
Consortes operum per quas correcta vetustas
Quernaque glans victa est utiliore cibo."

185. *quem non pudet*] "Fictilibus coenare pudet" (S. iii. 168). 'Pero' was a thick boot worn by countrymen. It came a little above the ankle (Persius v. 102). 'Summovere' is a word used for summary ejectment by the lictors, and there is meaning in the use of it here. (S. i. 37.) He puts on a skin with the hair inwards and then bids the cold wind begone. He says that outlandish purple we hear of, whatever it may be, leads only to crime and impiety. Phoenician, Laconian, and African purples were most esteemed.

Pellibus inversis. Peregrina ignotaque nobis
Ad scelus atque nefas, quaecunque est, purpura ducit."
Haec illi veteres praecepta minoribus: at nunc
Post finem autumni media de nocte supinum
Clamosus juvenem pater excitat: "Accipe ceras,
Scribe, puer, vigila, causas age, perlege rubras
Majorum leges aut vitem posce libello.
Sed caput intactum buxo naresque pilosas
Annotet et grandes miretur Laelius alas.
Dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum,
Ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus

191. *Accipe ceras,*] The father of the present day makes his son get up in the middle of the night in winter and bids him write, plead, study hard at the law, or petition for a centurion's command, any thing to get money. The titles and first few words of the laws were commonly written with red, called 'rubrica,' from which are derived our word rubric and the use of rubrics. The substance used was 'minium,' vermilion; so Cicero speaks to Atticus of his "cerae miniatulae" (xvi. 11) and "miniatae" (xv. 14). It was common to make corrections in red, and to these Cicero is good-humouredly referring. Quintilian (Inst. xii. 3) speaks of those "qui se ad album ac rubricas transtulerunt," that is, who had taken to the study of the law, 'album' representing the edicts of the praetors, and 'rubricae' the 'leges.' (See Dict. Ant., 'Album' and 'Atramentum.') See Persius v. 90: "Excepto si quid Masuri rubrica vetavit." 'Libellus' is a petition. 'Vitem' is the vine-switch used for military floggings (viii. 247, n.). The 'tribunus' was the only officer who had the authority to order a military flogging, but the inferior officers inflicted the cane summarily it appears (see Lipsius, de Mil. Rom. v. 18).

194. *Sed caput intactum buxo*] 'Buxo' is here put for a comb of box-wood. Ovid (Fast. vi. 229) has

"Non mihi detonsos (dentosa) crines depectere buxo,
Non ungues ferro subsecuisse licet."

Martial writes an epigram to a bald person (xiv. 25):

"Quid faciet nullos hic inventura capillos
Multifido buxus quae tibi dente datur?"

The man tells his son he must let his hair grow wild and let the officer see that he is a rough shaggy fellow. See Persius iii. 77, n.: "Hic aliquis de gente hircosa centurionum." "Hispida membra quidem et durae per brachia setae Promittunt atrocem animum" (S. ii. 11). Laelius is put for the commander of the troops to whom his petition, if he presented one, would be referred.

196. *Dirue Maurorum attegias,*] 'Attegia' Forcellini supposes to be an African word. It is a hut. The Brigantes were a British people occupying the north of England from Mancunium (Manchester) on the south-west to Segedunum (Shields) on the north-east. Their chief town was Eboracum (York). Tacitus (Agric. xvii.) speaks of the Brigantes as being the largest tribe in Britain. They also occupied the hill country of Cumberland and Westmoreland, in which they had probably many of the 'castella' Juvenal mentions. They gave a good deal of trouble to Agricola, and it appears they were not quiet when this satire was written. The date cannot however be fixed.

197. *Ut locupletem aquilam*] Pliny speaking of the vine (H. N. xiv. 1, sub fin.) has these words: "Quid quod insertae castris summam rerum imperiumque continent? Centurionum in manu vitis et opimo praemio tardos ordines ad lentas perducit aquilas, atque etiam in delictis poenam ipsam honorat." This explains this verse and 193. The 'primipilus centurio' (x. 94, n.) had charge of the eagle of the legion, and was above all the centurions in rank and pay. The promotion of the centurions, as Pliny's remark shows, was slow. Lipsius says they rose from the lowest grade to the highest by rotation, except in cases of extraordinary merit (de Mil. Rom. ii. 8). The ten cohorts of the

Afferat: aut longos castrorum ferre labores
Si piget et trepidum solvunt tibi cornua ventrem
Cum lituis audita, pares quod vendere possis
Pluris dimidio, nec te fastidia mercis
Ullius subeant ablegandae Tiberim ultra,
Neu credas ponendum aliquid discriminis inter
Unguenta et corium. Lucri bonus est odor ex re
Qualibet. Illa tuo sententia semper in ore
Versetur dis atque ipso Jove digna poetae:
Unde habeas quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere."
Hoc monstrant vetulae pueris repentibus assae;
Hoc discunt omnes ante alpha et beta puellae.

legio consisted of thirty 'manipuli,' and in each 'manipulus' there were two centurions. The 'decima cohors' was the lowest, and the centurions in that were at the bottom of the list. The title 'primipilus' continued after the division of the legion which gave rise to it was discontinued.

199. *solvunt tibi cornua ventrem*] This is a ludicrous way of expressing fear. Most MSS. have 'trepido,' which Achaintre has edited. P. and most editors have the accusative. The 'cornu' and 'lituus' are commonly opposed. They were both curved, and the 'lituus' was used by the cavalry. See note on Hor. C. i. 1. 23, and C. ii. 1. 17:

"Jam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
Perstringis aures, jam litui strepunt."

'Pluris dimidio' is a common way of speaking like the little frog's answer to her mother, "major dimidio" (Hor. S. ii. 3. 318).

201. *nec te fastidia mercis*] This is explained by what follows. The man says to his son "don't turn up your nose at any kind of wares though they have to be sent beyond the Tiber, or think it necessary to make any difference between perfumes and hide." Tanning and other work of an offensive kind must be carried on beyond the river.

204. *Lucri bonus est odor ex re Qualibet.*] This the commentators illustrate by the following story told of Vespasian by Suetonius (c. 23): "Reprehendenti filio Tito quod etiam urinae vectigal commentus esset, pecuniam ex prima pensione admovit ad nares, sciscitans 'num odore offenderetur:' et illo negante, 'Atqui (inquit) e lotio est.'" The ancients tried metal by the smell. So Martial (ix. 60) has "Consuluit nares an olerent aera Corinthon." The case would be more in point if the subject were not taxation. If the morality of commerce is to rise no higher than the morality of taxes it will stand very low. Witness the tax on professional incomes.

206. *dis atque ipso Jove digna poetae:*] This way of speaking, where a general term is followed by a particular which is involved in it, is very common in Greek and Latin. It is uncertain what poet Juvenal gets his verse from or whether he gives the words of the poet or adapts them. A like sentiment is quoted from a tragic poet (apparently) by Seneca (Epp. 115): "Non quare et unde: quid habeas tantum rogant." P. has 'poeta' to agree with 'Jove.' Jahn, Hermann, [and Ribbeck] have 'poeta.'

208. *vetulae pueris repentibus assae;*] 'Assus' is 'dry,' and 'assa nutrix' is 'a dry nurse,' as the Scholiast explains it here. "Nutricula sicca vetusta infantibus monstrat" is the form of the Scholium, but 'sicca' and 'vetusta' are probably only glosses upon 'assa.' (See Forcellini.) The MSS. have various readings. P. and some others and the Scholiast have that of the text. Lubinus, Henninius, and some other old editions have the same, which is that of the modern editors. 'Poscentibus assem' is the reading of most MSS., for which some have 'repetentibus.' This has probably come from the true word 'repentibus,' and 'poscentibus' has been substituted as a more appropriate word than 'repetentibus.'

209. *Hoc discunt omnes*] The girls were taught the same lesson before they began to read. Horace says of this learning (Epp. i. 1. 54):

Talibus instantem monitis quemcunque parentem
Sic possem affari: Dic, o vanissime, quis te
Festinare jubet? meliorem praesto magistro
Discipulum. Securus abi, vinceris, ut Ajax
Praeteriit Telamonem, ut Pelea vicit Achilles.
Parcendum est teneris; nondum implevere medullas
Maturae mala nequitiae. Quum pectere barbam
Coeperit et longi mucronem admittere cultri,
Falsus erit testis, vendet perjuria summa
Exigua, Cereris tangens aramque pedemque.
Elatam jam crede nurum, si limina vestra
Mortifera cum dote subit. Quibus illa premetur
Per somnum digitis! nam quae terraque marique
Acquirenda putas brevior via conferet illi.
Nullus enim magni sceleris labor. "Haec ego nunquam
Mandavi," dices olim, "nec talia suasi."
Mentis causa malae tamen est et origo penes te.
Nam quisquis magni census praecepit amorem
Et laevo monitu pueros producit avaros,

"—— haec Janus summus ab imo
Perdocet, haec recinunt juvenes dictata senesque
Laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto."

210. *quemcunque*] See above, v. 42, n.

212. *meliorem praesto magistro*] 'Praesto' is 'I warrant,' and 'fore' may be supplied after 'meliorem.' He says to the father he need not be in a hurry; he may go away and make himself easy; his son is certain to turn out a good scholar and surpass his teacher as far as Ajax surpassed his father Telamon, and Achilles Peleus. He adds sarcastically, "you must not press the young mind; his marrow is not yet thoroughly saturated with the atrocities of matured vice; when he comes to man's estate he will be ripe for all that is wicked." The expression 'nondum implevere medullas' is something like that in the book of Job (xx. 13): "His bones are full of the sin of his youth."

216. *Quum pectere barbam*] See vi. 215, n. Before 'quum' Jahn, Hermann, [and Ribbeck], after one MS. and two of the old editors, have introduced 'ast.' P. has 'nequitia est.' The particle is not wanted and is extremely awkward. As to 'tangens aram' see S. iii. 145, n.; xiii. 89.

220. *Elatam jam crede nurum,*] "You may consider your daughter-in-law as good as dead and buried if she brings your son a large portion." Her 'dos' would be to her what another gift is said to be to others: "Torrens dicendi copia multis Et sua mortifera est facundia" (x. 10). Except under special agreement before marriage the wife's 'dos' went back to her relations at her death. Here the man must secure an interest in the property at his wife's death, or it would be against his interest to murder her. The way in which a woman was carried over the threshold of her new home on the day of her marriage is related in Dict. Ant., 'Roman Marriage.' 'Quibus digitis!' is expressive—'with what fingers!' We can almost see the man clutching his wife's throat. Ruperti's proposal to put a (?) after 'digitis' (ut sensus sit, Quibusnam aliis quam mariti sui qui tuus est filius?) destroys the meaning altogether.

225. *Mandavi,*] 'Man-dare' is used here like 'tra-dere' for teaching (see above, v. 3, n.).

228. *pueros producit avaros,*] 'Producere' is here to educate, as in S. vi. 241: "utile porro Filiolam turpi vetulae producere turpem," where the construction is the same. The next line is omitted in some MSS., but not in the best. It has no grammatical connexion with the sentence;

Et qui per fraudes patrimonia conduplicare,
Dat libertatem et totas effundit habenas
Curriculo; quem si revoces subsistere nescit
Et te contempto rapitur metisque relictis.
Nemo satis credit tantum delinquere quantum
Permittas: adeo indulgent sibi latius ipsi.
Quum dicis juveni stultum qui donet amico,
Qui paupertatem levet attollatque propinqui,
Et spoliare doces et circumscribere et omni
Crimine divitias acquirere, quarum amor in te
Quantus erat patriae Deciorum in pectore, quantum
Dilexit Thebas, si Graecia vera, Menoeceus,
In quorum sulcis legiones dentibus anguis
Cum clipeis nascuntur et horrida bella capessunt
Continuo, tanquam et tubicen surrexerit una:—
Ergo ignem cujus scintillas ipse dedisti

either therefore another line has been lost or this is the work of an interpolator who forgot to finish the mischief he had begun. The language in v. 230, sqq. is taken as is manifest from the chariot races, like that of Virgil quoted by the Scholiast (Georg. i. fin.):

"Ut quum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae,
Addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens
Fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas."

231. *quem si revoces*] The antecedent to 'quem' is easily supplied by substituting 'juveni' for 'curriculo.' The chariot represents the son, who is the real subject of the sentence. So immediately below (v. 241) for 'quorum,' 'Thebanos' must be substituted for 'Thebas,' which is the same thing, as 'civitas' is equivalent sometimes to 'cives,' πόλις to πολῖται, and so forth. The change of person in 'revoces' only makes the sentence more pointed. 'Nescit' is used as Horace and others use 'nescius:' "Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii," "Pelides' wrath who will not yield" (C. i. 6. 6). Other examples are quoted there.

234. *adeo indulgent sibi latius ipsi.*] 'Adeo' belongs to 'indulgent;' "so determined are they to take a wider indulgence without asking your leave" (ipsi). "Adeo plus peccare cupiunt" (Schol.). "Usque adeo semper plus peccare gaudent" (Lubinus). Mr. Mayor takes it with 'latius,' "So much more unrestrained liberty do they allow themselves." With 'stultum' in the next verse we must supply 'esse eum.'

237. *et circumscribere*] See x. 222: "quot circumscripserit Hirrus Pupillos." Before 'quantus' 'tantus' must be supplied. See note on S. x. 13. As to the Decii see viii. 254, n. Menoeceus the son of Creon was said to have sacrificed himself when Thebes was besieged by the seven chiefs. Teiresias the seer prophesied that if he did so the Thebans would gain the victory (Euripides, Phoenissae, v. 913). Juvenal likes a stroke at Greek history (see x. 174); he therefore goes out of his way, and having spoken of Thebes he adds the legend of Cadmus sowing the dragon's teeth from which the Thebans sprung, and says the soldiers whom this sowing produced fell to fighting straightway as if a trumpeter had been born with them. From the earliest times to the present the trumpet in some shape has been used for battle signals, in all nations civilized and uncivilized. Ruperti thinks these verses are "parum opportuni," and betray too much eagerness on the poet's part to exhibit his art and learning. Such learning certainly must have astonished all Rome. As to 'quorum' (241) see note on 231. The reading of a few MSS., 'quarum,' is an attempt to improve the text.

244. *Ergo ignem*] A sentence is begun at 'Quum dicis juveni' (235), and the end of it is lost sight of. But the subject is

Flagrantem late et rapientem cuncta videbis.
Nec tibi parcetur misero, trepidumque magistrum
In cavea magno fremitu leo tollet alumnus.
Nota mathematicis genesis tua: sed grave tardas
Exspectare colus. Morieris stamine nondum
Abrupto. Jam nunc obstas et vota moraris,
Jam torquet juvenem longa et cervina senectus.
Ocius Archigenen quaere atque eme quod Mithridates
Composuit, si vis aliam decerpere ficum
Atque alias tractare rosas. Medicamen habendum est
Sorbere ante cibum quod debeat et pater et rex.

taken up again here, and 'ergo' carries the mind back over the digression (x. 54). It does not mean "since your love of money is so ardent, 238" (Mayor).

246. *trepidumque magistrum*] "The lion you have reared will loudly roar and kill his trembling keeper in his cage." What follows explains this. 'Que' is sometimes used after negative sentences where an adversative particle might be expected. 'Nec tibi' is 'not even you,' as above, v. 127. In the reign of Domitian a lion killed its keeper, and Martial made it an occasion for flattering the emperor as usual (de Spect. x.):

"Laeserat ingrato leo perfidus ore magistrum,
Ausus tam notas contemerare manus.
Sed dignas tanto persolvit crimine poenas,
Et qui non tulerat verbera tela tulit.
Quos decet esse hominum tali sub principe mores,
Qui jubet ingenium mitius esse feris?"

248. *Nota mathematicis genesis tua:*] "The astrologers have calculated your nativity, you may say, and you are destined to live long. But your son will not wait till your thread is run out: it's tiresome to wait upon the tardy distaff: you'll die before the thread is broken off." See iii. 27, x. 252, xii. 64. As to the astrologers see notes on S. iii. 42, vi. 553, 565. Mr. Mayor's explanation, "your son has learnt from the astrologers your nativity," does not represent the sense or the grammar of 'Nota mathematicis genesis tua.' He has followed Ruperti. 'Jam nunc' is even at this moment you are in his way. This makes the matter very pressing, and is a humorous way of bringing it home to the man. He must almost feel the poison in his stomach. To keep up the effect he tells him to make all haste and go to the doctor and get an antidote. Mithridates VI., king of Pontus, was in the habit of taking antidotes, and had so fortified his constitution by their means that when he wished to poison himself he could not, and was obliged to get a soldier to kill him. See vi. 661: "Pontica ter victi cautus medicamina regis." Gellius (xvii. 16) says, on the authority of Lenaeus, one of the earliest Roman writers on medicine, that the blood of Pontic geese formed a principal ingredient in these antidotes. As to Archigenes the physician see vi. 236, n.

251. *longa et cervina senectus.*] As to the age of stags Pliny (H. N. vii. 48) refers to a statement of Hesiod in which he attributes to the raven nine lives of man, to the stag four times the raven's, and to the crow three times the stag's. To man he gives 96 years; so the stag, as Sir Thomas Browne observes, has a life of 3456 years, "a conceit hard to be made out" he adds. Pliny does not give credit to the computation of Hesiod. Aristotle (Hist. An. vi. 29) denies the longevity of the animal, and Browne allows it 36 or 40 years, and "thereby it will exceed all cornigerous animals" (Vulgar Errors iii. 9).

254. *Atque alias tractare rosas.*] This represents the spring, as the figs the autumn, "dum ficus prima calorque Designatorem decorat lictoribus atris" (Hor. Epp. i. 7. 5). 'Atque' is 'and even,' so it has force, which it has not as Ruperti explains it, "si vis auctumnum et ver aliud videre, h. e. vel annum vivere."

255. *et pater et rex.*] P. has kept the true reading 'et' instead of 'aut.' While Mithridates was laying plans for the recovery of Pontus, which Cn. Pompeius had taken from him, a conspiracy was formed against him by his son and heir Pharnaces.

Monstro voluptatem egregiam cui nulla theatra,
Nulla aequare queas Praetoris pulpita lauti,
Si spectes quanto capitis discrimine constent
Incrementa domus, aerata multus in arca
Fiscus et ad vigilem ponendi Castora nummi,
Ex quo Mars Ultor galeam quoque perdidit et res
Non potuit servare suas. Ergo omnia Florae
Et Cereris licet et Cybeles aulaea relinquas;
Tanto majores humana negotia ludi.
An magis oblectant animum jactata petauro
Corpora quique solet rectum descendere funem,
Quam tu Corycia semper qui puppe moraris

The army abandoned the king and supported his son, which led Mithridates to destroy himself. Whether Juvenal had this in mind or not I am not sure. What he says amounts to this, that fathers equally with kings should take drugs before their meals lest they be poisoned. So the Scholiast says, "Pater qui perniciosum filium habet aeque debet timere saluti suae sicut rex." "Ipsum autem regem (scriptum est) assiduo talium medelarum usu a clandestinis epularum insidiis cavisse." This is what Gellius says (xvii. 16).

256. *Monstro voluptatem egregiam*] This is addressed to the reader. He says it is better than a play to watch these people getting money. As to the Praetor see S. viii. 194, n. On 'pulpita' see iii. 174, n., and 'lauti' xi. 1. 'Constent' means 'they cost.' As to 'arca,' see note on x. 25: "ut maxima toto Nostra sit arca foro." 'Aerata' is 'bound with bronze.' The temple of Castor was in the Forum Romanum, and near it the bankers had their places of business. They kept the cash-chests of their customers in this temple, where there were sentries. See Cicero pro P. Quintio, c. 4: "nisi ad Castoris quaesisset quantum solveretur," and Long's note. As to 'fiscus' see S. iv. 55, n. It is here put for private money, which is not its technical sense. The temple of Mars Ultor was in the Forum Augusti. He says the people took to keeping their money in Castor's temple ever since Mars the Avenger was robbed of his helmet, and showed he couldn't take care of his own property. It is not known what act of sacrilege Juvenal is alluding to. No doubt it was well understood.

262. *Ergo omnia Florae*] As to the Floralia see vi. 250, and on the Megalesia or festival of Cybele, xi. 193. The Cerealia were held in April and lasted one day. There were plays acted at all these festivals, and that is the meaning of 'aulaea,' as in vi. 67, where see note.

265. *jactata petauro Corpora*] 'Petaurum' is a Greek word *πέδαυρον*, or as it is in Theocritus (xiii. 13) *πέτευρον*. Photius (p. 426. 12) gives its meaning thus: *πέτευρον· πᾶν τὸ μακρὸν καὶ ὑπόπλατυ καὶ μετέωρον ξύλον*. This also gives the derivation, *μετέωρον*, up in the air. With the Romans it seems to have been used for different kinds of amusement. See Forcellini. In a fragment of Lucilius quoted by Festus, "Sicut mechanici cum alto exsiluere petauro," it appears to mean a stage from which persons took flying leaps, and that is probably the meaning here. There was a spring perhaps which helped the jumper, and explains 'jactata corpora' in this place. The jumpers or whatever they were, were called 'petauristae.' In some cases a wheel was used, on the opposite sides of which two persons hung, it would seem, and as the wheel went round one went up and the other down. The 'rectus funis' is the tight rope. 'Funambuli,' or *σχοινοβάται*, as the Greeks called them, carried their art to great perfection at Rome. Horace illustrates the highest order of genius by this art:

"Ille per extentum funem mihi posse videtur
Ire poeta meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet."
(Epp. ii. 1. 210.)

267. *Corycia semper qui puppe*] Corycia is put for Cilician, Corycus being a promontory of Cilicia. Among the products of that country largely exported to Rome was saf-

Atque habitas, Coro semper tollendus et Austro,
Perditus ac vilis sacci mercator olentis;
Qui gaudes pingue antiquae de litore Cretae
Passum et municipes Jovis advexisse lagenas?
Hic tamen ancipiti figens vestigia planta
Victum illa mercede parat brumamque famemque
Illa reste cavet; tu propter mille talenta
Et centum villas temerarius. Aspice portus
Et plenum magnis trabibus mare; plus hominum est jam
In pelago; veniet classis quocunque vocarit
Spes lucri, nec Carpathium Gaetulaque tantum

fron. Horace speaks of it as an ingredient in an excellent sauce (S. ii. 4. 68: "Corycioque croco sparsum stetit"). This explains 'sacci olentis,' the sweet-smelling bag. Ruperti says Corycus in Crete is meant, because Crete is mentioned below (v. 270), which, if there were no better reason, would show that this is not Crete. The author of the article 'Corycus' (the Cretan) in Dict. Geog. says Juvenal's vessel "evidently belonged to this town." There is no evidence of the kind. As to Corus see x. 180. Hermann thinks v. 269 an interpolation because of its "nimia acerbitas," and he adds "ipsum orationis cursum inanis amplificationis strepitus tardat," which is not intelligible to me.

271. *Passum et municipes Jovis*] 'Passum' was 'raisin wine,' for which Crete was famous. Martial calls it the poor man's 'mulsum:'

"Gnossia Minoae genuit vindemia Cretae
Hoc tibi, quod mulsum pauperis esse solet." (xiii. 106.)

The Cretans had a Zeus of their own. Rhea, to save the child she was ready to give birth to from his father Cronos, hid herself in a cave of Mount Dicte or Ida in Crete, with which island the early years of Zeus are commonly connected (see xiii. 41). The wine-jars therefore are said to be countrymen of Jove's, as the 'siluri' are called 'municipes' of Crispinus (iv. 33).

272. *Hic tamen*] That is the 'funambulus' (v. 266). "The rope-dancer however, if he hazards his life, does so to avoid starvation: you hazard yours not to obtain necessaries but superfluities, to add another to your 999 talents or your 99 mansions" (Mayor). I see nothing about 999 talents or 99 mansions. He says the man follows his rash trade to get a great deal of money and a great many houses, while the other follows his to keep out cold and hunger. See above, v. 86, n.: "Aedificator erat Cetronius." 'Es' must be understood after 'temerarius.'

276. *plenum magnis trabibus mare;*] 'Trabs' is sometimes used for a ship, as in Horace, C. i. 1. 13: "ut trabe Cypria Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare." Achaintre's note on 'plus hominum est jam,' "Qui naufragium pertulerunt quam qui evaserunt," is derived from the Scholiast, who is plainly wrong. Juvenal says there are more men at sea than on shore. The use of the comparative where one branch of the comparison is not expressed is common: as, for instance, v. 31 of this satire: "velocius et citius nos Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica." The Carpathian sea was named from the island Carpathos directly between Rhodes and Crete.

"Quicunque Bithyna lacessit
Carpathium pelagus carina."
(Hor. C. i. 35. 8.)

Gaetulia only touched the coast of the Atlantic. It was separated from the Mediterranean by Mauretania, Numidia, and the province Africa; but 'Gaetuli' is commonly used for the Africans, and here 'Gaetula aequora' is put loosely for the African waters of the Mediterranean. Mons Calpe is the present Rock of Gibraltar. Juvenal says this multitude of ships will not only cross the Carpathian and Libyan seas, but pass the pillars of Hercules (of which Calpe was one and Abyla on the African coast was the other) and hear the sun hissing as he sets in the western waters. Horace uses 'transilio' in this way: "Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada" (C. i. 3. 24).

Aequora transiliet, sed longe Calpe relicta
Audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.
Grande operae pretium est ut tenso folle reverti
Inde domum possis, tumidaque superbus aluta
Oceani monstra et juvenes vidisse marinos.
Non unus mentes agitat furor. Ille sororis
In manibus vultu Eumenidum terretur et igni,
Hic bove percusso mugire Agamemnona credit
Aut Ithacum. Parcat tunicis licet atque lacernis,
Curatoris eget qui navem mercibus implet
Ad summum latus et tabula distinguitur unda,
Quum sit causa mali tanti et discriminis hujus
Concisum argentum in titulos faciesque minutas.
Occurrunt nubes et fulgura; "Solvite funem,"
Frumenti dominus clamat piperisve coempti;
"Nil color hic caeli, nil fascia nigra minatur;

281. *Grande operae pretium*] This is a common expression. See ix. 28, xii. 127, and vi. 474, n. As to 'follis' see xiii. 61, n. 'Aluta' is prepared leather. In vii. 192 it is used for a shoe. Here it means a leathern purse and 'tumida' like 'tenso' means that it is well filled. The name is from 'alumen' (alum), in which it was steeped to soften it. So we are told in Dict. Ant., art. 'Calceus.' 'Juvenes marinos' the Scholiast explains to be the Tritons and Nereids, Heinrich "the young gentlemen and ladies of the sea." Horace asks,

"Quem mortis timuit gradum
Qui siccis oculis monstra natantia,
Qui vidit mare turgidum?"
(C. i. 3. 17.)

284. *Non unus mentes agitat furor.*] He goes back to what he said in v. 136, that avarice is madness. Some are mad one way and some another. Orestes was driven mad by the Erinnyes of his mother, and Ajax was mad when he flogged the beasts and thought he was listening to the cries of Agamemnon and Ulysses. The allusion in the first case is to a scene in the Orestes of Euripides (v. 266, sqq.) where he becomes suddenly wild and cries,

ὦ Φοῖβ', ἀποκτενοῦσί μ' αἱ κυνώπιδες,
γοργῶπες, ἐνέρων ἱερίαι, δειναὶ θεαί,

and his sister Electra, who has her arms round him, answers,

οὔτοι μεθήσω· χεῖρα δ' ἐμπλέξασ' ἐμὴν
σχήσω σε πηδᾶν δυστυχῆ πηδήματα.

The second case is taken from the second scene of Sophocles' play of Ajax.

287. *Parcat tunicis licet atque lacernis,*] Though he does not tear his clothes, the man is mad and wants a guardian who tempts the sea for gain. As to 'lacerna' see S. i. 27, n. 'Curator' is the technical name for the guardian of an insane person. He was chosen by the praetor from among the 'agnati' (relations in the male line) of the patient. See note on Hor. S. ii. 3. 217: "interdicto huic omne adimat jus Praetor et ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos." As to 'tabula distinguitur unda' see S. xii. 58. He describes money as silver engraved with inscriptions and miniatures.

290. *hujus*] 'such as this.' See xiii. 103, n.

293. *piperisve coempti;*] The ancients got their pepper from India probably through Syria. P. and other MSS. have 've;' other MSS. have 'que.' It does not much matter, though 've' may be more accurate. Corn and pepper need not be supposed to form the same cargo, even if we have 'que,' which Heinrich has.

294. *nil fascia nigra minatur;*] 'Fascia' is a bandage (see S. vi. 263; ix. 14), and the Scholiast explains it here as "nubes ducta per caelum." It is nowhere else used in any such sense, but it is easily understood.

Aestivum tonat." Infelix hac forsitan ipsa
Nocte cadet fractis trabibus, fluctuque premetur
Obrutus et zonam laeva morsuque tenebit.
Sed cujus votis modo non suffecerat aurum
Quod Tagus et rutila volvit Pactolus arena,
Frigida sufficient velantes inguina panni
Exiguusque cibus, mersa rate naufragus assem
Dum rogat et picta se tempestate tuetur.
Tantis parta malis cura majore metuque
Servantur. Misera est magni custodia census.
Dispositis praedives hamis vigilare cohortem
Servorum noctu Licinus jubet, attonitus pro
Electro signisque suis Phrygiaque columna
Atque ebore et lata testudine. Dolia nudi
Non ardent Cynici: si fregeris, altera fiet
Cras domus, aut eadem plumbo commissa manebit.
Sensit Alexander, testa quum vidit in illa

The man is so eager to be off on his voyage that he does not mind the threatening sky, and says it is only summer thunder. Perhaps the same night his ship goes to pieces and he has to swim for his life, with his money bags in his left hand and in his mouth. A purse was called 'zona' from being carried in the girdle. See Hor. Epp. ii. 2. 40, n.: "Ibit eo quo vis qui zonam perdidit, inquit." Heinrich thinks it should be 'morsuve.' The MSS. have 'que,' and he seems to mean that the man carries his bags in both hand and mouth.

298. *Sed cujus votis modo non*] 'Sed' seems to mean 'but more than this.' Heinrich takes 'modo non' together, so as to be equivalent to 'vix.' I think he is mistaken, and that 'modo' is 'but now.' One day saw the man with grand expectations, the next day saw him a beggar. He for whom lately the gold of the Tagus had not been enough will be satisfied with a rag about his loins and a morsel of food got by begging. Mr. Long thinks 'modo' belongs to 'votis.' "It limits the word to which it is joined, as in 'tantum modo,' 'so much and no more.' So this expresses the extravagance of the man's wishes; 'his bare wishes' all Pactolus would not have satisfied." This is true, but here I still incline to think 'modo' is 'lately.' It is a common meaning.

299. *Quod Tagus*] See iii. 55, n. The Pactolus was in Lydia. See Hor. Epod. xv. 20: "Tibique Pactolus fluat." The pictures of their wreck which were hung up by those who could afford it in the temples (S. xii. 27, n.) were carried about by others to excite pity and get alms. See Pers. i. 88.

306. *Servorum noctu Licinus jubet,*] As to this man see S. i. 109, n.: "Pallante et Licinis." This man posted a whole regiment of slaves about his house with buckets (hamis) for fear of fire. 'Attonitus' is only a stronger word for 'territus,' he was wild with fear for his fine things. It is used in the same way above, xii. 21. As to 'electrum' see v. 38, "Heliadum crustas;" 'signis,' viii. 110; 'Phrygiaque columna,' above, 89; 'ebur,' xi. 123, sqq.; 'testudine,' vi. 80, n., xi. 95, n.

308. *Dolia nudi Non ardent Cynici:*] He says the Cynic's tub does not take fire. This is Diogenes. He calls him 'nudus' because he wore no tunic. See note on S. xiii. 122. The 'dolium' was made of clay. If any one broke it, he could make another next day, or patch the old one with lead. It is not "a new tub will be made and the old one turned to some account" (Mayor), even if the true reading be 'atque' which Jahn, Hermann, [and Ribbeck] adopt from P. and other MSS. 'Atque' would mean 'nay more than that, he will patch up the old one and let it stay.' 'Aut' is the reading of most MSS. Either will do in my opinion.

311. *Sensit Alexander,*] The story of Alexander's interview with Diogenes, and

Magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior hic qui
Nil cuperet quam qui totum sibi posceret orbem,
Passurus gestis aequanda pericula rebus.
Nullum numen abest si sit Prudentia: nos te,
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam. Mensura tamen quae
Sufficiat census si quis me consulat edam:
In quantum sitis atque fames et frigora poscunt,
Quantum, Epicure, tibi parvis suffecit in hortis,
Quantum Socratici ceperunt ante penates.
Nunquam aliud Natura aliud Sapientia dicit.
Acribus exemplis videor te claudere: misce
Ergo aliquid nostris de moribus; effice summam
Bis septem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis.
Haec quoque si rugam trahit extenditque labellum,
Sume duos Equites, fac tertia quadringenta.
Si nondum implevi gremium, si panditur ultra,

how the Cynic asked him not to stand between him and the sun, is known to every schoolboy. Plutarch (vit. Alex. c. 14) tells it thus: ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος (Alexander) ἀσπασάμενος καὶ προσειπὼν αὐτὸν (Diogenes), ἠρώτησεν εἴ τινος τυγχάνει δεόμενος· ‘μικρὸν,’ εἶπεν, ‘ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μεταστῆθι.’ Πρὸς τοῦτο λέγεται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὕτω διατεθῆναι καὶ θαυμάσαι καταφρονηθέντα τὴν ὑπεροψίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ὥστε τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀπῄεσαν διαγελώντων καὶ σκωπτόντων, ‘ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐγὼ,’ εἶπεν, ‘εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤμην Διογένης ἂν ἤμην,’ which does not mean, as it is commonly rendered, that if he had not been Alexander he should have wished to be like Diogenes, but that he should have been like to him in his contempt for the world. The answers this unmannerly Cynic is said to have got from Aristippus are told in Horace (Epp. i. 17. 13, sqq.). As to Alexander see x. 168: "Unus Pellaeo juveni non sufficit orbis." Juvenal calls Diogenes ‘Magnum,’ perhaps because Alexander was so called.

315. *Nullum numen abest*] [In this passage Pω have ‘habes:’ some have ‘abest.’ The writer, says Ribbeck, repeats the words ‘nullum numen . . . deam’ (x. 365) with evident pleasure. But there is no pleasure in reading the words here, for they have no intelligible connexion with the context.] ‘In quantum’ means no more than ‘quantum:’ it is ‘to whatever lengths.’ As to Epicurus see xiii. 123, n. The modesty of Socrates' wants is well known from the Memorabilia of Xenophon and the Clouds of Aristophanes, who made it a matter of ridicule.

321. *Sapientia*] [Nature which the Stoics professed to follow as their guide never differs from Sapientia or philosophy. (See S. xiii. 20.) M. Antoninus says (vii. 11): "To the rational animal the same act is according to nature and according to reason."]

322. *videor te claudere:*] He says "perhaps I seem to confine you by too rigid examples: well then, mix a little of modern life with theirs: go as far as the amount Otho fixed for the census of an eques; or if this is not enough, if this makes you frown and pout your lip, take the worth of two equites or even three; make up a third 400,000:" ‘millia’ is to be supplied. All this is explained on S. iii. 154. The way of speaking is like Persius vi. 78, sqq. [Ribbeck has ‘ludere’ for ‘claudere,’ a conjecture, I suppose, derived from ‘cludere,’ the reading of Pg; and a bad conjecture.]

327. *Si nondum implevi gremium,*] ‘Gremium’ is so used in S. vii. 215: "Quis gremio Enceladi doctique Palaemonis affert Quantum grammaticus meruit labor?" It is the fold of the toga in which the purse was commonly carried. Narcissus was the chief favourite of Claudius Caesar. He made a fortune of more than 100,000,000 sesterces (about 800,000*l.*) according to Dion (60. 34). It was he and not Clau-

Nec Croesi fortuna unquam, nec Persica regna
Sufficient animo, nec divitiae Narcissi,
Indulsit Caesar cui Claudius omnia, cujus
Paruit imperiis uxorem occidere jussus.

dius who ordered the death of Messalina (see x. 339, n., and Tac. Ann. xxi. 37, 38). Claudius was little more than a cypher in his own court, "adeo illum nemo curabat," Seneca says.

SATIRA XV.

INTRODUCTION.

This satire must have been written after Juvenal's residence in Egypt. Under what circumstances he went to that country there is not sufficient authority for saying with any certainty. In v. 27 there is an allusion which gives fair ground for supposing that the poem was written in the reign of Hadrian (see note). It turns upon a case said to have happened not long before. The people of Ombi (v. 35), a town in Upper Egypt, worshipped the crocodile, while those of Tentyra (nearly a hundred miles lower down the Nile) were opposed to that worship, and were particularly distinguished for their skill and courage in killing the crocodile. This caused a feud between the two peoples, and while the Ombites were celebrating a religious festival the Tentyrites came and attacked them. The Ombites were put to flight, and the Tentyrites are represented as having caught one of them and in their fury having eaten him up. This story gives occasion for a good deal of strong contemptuous writing against the Egyptians, their religion and morals, a vivid description of the above savage scene, set off by some fine lines on the more tender instincts of human nature, and the ties of sympathy that unite mankind. The principal subject is revolting, and it was not possible to make it one of general interest. It seems as if the story, whether true or not, had been repeated to Juvenal and had called up all the prejudices a residence among these people had created in his mind. His power in sketching scenes from real life has been seen in the course of these satires, and here we have a picture on a larger scale drawn with a strong and rough hand, such as nearly all his pictures show.

The Satire is addressed to Volusius Bithynicus, whoever he may have been. Perhaps he is no more than a name.

ARGUMENT.

All know, Volusius, the monsters Egypt worships; here 'tis the crocodile, the ibis there; the long-tailed ape at Thebes where Memnon strikes his lyre. Cats, river-fish, and dogs (but not Diana). Onions and leeks no tooth may harm. O holy people, whose gods grow in their gardens! A sheep or goat they may not eat, but human flesh they may. When once Ulysses told such marvellous tales to Alcinous and his guests, some more sober than the rest no doubt were wroth and would have thrown him into the sea, with his tales about Laestrygones and Cyclops. His Scylla and his clashing rocks

and bladders full of storms and comrades turned to swine were not so hard to swallow. He had no witness to support him; but my story, a crime not known in all the tragedies, was acted publicly the other day.

V. 32. Two neighbouring peoples, Ombites and Tentyrites, have long fallen out with deadly hatred, only for this, that each maintain there are no other gods but those they worship. It was a holiday at Ombi, a fit occasion for the enemy, who were resolved to spoil their seven-days' sport (for these barbarians vie with the infamous Canopus in good living): and they expected easy victory when they were drenched with wine. On one side there was dancing, flowers, perfumes; on the other, hatred and an empty belly. First they begin abusing with hot courage; this is the trump of battle. Then they charge with mutual shout: their weapons are their fists; scarce any cheeks were left without a wound, or any nose unbroken. Faces contused you'd see throughout the host, cheeks burst and bones all starting through the skin, fists reeking with the blood of eyes knocked out. But this is child's play: what use is such a crowd of combatants if none are killed? So they grow fiercer and throw stones, not such as Turnus, Ajax, or Tydides threw, but such as men can wield in these degenerate days, when all are bad and puny, so that heaven laughs at men and hates them.

V. 72. But to return. One party reinforced get bold and ply the sword and bow, the other fly and Tentyra pursues. One slips and falls in his haste; they take him prisoner and cut him up and eat him raw. How lucky they profaned not the holy element! I'm sure you must be happy it escaped! But they who ate had never a more pleasant meal. Don't think it was the first taste only that was sweet; the last man when the carcase was all gone scraped up the blood and licked it from his fingers.

V. 93. The Vascones they tell us lengthened life by food like this: but that was fortune's spite and war's extremity, a long blockade and famine. Such cases we should pity, when after all their food is gone to the last blade of grass, men eat each other, as they would themselves: these gods and men may pardon, as the ghosts would do of those they've eaten. Zeno may teach us all things must not be done even for life; but how should they be Stoics, and that in old Metellus' time? Now all the world have got our learning and the Greek too. Gaul teaches Britain how to plead and Thule talks of hiring soon a rhetorician. But yet that noble people and Saguntum had some excuse for what they did. But Egypt was more savage than the Tauric altar; for there (if we're to trust the story) the goddess only sacrificed the men and nothing more. What led these people to their crime, what accident, blockade, or famine? Suppose the Nile had left the country dry, what greater insult could they show the god? The Cimbri, Britones, and Scythians were never yet so savage as this useless cowardly herd, who swarm upon the river in their painted boats. No punishment is hard enough for those whose passion is as bad as famine.

V. 131. Nature has given soft hearts to men, as tears will prove. She bids us weep for friends in sorrow, for the poor wretch on trial for his life, or boy that brings his fraudulent guardian to justice, whose weeping face and streaming hair might be a girl's. She bids us weep when a young maiden dies or little babe. What good man and true but counts all human miseries his own? 'Tis this distinguishes us men from beasts; for this we've minds to take in things divine and exercise all arts; and sense from heaven, which they have not who look down on the earth. They've breath but we have spirit, so that sympathy bids us seek mutual help, join in communities, and quit the woods our fathers lived in, build houses, join our habitations for mutual safety, stand by each other and protect the fallen, fight altogether at one signal, share the same walls and towers. But now the snakes are more harmonious than we are; the wild beast preys not on his kind: but as for man 'tis not enough to have forged the fatal sword, though the first smiths knew only to make tools. But now we see whole peoples not content with killing in their passion, but they must eat each other.

What would Pythagoras say, where would he run to if he saw these monstrous doings, he who abstained from every kind of meat and ate not every kind of vegetable?

Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Aegyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
Pars haec, illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibin.
Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci
Dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae

2. *Crocodilon adorat*] Herodotus (ii. 69) mentions particularly the people of Thebes and those who lived near the lake Moeris as worshippers of the crocodile, while the people of the island Elephantine (near Syene) did not think it sacred, and even ate the flesh. The town which after the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus bore the name Arsinoe, in ancient times was called the city of crocodiles. It was situated between the lake Moeris and the Nile. Strabo (p. 811) speaks of a crocodile kept by the priests in a pond near this place. The animal was worshipped at Coptos (28) and at Ombi (35). Herodotus describes the ibis (ii. c. 75, 76), and he says the Egyptians honoured it because it destroyed the flying snakes that came over from Arabia, and it came to be generally believed that this bird fed upon snakes. Cicero says so (de Nat. Deor. i. 36): "ibes maximam vim serpentium conficiunt; volucres angues ex vastitate Libyae vento Africo invectas interficiunt atque consumunt." But the ibis is not capable of eating snakes, and this is as fabulous as the winged snakes themselves. It is supposed the Egyptians reverenced this bird because it came to the country about the time of the rising of the Nile. It was not a native of Egypt. There are mummies of the ibis, and it is very common on Egyptian monuments. It is identified with a bird now called by the Arabs Abou-Hannes (Father John), perhaps because it arrives about St. John's day. Cuvier describes it as about the size of a hen; in other respects his description is not materially different from that of the second sort mentioned by Herodotus. Its worship was universal in Egypt. Cuvier has shown that the ibis is not the Tantalus of Linnaeus as Ruperti says it is.

4. *cercopitheci*] The cynocephalus or dog-headed ape was sacred to Thoth the god of letters, whom the Greeks identified with Hermes. He was worshipped in particular at Hermopolis in Middle Egypt. The cercopithecus was a long-tailed ape (κέρκος, πίθηκος), and such have been found embalmed.

5. *Dimidio magicae resonant*] The most remarkable remains of Thebes on the western side of the Nile are two seated colossal figures. One is covered with ancient inscriptions cut by visitors, which show it to be the famous statue of Memnon, from which it was believed that sounds proceeded at the rising of the sun produced by the impression of his rays. Strabo (p. 816) mentions them, but says that part of one had fallen owing to an earthquake, and that from the part that remained in its place a sound such as might proceed from a blow was heard once a day. He himself heard it, but where it came from he professes to be ignorant, but he is not inclined to believe it issued from the stone. Pausanias, who visited the statue, found it broken as Strabo described it, and says it was supposed to have been broken by Cambyses. He compares the sound to the snapping of a harp-string (i. 42. 3). Strabo wrote during the life of our Saviour, Pausanias at least a hundred and fifty years after Strabo. Juvenal may have seen the statue about half a century before Pausanias. In his time, however, the statue which has since been restored was mutilated, which is the meaning of 'dimidio,' as below v. 56, "vultus Dimidios," and viii. 4, "Curios jam dimidios." 'Magicae chordae' implies that Pausanias described the sound according to popular notions. It is generally supposed to have been a trick of the priests executed by some simple mechanical contrivance. The statue supposed to be that of Memnon shows evident marks of having been restored, the body from the waist upwards being of several pieces and of a different stone from the legs and pedestal, which are a monolith. When this restoration took place is unknown. It is attributed by Heeren to Septimius Severus, who restored some of the Egyptian monuments. His reign was

Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
Illic aeluros, hic piscem fluminis, illic

from A.D. 193 to 211. The height is about fifty feet, and that of the pedestal six feet. Memnon, the son of Eos and Tithonus, was a Greek adaptation from the name of several Egyptian kings, Phamenoth or Amenophth. The priests' jugglery may have arisen out of the fabulous birth the Greeks attributed to Memnon as son of the morning. These and other particulars will be found in most books on Egyptian antiquities, and a plain account is given in Mr. Long's work on that subject, Vol. i. p. 258, sqq.

6. *Atque vetus Thebe*] The notion that ancient Thebes had a hundred gates was derived from Homer, and was received like other poetical fables by the Greeks and Romans without much inquiry. Diodorus, however, the only ancient writer who has left a description of Thebes (i. c. 45, sqq.), treats it as a fable. Thebes was perhaps the most ancient town of Egypt, and was originally the metropolis and residence of the kings whose tombs are among the astonishing ruins that remain to this day. The Persians under Cambyses about B.C. 520 pillaged and partly destroyed the temples and burnt the private dwellings. The city never recovered its magnificence, and was never afterwards the seat of government. Its downfall was completed about B.C. 85, when the inhabitants, having revolted from Ptolemy Lathyrus, it was taken after a three years' siege and pillaged. At that time it was known by the Greek name Diopolis. Strabo, in the place quoted in the last note, describes it as in his day a city of ruins covering a space of eighty stadia (ten miles) in circuit, while the inhabitants occupied, as they do still, a few villages on each side of the river. The effect of the ruins is usually described as overpowering. One sentence of Belzoni's expresses this effect: "It appeared to me like entering a city of giants, who after a long conflict were all destroyed, leaving the ruins of their various temples as the only proof of their former existence" (p. 37).

7. *Illic aeluros,*] This reading is not found in any MS. All have 'caeruleos' except P. which has 'aeruleos.' Brodaeus (Miscell. vii. 2) first proposed 'aeluros,' which has been adopted by Heinrich, Jahn, Hermann, [and Ribbeck,] and approved in his hesitating way by Ruperti. 'Aelurus' is the Greek word for a cat (*αἴλουρος*). This animal was chiefly worshipped in the city of Bubastis on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. It was sacred to the goddess Pasht, corrupted by the Greeks into Bubastis, and identified by them with Artemis (Herod. ii. 59, 137). Pasht was represented with a cat's head, as may be seen in Plate 35 a. Vol. i. p. 382 of Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians. At Bubastis cats were embalmed and buried (Herod. ii. 66, 67). Diodorus (i. 83) tells an anecdote of a Roman soldier accidentally killing a cat and being put to death by the populace in a state of great excitement, so that neither the remonstrances of their magistrates nor fear of the Romans could prevent them from this abominable murder. Diodorus says he saw this himself. Wilkinson says it is considered by many of the modern Egyptians wrong to kill cats or to ill-treat them (Anc. Eg. iii. p. 44). Dogs they now count unclean.

Herodotus mentions the eel and a scaly fish of the Nile which he calls λεπιδωτὸς as held sacred by the Egyptians. A still more general object of reverence was the oxyrhynchus (mentioned below on v. 35), which gave its name to a town between Memphis and Thebes. According to Plutarch (Is. et Os. c. 7) the priests abstained from fish of every kind. He also says the people of Syene do not eat the Phagrus (eel), because it comes when the Nile overflows, and so is the messenger of good tidings. The town Phagriopolis in the Delta was called after this fish. Strabo (p. 812) mentions the Latus as worshipped at a town near Thebes which the Greeks called after it Latopolis. Another fish called the Maeotes was worshipped at Elephantine according to Clemens Alexandrinus (Orat. Adhort. p. 17, referred to by Wilkinson, Anc. Eg. ii. 253, 2nd Series). Small mummy fish have been found in tombs according to the Arabian traveller (of the 12th century) Abdallatif (Long's Egyptian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 165), who also found skeletons of dogs, which Herodotus says were buried in sacred tombs in the various cities of Egypt (ii. 67). Dog mummies have been found, and there is a head of one in the British Museum. A dog's head was generally said to be the symbol of Anubis (S. vi. 534, n.), who was particularly worshipped at Cynopolis, the town of Dogs, between Thebes and Memphis. But Wilkinson denies this (Anc.

Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
Porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu.
O sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur in hortis
Numina! Lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis
Mensa, nefas illic fetum jugulare capellae;
Carnibus humanis vesci licet. Attonito quum
Tale super coenam facinus narraret Ulixes
Alcinoo, bilem aut risum fortasse quibusdam
Moverat ut mendax aretalogus. "In mare nemo
Hunc abicit, saeva dignum veraque Charybdi,

Egypt." i. 440). He says Anubis is represented in Egyptian sculptures with a jackal's and not a dog's head. They do not differ much.

The Artemis represented by Bubastis may not have been that goddess who was most commonly worshipped in Greece, and who was the goddess among other things of the chase. Mr. Blakesley (on Herod. ii. 156) says she was not, but the Ephesian Artemis, so that Juvenal could say what he does with strict truth. It is probable Juvenal did not think about Bubastis and Artemis. He only thought of his point, that the Egyptians worshipped the beast and not the goddess it belonged to. Jablonski (Panth. Aeg. iii. 3, vol. ii. p. 58, quoted by Ruperti) is at unnecessary pains to account for Juvenal's assertion.

9. *Porrum et caepe nefas*] See below, v. 174. Horace alludes sometimes to the supposed notions of Pythagoras in connexion with vegetables, and particularly in that verse "Verum seu pisces seu porrum et caepe trucidas" in his letter to Iccius (Epp. i. 12. 21). The doctrines of Pythagoras are supposed to have been in part derived from the Egyptians, whose objection to eating leeks and onions is mentioned by several ancient authors. Plutarch, followed by Gellius (xx. 8), gives as the reason that they grow at the waning of the moon, and wither when she waxes. Gellius speaks of this fancy as confined to the inhabitants of Pelusium in the Delta.

10. *quibus haec nascuntur*] 'Haec' is ironical, 'such gods as these.' Above (xiii. 103) we have 'solet his ignoscere,' 'he is wont to pardon such offences as these.' In v. 65 below we have 'hunc lapidem,' 'such a stone as this.' Horace (S. i. 6. 89) says "Nil me poeniteat patris hujus," 'such a father as this.'

11. *Lanatis animalibus*] According to Herodotus (ii. 42) the inhabitants of the Theban nome abstained from eating sheep though they ate goats, while the opposite practice prevailed at Mendes (in the Delta), where they ate sheep and abstained from goats. The cannibalism imputed to the Egyptians is fabulous, though Diodorus says that on the occasion of a great famine human flesh was eaten (see v. 93, sqq.).

15. *Alcinoo,*] When Ulysses left the island of Calypso (Ogygia) by himself on a raft which she taught him to build, he was carried to the island Scheria, inhabited by the Phaeacians, whose king was Alcinous (Odyss. v. 386, sqq.). He was hospitably entertained by the king, and at a banquet told his adventures (Odyss. ix.). See Horace, Epp. i. 2. 28. Juvenal says that when Ulysses told wonderful stories (such as he is going to tell) to Alcinous and his party, though some took them in with astonishment, a few who had not drunk very deep no doubt treated him as an impostor, and would have handled him roughly for thinking so meanly of their understandings. The Greeks used ἴσως as Juvenal uses 'fortasse' for a thing that is pretty certain. 'Moverat' seems to mean that while Alcinous was listening open-mouthed, others had long made up their minds that the man was imposing on them. The word 'aretalogus' occurs in the Scholiasts on Horace, S. i. 1. 120 (where see note), in connexion with Crispinus, who they say was an 'aretalogus.' It appears from Suetonius (Octav. c. 74) that these were jesters employed by the rich to amuse them at their meals with mock philosophical discussions. Casaubon says the name was coined at Rome.

17. *Hunc abicit,*] [In Ovid, Pont. 2. 3. 37, there is "Turpe putas abici, quia sit miserandus, amicum;" but the reading 'abigi' of some editions is better. In the

Fingentem immanes Laestrygonas atque Cyclopas?
Nam citius Scyllam vel concurrentia saxa
Cyanea, plenos et tempestatibus utres
Crediderim, aut tenui percussum verbere Circes
Et cum remigibus grunnisse Elpenora porcis.
Tam vacui capitis populum Phaeaca putavit?"
Sic aliquis merito nondum ebrius et minimum qui
De Corcyraea temetum duxerat urna;

Moretum, v. 95, there is "Spargit humi atque abicit." Lachmann quotes from the Medea of Seneca, v. 257:

"Has adice Colchos, adjce (adiice) Aeeten ducem,"

where the second syllable is long and short in the same verse. The compounds of 'iacio' were not always written 'iicio,' for in Lucretius we have "eiecit omnes," where 'eiecit' is the present; and Lachmann refers to the Lex Servilia of Glaucia (ed. Klenze, p. 62), where there is "quo ioudices sorticolas conieciant." It appears however from Gellius (iv. 17) that it became common to omit one of the *ii* in such words as 'obiiciebat,' and it was supposed that 'ob' became a long syllable; but Gellius explains that such words as 'obiicere,' 'coniicere,' are properly written with *ii*, for they are formed from 'iacio,' and the *a* is changed into *i* in the compound verbs. He correctly remarks that the first *i* in *ii* has the force of a consonant. 'Obicibus ruptis' (Virg. Georg. 2. 480), as it appears, was also sometimes written in the time of Gellius, but he remarks that the complete form is 'Obiicibus.' The form 'ābĭcit' in this passage is irregular, but it is not the only example, as we have seen.] Ulysses in the course of his story tells how Circe described Scylla and Charybdis to him (xii. 73, sqq.). The Laestrygonian cannibals he speaks of in x. 81, sqq. They were claimed by the inhabitants of Formiae as their ancestors (Hor. C. iii. 16. 34, n., and Introd. to iii. 17).

19. *Nam citius Scyllam*] The speaker says he might perhaps more readily swallow his stories about the rocks and the winds and his crew turned to pigs, though these are mere lies (as he implies in v. 17). But did he think the Phaeacians such fools as to believe about the giants that ate men?

20. *Cyanea,*] This is an emendation of Dausqueius (on Silius xiv. 515) upon the common reading 'Cyanes.' Heinrich adopts it, and I do so without much confidence. If it is right, the caesura and two consonants following will account for the 'a' being long. Ruperti has adopted 'Cyaneas' from one MS. commonly appealed to by R. Stephens, but there is reason to think the readings were sometimes his own. P. has 'Cyaneis,' and some others. Jahn, Hermann, [and Ribbeck] have that form, and Mr. Mayor says it is the ablative of place, which would require us to translate it "the clashing rocks in Cyaneae," which has no meaning. Cyaneis is only another form of Cyanes, the accusative. But that is corrupt. The rocks Juvenal means are the Symplegades at the entrance of the Thracian Bosporus from the Euxine, to which the epithet κυάνεαι was commonly applied (Eurip. Med. 2). The Scholiast asks quietly "numquid ad haec Ulixes accessit?" But Juvenal has confounded these with other rocks in the Sicilian Sea, which Circe advised Ulysses to avoid. Homer (Odyss. xii. 61) calls them Πλαγκταί, 'the Wanderers,' for the same reason that the others are called Συμπληγάδες, 'concurrentia saxa.' When Ulysses was leaving the island of Aeolus, the king gave him a leathern bag containing all the winds. His companions let them out of the bag, and the consequences were disastrous (x. 19, 46). Elpenor was one of Ulysses' companions, whom Circe turned with a stroke of her light rod ('tenui verbere') into swine.

25. *De Corcyraea temetum*] The Phaeacia of Homer, which is a fabulous place, was identified in after times with Corcyra. 'Temetum' is an old word for wine. Horace uses it, Epp. ii. 2. 163, where see note and see Forcellini. As to 'urna' see vi. 426, n. 'Minimum' is used adverbially, 'minimum duxerat,' as "Et multum lacrimas verba inter singula fudit," Aen. iii. 348 (Heinecke, Obs. p. 105).

Solus enim hoc Ithacus nullo sub teste canebat.
Nos miranda quidem sed nuper Consule Junio
Gesta super calidae referemus moenia Copti,
Nos vulgi scelus et cunctis graviora cothurnis.
Nam scelus, a Pyrrha quanquam omnia syrmata volvas,
Nullus apud tragicos populus facit. Accipe nostro
Dira quod exemplum feritas produxerit aevo.
Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas,
Immortale odium et nunquam sanabile vulnus
Ardet adhuc, Ombos et Tentyra. Summus utrinque

26. *Solus enim hoc Ithacus*] His companions had all perished, and he came alone to the land of the Phaeacians (v. 15, n.). He says Ulysses might justly be suspected of lying, for he could not prove his story by any testimony but his own; whereas what he is going to tell was a public thing that happened only the other day.

27. *nuper Consule Junio*] Jahn, Hermann, [and Ribbeck] adopt the reading 'Junco' from P. very unreasonably. There was a consul of that name, Aemilius Juncus, in the reign of Commodus, A.D. 182, but none earlier; and there is not the least probability that Juvenal wrote so late as that. The common and correct reading is 'Junio,' and the consul referred to is either Appius Junius Sabinus in the reign of Domitian, A.D. 84, or Q. Junius Rusticus in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 119. See Introduction. 'Nuper' does not fix the time within a few years. See above, S. ix. 22, n. The sounding of 'Junio' as two syllables is a common licence. So 'fortuitus' is of three syllables (xiii. 225), 'ludium' of two (vi. 82). There are other instances in Juvenal and all the poets.

28. *moenia Copti,*] Coptos was a town about ten miles north of Thebes, which came into importance under the Ptolemies, owing to a commercial road opened between it and Berenice (Cosseir) on the Red Sea. Pliny, vi. 23. Juvenal calls it a hot place, as he called Meroe in vi. 527. 'Super' means higher up the river.

29. *Nos vulgi scelus*] He says he is going to tell of an outrage committed by a whole people, and therefore notorious—an outrage worse than any to be found in all the tragedies since the deluge. He first represents tragedy by the 'cothurnus,' the thick-soled boot worn by tragic actors, and the 'syrma,' their train (S. viii. 229, n.). The deluge of Deucalion and Pyrrha is commonly taken for the beginning of time. S. i. 84, n.

33. *vetus atque antiqua simultas,*] 'Vetus' means that the quarrel is of long standing, and 'antiqua' goes back to the origin of it, which was long ago.

35. *Ombos et Tentyra.*] These two towns still retain substantially their old names, one being called Ombou and the other Denderah, where there still stands a temple, erected, it is supposed, by one of the Ptolemies, which is one of the principal ruins of Middle Egypt. Ombi was about a hundred miles higher up the river than Tentyra, which was nearly opposite to Coptos on the west side. Thebes lay between them. In Ombi the crocodile was worshipped; in Tentyra they killed and ate it as at Elephantine (v. 2), and so the people fell out.

Plutarch tells us that in his day the Oxyrhynchites, who held sacred a fish with a sharp snout, and got their name from it (Wilkinson calls it the *mizdeh*, a 'mormyrus' remarkable among the fish of the Nile for its pointed nose, Anc. Eg. iii. 58, and ii. p. 248, sqq., 2nd series), went to war with the Cynopolites, the dog-worshippers, because these ate the fish, and the others by way of retaliation ate dogs (vol. ii. p. 72, Wyt. de Iside et Osiride). Pliny (H. N. viii. 25) tells a wonderful story of the boldness of the Tentyrites in attacking the crocodiles. They swam into the river, he says, got upon their backs, and when the beasts opened their mouths they thrust in a cudgel which they held in both hands, one at each end, and so steered the animals to shore. When they got them there they scolded them so that in alarm they vomited the bodies they had eaten, which then got decent burial. No wonder that he adds, the crocodiles kept away from the Tentyrites and were frightened at the very smell of them. Seneca (Nat. Quaest. iv. 2) confirms Pliny's account.

The MSS. vary in respect to Ombos. Most have Combos. P. and the Scholiast

Inde furor vulgo quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, quum solos credat habendos
Esse deos quos ipse colit. Sed tempore festo
Alterius populi rapienda occasio cunctis
Visa inimicorum primoribus ac ducibus, ne
Laetum hilaremque diem, ne magnae gaudia coenae
Sentirent, positis ad templa et compita mensis
Pervigilique toro, quem nocte ac luce jacentem
Septimus interdum sol invenit. Horrida sane
Aegyptus; sed luxuria, quantum ipse notavi,
Barbara famoso non cedit turba Canopo.
Adde quod et facilis victoria de madidis et
Blaesis atque mero titubantibus. Inde virorum

the Nürnberg (1), and others have Ombos, for which Achaintre, "solus inter alios interpretes" as he boasts, substituted Coptos, and Ruperti follows him. The distance between the two places is the stumbling-block, because Juvenal calls them 'finitimi.' This will not decide the question, and the reading of the text is probably right. The Ombites perhaps had nearer neighbours who despised their crocodile worship, as those of Elephantine (see note on 2), but it is plain from Pliny's account that the Tentyrites were the most vigorous anti-crocodilists, and they may have taken on themselves the championship of the cause.

37. *Odit uterque locus,*] A true specimen of the odium theologicum. 'Quum credat' is 'because they suppose.'

38. *Sed tempore festo*] 'Sed' is 'but to proceed,' or 'but not to dwell on the cause,' or any thing of that sort (see xiii. 135, n., and below, v. 51). He goes on to tell how at a festival of the Ombites, when they were enjoying themselves and drunk, the Tentyrites fell upon them. They came up the river no doubt in swarms and took them by surprise. The chiefs thought it a good occasion to spoil the enemy's sport. 'Ne sentirent,' &c. is to prevent their enjoying their holiday, which sometimes lasted seven days and nights, with tables spread in the temples and the streets. It was a religious festival. Juvenal speaks as a Roman when he says 'toro.' A mat would be all between the man and the bare ground. 'Pervigili' means that they went on all night, as he speaks of 'pervigiles popinas' because they were open all night (viii. 158).

44. *Horrida sane Aegyptus;*] From this to 'titubantibus' Heinrich pronounces spurious, judging it to be a reflection more worthy of a cloister philosopher than a satirist. He gives the credit of this discovery to Francke, 'his pupil and friend,' who has the same readiness as his teacher in finding monks for what he thinks weak verses. The subject is spoken of in the Introduction to this volume in connexion with the words 'quantum ipse notavi.' What is said is that Egypt is rude enough; and yet in luxurious living the barbarians do not yield to the infamous Canopus. Canopus (i. 26, n.) was a seaport at the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile. It is no contradiction to speak of the barbarians, as he calls them, of Upper Egypt not yielding to Canopus in profligacy. Canopus was at this time full of Romans and other foreigners, and the habits of that place would not represent those of the Egyptians in general.

47. *Adde quod et facilis victoria*] The occasion was a good one for annoying the enemy, and besides this it was one when they might get a ready victory, while the Ombites were drenched with wine, stuttering and tumbling about drunk. 'Madidus,' 'madere,' 'madens,' with or without 'vino,' are common expressions for drunkenness.

48. *Inde virorum Saltatus*] On the one side there were men dancing to the music of a black flute-player, perfumes (of a certain sort), flowers, and garlands; on the other side (the invading party) nothing but hatred and an empty belly. It would not be necessary to explain this if Ruperti had not in his fashion thrown some doubt upon the meaning. He says 'inde' and 'hinc'

Saltatus nigro tibicine, qualiacunque
Unguenta et flores multaeque in fronte coronae;
Hinc jejunum odium. Sed jurgia prima sonare
Incipiunt animis ardentibus; haec tuba rixae.
Dein clamore pari concurritur, et vice teli
Saevit nuda manus: paucae sine vulnere malae;
Vix cuiquam aut nulli toto certamine nasus
Integer. Aspiceres jam cuncta per agmina vultus
Dimidios, alias facies et hiantia ruptis
Ossa genis, plenos oculorum sanguine pugnos.
Ludere se credunt ipsi tamen et pueriles
Exercere acies, quod nulla cadavera calcent:
Et sane quo tot rixantis millia turbae

may be referred to the same subject: "*inde*, scil. ex ebrietate, saltatus cet., *hinc*, ex eadem *jejunum*, h. e. infirmum *odium* (viribus ebrietate fractis) proficiscebatur." To this nonsense he adds that the other explanation is better. 'Qualiacunque' he says is 'cujuscunque generis,' 'no matter of what kind;' "etiam hoc ebriis convenit. Non designatur vilitas unguentorum, quae in Aegypto pretiosissima erant." If he had ever been in an Oriental crowd he would have known what Juvenal means when he says 'perfumes, such as they are.' Their scents like their music are offensive to the senses of Europeans. The Egyptians had the single and double flutes like those of the Greeks and Romans, but much longer; they called them Sêbi, which like 'tibia' meant the leg bone. They were played by women more commonly than men. Dancing was usual on religious occasions, and men as well as women joined. Wilkinson gives information on this subject and on Egyptian music, with engravings, in his Anc. Eg. vol. ii. 223, sqq.

51. *Sed jurgia prima*] 'Sed' is used as above, v. 38. After a description or digression it is common. 'Tuba rixae' is like 'prooemia rixae' in iii. 288. They shout words of abuse, and this is the trumpet that calls to battle. 'Animis ardentibus' is mock heroic, 'with hot courage.'

57. *Dimidios, alias facies*] As to 'dimidios' see above, v. 5. It does not only mean 'broken off.' There is 'dimidium crus' (xiii. 95) for a broken leg. 'Alias facies' for 'altered faces' is like "Dices heu quoties te speculo videris alterum" (Hor. C. iv. 10. 6).

61. *Et sane quo tot rixantis*] "The people think this is only child's play, and they are right; for what is the use of such thousands of fighters if none of them are killed?" There is humour in this. 'Quo' is used as in S. viii. 9, "Effigies quo Tot bellatorum," where see note. 'Saxa inclinatis per humum quaesita lacertis' expresses the way in which they stoop to pick up the stones while they keep an eye upon the enemy all the time. Stones he says are the usual weapons for squabbles where townspeople fall out among themselves. 'Domestica' means such as they were familiar with. He alludes in what follows to Virgil, Aen. xii. 896, sqq.:

"Nec plura effatus saxum circumspicit ingens,
Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod forte jacebat,
Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis.
Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus;
Ille manu raptum trepida torquebat in hostem."

Ajax threw a great stone at Hector (Il. vii. 268), and Diomed, as Juvenal says, hit Aeneas on the hip with a stone that a couple of men of unheroic days could not lift, ὁ δέ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἶος (Il. v. 304). Homer lived probably not many generations after the Trojan war. The race of giants was growing less even in his day. But the strong men before Troy were nothing to those Nestor knew in his youth (Il. i. 271), and so it goes on. The past is seen through a mist, and all things gone

Si vivunt omnes? Ergo acrior impetus, et jam
Saxa inclinatis per humum quaesita lacertis
Incipiunt torquere, domestica seditioni
Tela; nec hunc lapidem, quales et Turnus et Ajax,
Vel quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam
Aeneae, sed quem valeant emittere dextrae
Illis dissimiles et nostro tempore natae.
Nam genus hoc vivo jam decrescebat Homero;
Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos:
Ergo deus, quicunque aspexit, ridet et odit.
A diverticulo repetatur fabula. Postquam
Subsidiis aucti pars altera promere ferrum
Audet et infestis pugnam instaurare sagittis;
Terga fuga celeri praestantibus omnibus, instant
Qui vicina colunt umbrosae Tentyra palmae.
Labitur hinc quidam nimia formidine cursum
Praecipitans capiturque: ast illum in plurima sectum
Frusta et particulas, ut multis mortuus unus
Sufficeret, totum corrosis ossibus edit
Victrix turba; nec ardenti decoxit aeno
Aut verubus; longum usque adeo tardumque putavit
Exspectare focos, contenta cadavere crudo.
Hic gaudere libet quod non violaverit ignem,

must needs be greater and better than the present. But men and things are much what they have been and always will be. He says men of this day are both wicked and feeble, so the gods, or whichever of the gods takes the trouble to look at men, both laugh at them and hate them. 'Quicunque aspexit' is contemptuous and Epicurean. [In v. 64, Pω and Ribbeck have 'seditione.']

72. *A diverticulo repetatur fabula.*] "After this digression we may go back to our story." He might have expressed this more shortly by 'sed' (vv. 38, 51) or 'ergo' (x. 54). 'Pars altera' is the Tentyrites, who got a reinforcement and put the Ombites to flight. The reading 'praestantibus omnibus, instant' is that of nearly all the MSS. Jahn, Hermann, [and Ribbeck] have adopted a conjectural reading 'praestant instantibus Ombis,' which changes the subject and makes the Ombites the pursuers. But there is no authority for this, and the people were not called Ombi but Ombitae. It appears from this place that by Tentyra there was a grove of palms, no uncommon thing; but this grove was perhaps an uncommon one. 'Hinc' is not 'owing to the hasty flight' (Mayor), but 'on this side,' that is, the fugitives, as the context shows. 'Usque adeo' (82) belongs to both adjectives, 'so very tedious and slow.'

84. *Hic gaudere libet*] "Here we may rejoice that they did not desecrate that fire which Prometheus stole from heaven and gave to earth. I congratulate the element on its escape, and I dare say you rejoice too." He is addressing his friend. This element has from the earliest times been respected as a beneficial agent and as the symbol of the divine attributes and of the life of man. The Persians worshipped it, and their descendants the Parsees do so still. But Juvenal is only writing sarcastically. Gifford thinking him serious could not "see the purport of this apostrophe to Volusius, for the Romans cared little for fire and the Egyptians still less. The mysteries of Mithra (he adds) were neither

Quem summa caeli raptum de parte Prometheus
Donavit terris. Elemento gratulor et te
Exsultare reor. Sed qui mordere cadaver
Sustinuit nil unquam hac carne libentius edit.
Nam scelere in tanto ne quaeras et dubites an
Prima voluptatem gula senserit; ultimus autem
Qui stetit absumpto jam toto corpore, ductis
Per terram digitis, aliquid de sanguine gustat.
Vascones, haec fama est, alimentis talibus olim
Produxere animas; sed res diversa, sed illic
Fortunae invidia est bellorumque ultima, casus
Extremi, longae dira obsidionis egestas.

unknown nor unpractised at Rome when Juvenal wrote: if his friend was attached to them a compliment might be intended, though even in that case the introduction of Prometheus would show a want of judgment. I can think of nothing to the purpose." Gifford does not commonly fall into this sort of pedantry. The mysteries of Mithra were probably as little known to or cared for by Juvenal and his imaginary friend as the doctrines of Christianity, which his translator supposes him to have been influenced by.

87. *Sed qui mordere cadaver*] 'Sed' is, as before, a way of carrying on the subject after a digression. As to 'sustinuit' see S. xiv. 127, n. 'Whoever had the heart to taste the carcase never ate any meat with greater relish.' 'Qui' implies that every one who tasted was pleased, as 'nam' shows; "for you are not in a crime so great to hesitate and ask whether it was only the first palate that was sensible of pleasure. Nay, the very last man, who stopped behind after the whole body was eaten up, scraped the bloody earth with his fingers and licked them." It is a horrid story.

93. *Vascones, haec fama est,*] The territory of the Vascones lay where now is the province of Navarre. After the murder of Sertorius, B.C. 72, many of the towns in Hispania which had taken part with him against Cn. Pompeius and Q. Metellus Pius (the son of the more distinguished Metellus Numidicus) held out and were besieged by those commanders or their legati. Among the rest was Calagurris Nassica, a town on the right bank of the Iberus. After having been unsuccessfully besieged during the life of Sertorius it was attacked again after his death by L. Afranius, the legatus of Pompeius. Although Sertorius had acted with great severity to some of the native nobility shortly before his death, the people were devoted to him, as Plutarch says, and the inhabitants of this city resisted the siege to such extremities that they were reduced to eating each other. The account of Valerius Maximus is that they only ate the women and children. "Quo perseverantius interempti Sertorii cineribus obsidionem Cn. Pompeii frustrantes fidem praestarent, quia nullum jam aliud in urbe eorum supererat animal, uxores suas natosque ad usum nefariae dapis verterunt. Quoque diutius armata juventus viscera sua visceribus suis aleret, infelices cadaverum reliquias salire non dubitavit" (vii. 6. Ext.). This obstinate resistance seems to have made a great impression on the Romans. Florus (iii. 22) says "in fame nihil non experta Calagurris."

94. *sed res diversa, sed illic*] 'Sed' is repeated here as 'at' is in Horace, S. i. 3. 32, sq.,

"—— At est bonus ut melior vir
Non alius quisquam, at tibi amicus, at ingenium ingens
Inculto latet hoc sub corpore,"

and in other places mentioned in a note there. Juvenal says in the case of the Vascones the circumstances were different; it was the malice of Fortune and the extremities of war that drove them to this horrid act. 'Bellorum ultima' is like "discriminis ultima" (xii. 55). The Greeks commonly used ἔσχατα in the same way.

Hujus enim quod nunc agitur miserabile debet
Exemplum esse cibi; sicut modo dicta mihi gens
Post omnes herbas, post cuncta animalia, quidquid
Cogebat vacui ventris furor, hostibus ipsis
Pallorem ac maciem et tenues miserantibus artus,
Membra aliena fame lacerabant esse parati
Et sua. Quisnam hominum veniam dare, quisve deorum
Viribus abnuerit dira atque immania passis,
Et quibus illorum poterant ignoscere manes
Quorum corporibus vescebantur? Melius nos
Zenonis praecepta monent; nec enim omnia, quaedam
Pro vita facienda putat. Sed Cantaber unde
Stoicus, antiqui praesertim aetate Metelli?
Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas.

97. *Hujus enim quod nunc agitur*] "The case is different, for this sort of food of which I am now speaking (that which men are reduced to by a siege) ought to excite pity; as for instance the people I have just mentioned," &c. He had heard less of the siege of Jerusalem or he might have found plenty of like horrors there. In the place where he wrote the same scenes were enacted three centuries later. See Gibbon's account of the first siege of Rome by the Goths (c. 31). Ovid describes Erisichthon as doing that which Juvenal says these people were ready to do (esse parati et sua):

"Ipse suos artus lacero divellere morsu
Coepit, et infelix minuendo corpus alebat." (Met. viii. 877, sq.)

Erasmus quotes as a proverb ἄπαντα γάρ τοι βρωτὰ πολιορκουμένοις: omnia esculenta obsessis (as he latinizes it).

104. *Viribus abnuerit*] Jahn, Hermann, [and Ribbeck] have 'ventribus' from a conjecture of H. Valesius, who refers to various places which only show that Juvenal uses 'ventres.' P. and all the good MSS. have 'viribus.' A few have 'urbibus' which is probably a correction. Ruperti would be satisfied with 'civibus,' 'fortibus,' 'talibus;' I think 'viribus' with the support of nearly all the MSS. is at least as good as any of these with no authority at all. 'Invidus' would suit the sense. But we must be content with what we have got. 'Viribus' may mean 'strong men.'

107. *Zenonis praecepta monent;*] Juvenal says (xiii. 122) he has never read the doctrines of the Stoics and others. But he rightly represents them here. The sacrifice of life to duty was a rule they always taught, and they professed no such love of life or fear of death as would lead to the neglect of the first principles of natural affection. But it does not follow that they might not have advised the holding of a town at any cost against an enemy with the chivalrous motive attributed to the people of Calagurris. 'Nec enim' is equivalent to 'etsi enim non.' He calls them Cantabri without strict accuracy. The Cantabri lay between the Pyrenees and the sea, farther west than the Vascones, who were south of the mountains. As to Metellus see note on v. 93. He calls him 'antiquus,' because every thing was antiquated that was before the time of the empire. The republic and its times and its struggles were well-nigh forgotten, or remembered chiefly as subjects for declamation. 'Antiquus' has nothing personal to Metellus in it, as Ruperti supposes. He quotes the rough saying of Sertorius (Plut. v. Sert. c. 19) when Metellus came up to the assistance of Pompeius: ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον, εἰ μὴ παρῆν ἡ γραῦς ἐκείνη, πληγαῖς ἂν νουθετήσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπεστάλκειν. "If that old woman had not come up, I would have whipped this boy and given him a lesson and sent him back to Rome."

110. *Nunc totus Graias*] He says it is different now, for all the world has the literature and philosophy of Greece and Rome. He calls Rome 'our Athens.' Their

Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos,
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule.
Nobilis ille tamen populus quem diximus, et par
Virtute atque fide sed major clade Saguntus
Tale quid excusat. Maeotide saevior ara

spirit and their institutions were their own; their taste and philosophy the Romans got from Greece, and by their conquests these were propagated where Greece would otherwise never have been known. Though the Romans were not a learned people, literature and art followed them wherever they went, and when Juvenal lived a grammar school may very possibly have existed on the spot where I am writing (Aquae Sulis), or a rhetorician may have been preparing youths for the higher schools of Lugdunum and Massilia. (See S. i. 44; vii. 148, n.) The Thule of geographers was the largest of the Shetland Islands. He says they were talking of hiring a master of rhetoric there. Mercatores had no doubt found their way to Thule: but the Romans never took possession of that island. There is another Thule, which is only known from fabulous reports. But it was probably part of the mainland of Europe, much to the north of Britain.

113. *Nobilis ille tamen populus*] "However, though that noble people we have spoken of, (the Vascones) were no Stoics and had none of our learning, they and the Saguntines, their equals in courage and fidelity and worse in their sufferings, had excuse for any such conduct"—not "urges some such plea as this (of necessity): so '*exc.* morbum,' &c." (Mayor.) There is nothing said about necessity, and the nature of the excuse is left to be inferred.

Saguntus is a form of *Ζάκυνθος*, from which island (Zante) the colony originally came. The form Saguntus is not so common as Saguntum. It was a town on the east coast of Hispania, a mile from the sea. It was in close alliance with the Romans at the time when Hannibal was appointed to command the armies of Carthage in Hispania, and he made it one of his first objects to pick a quarrel with the Saguntines and lay siege to the town, which he took after a siege of eight months B.C. 219. When the inhabitants were reduced to the last extremity and hard terms of peace were brought them, some of the leading men without any warning to the others left the senate-house, got together all the silver and gold they could collect, and made a fire in the market-place into which they threw the treasures and themselves. When Hannibal entered the town he ordered all the males of full age to be put to death (Livy xxi. 14). Florus tells the story of the fire with additions (ii. 6. 6): "immanem in foro excitant rogum: tum desuper se suosque cum omnibus opibus suis ferro et igni corrumpunt;" and Valerius Maximus (vi. 6. 1) says the same: "collatis in forum quae unicuique erant carissima," &c. All the writers attribute their gallant conduct to their fidelity to Rome, and Valerius is eloquent on this point: "Crediderim tunc ipsam Fidem humana negotia speculantem moestum gessisse vultum, perseverantissimum sui cultum, iniquae fortunae judicio, tam acerbo exitu damnatum cernentem." Augustin has a chapter on the Saguntines (de Civ. Dei iii. 20) in which he highly praises their fidelity and wishes it had been in a better cause that they might have won eternal life. He says what Juvenal appears to have believed, "etiam suorum cadaveribus a nonnullis pasta perhibetur." Silius has a great many rather tiresome verses at the end of his second book about the fall and faithfulness of Saguntum, which some may think poetical. In Freinshem's note on Florus, ii. 18, 15 (Duker's edition, Leyden, 1744), is a catalogue of towns which defended themselves as obstinately as these that Juvenal mentions. They are twenty-five in number, and their collective history would give such a picture of war as might make its advocates think differently. 'Saguntina fames' came to be a proverb among the Romans as λιμὸς Μήλιος among the Greeks from the siege of Melos by the Athenians. See Thucyd. v. 114; Aristoph. Av. 186; and Erasmus, Adag. p. 564, fol. ed.

115. *Maeotide saevior ara*] The legend respecting the Tauri who sacrificed to their goddess all strangers that came to their country is most popularly known through Euripides' play, Iphigenia in Tauris, which turns upon the recognition of Iphigenia and her brother Orestes, she being the priestess of the goddess and he a stranger brought to be sacrificed. The Tauri in-

Aegyptus; quippe illa nefandi Taurica sacri
Inventrix homines (ut jam quae carmina tradunt
Digna fide credas) tantum immolat, ulterius nil
Aut gravius cultro timet hostia. Quis modo casus
Impulit hos? quae tanta fames infestaque vallo
Arma coegerunt tam detestabile monstrum
Audere? Anne aliam terra Memphitide sicca
Invidiam facerent nolenti surgere Nilo?
Qua nec terribiles Cimbri, nec Britones unquam,

habited the Chersonesus which bore their name (the Crimea). All the barbarous tribes on the borders of the Palus Maeotis (Sea of Azov) were called Maeotae. 'Illa Taurica' is that Tauric goddess; the Greeks called her Artemis. Herodotus calls her ἡ Παρθένος, and says that the natives named her Iphigenia, and that they killed their victims with a club and hung their heads upon a cross. The heads of their enemies they set up over their houses which they were supposed to protect (iv. 103). 'Ut jam' is 'supposing only:' 'jam' gives emphasis to 'ut.' It is the particle most nearly resembling the Greek δὴ in its commonest uses.

119. *Quis modo casus Impulit hos?*] 'Modo' gives emphasis to 'quis,' like τίς ποτε; it is "what chance at all drove these Egyptians to their crime? What so great famine, what arms attacking their walls, compelled them to dare so detestable, so monstrous a deed?" Heinrich says 'modo' is for 'tamen,' in which I think he is wrong. "The force of the particle will be plain if we change the form of the sentence: 'His si quo modo essent casu impulsi, ignoscendum erat.' 'What calamity, *if nothing more*, drove these to the act?'" (Mayor.) This is not to transpose but to alter the sentence, and the translation given does not render it in either form.

122. *Anne aliam terra Memphitide sicca*] "Could they, if the land of Memphis were all dry, offer greater insult to the Nile because he would not rise?"

"Se la terra di Menfi asciutta fosse,
E' l Nilo colle sue soverchianti onde
Non volesse inondar l' arse campagne,
Qual far gli si potria scorno maggiore?"
(Accio.)

The English translators seem to have missed the meaning. Till the Persian conquest (B.C. 525) Memphis and Thebes were rivals in importance. Both were of fabulous antiquity. Memphis was always the chief seat of commerce, while Thebes seems to have been the residence of the kings. Both cities were greatly injured by the conquerors (v. 6, n.).

124. *Qua nec terribiles Cimbri,*] The threatened invasion of the Cimbri and their destruction by Marius is mentioned in viii. 249, sqq. The Cimbrica Chersonesus is part of the modern kingdom of Denmark, but whether these barbarians came from thence is a difficult question. At the end of Latham's edition of Tacitus' Germania, there is a note on the Cimbri in p. 133. The same writer (Dict. Geog.) considers the Britones to be different from the Britanni; but they are at any rate not so here. Forcellini says they are the inhabitants of the modern Bretagne. But that is a mistake. There can be no doubt our ancestors are meant, whose human sacrifices got them a bad name. See note on Hor. C. iii. 4. 33: "Visam Britannos hospitibus feros." As to the Sauromatae see S. ii. 1, n. The name in this place is more limited than there. The Sauromatae of Herodotus were said to be descended from the Amazons, and to live between the Tanais (Don) and the Rha (Volga) (iv. 21. 116). Their women never married till they had killed an enemy. The Agathyrsi Herodotus describes as persons of delicate habits, who wore gold ornaments and had their wives in common. Herodotus (iv. 49, 104) places them at the source of the river Maris (Maras or Marosch) which flows into the Tibiscus (Theiss) the largest tributary of the Ister. If that be correct, they occupied part of the modern Transilvania and were Dacians. But other writers place them further to the N.E., nearer to the Sauromatae, with whom they are often mentioned. Virgil speaks of them as "picti Agathyrsi" (Aen. iv. 146). They tattooed their skins and dyed their hair blue.

Sauromataeque truces aut immanes Agathyrsi,
Hac saevit rabie imbelle et inutile vulgus,
Parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis
Et brevibus pictae remis incumbere testae.
Nec poenam sceleri invenies, nec digna parabis
Supplicia his populis, in quorum mente pares sunt
Et similes ira atque fames. Mollissima corda
Humano generi dare se natura fatetur
Quae lacrimas dedit: haec nostri pars optima sensus.
Plorare ergo jubet casum lugentis amici,

125. *Sauromataeque truces*] According to Bentley's rule noticed above (xiii. 44) this 'que' should be 've,' and so it is in a few MSS. which Ruperti has followed. I feel quite safe in following the great majority, which have 'que.'

126. *rabie imbelle*] A common hiatus.

— *imbelle et inutile vulgus,*] This is very contemptuous, but not so strong as Horace's language (Epod. ix. 13):

"Fert vallum et arma miles et spadonibus
Servire rugosis potest.
Interque signa turpe militaria
Sol adspicit conopium."

"Contaminato cum grege turpium Morbo virorum" (C. i. 37. 9). The construction of the ordinary river boats is described by Herodotus (ii. 96). They were built of the wood of the acanthus and were propelled by oars and sails which were made of byblus. These boats were painted red, yellow, or green, and sometimes all those colours, and the sails were composed of squares of different colours. The name given by Herodotus to them was 'baris.' 'Phaselus' is Greek: it is the name of a bean, and it is supposed the name may have been given to a certain sort of boat from its likeness in shape to a bean-pod. Servius on Virgil, Georg. iv. 287, sqq.,

"Nam qua Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi
Accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum,
Et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis,"

says 'phaseli' were "breves naviculae quibus utuntur cum stagnaverit Nilus." Strabo (p. 788, D.) says that in the Delta canoes of clay were used on the numerous canals. Wilkinson (Anc. Eg. c. 9) has a good many pages on ships and boats and a coloured engraving of two that were richly painted, but he makes no mention of boats of clay. He says the custom of painting their boats "in brilliant and lively colours continued to the latest times, long after the conquest of the country by the Romans; and when the Arabs invaded Egypt in 638 under Amer the general of the Caliph Omer, one of the objects that struck them with surprise was the gay appearance of the painted boats of the Nile" (vol. iii. p. 200).

131. *Et similes ira atque fames.*] "In whose minds rage and famine are equal and alike;" their rage is as strong as famine in others, and like in its effects.

—*Mollissima corda*] Nothing can be more touching and manly than the verses that follow, of which Ruperti has nothing better to say than that they are spun out more in the declamation style than that of satire. Their style is that of nature, and there is no satire so strong as that which brings the pure emotions of nature into contrast with the bad passions and vices of mankind. Any body with a grain of feeling will come with pleasant surprise upon a sentiment so true and simply expressed after the revolting picture that has gone before. It is a satisfaction to know that this severe satirist could be tender when occasion required, and knew the worth of manly tears.

134. *Plorare ergo jubet*] 'Ergo' means 'she then who has given us tears bids us use them in the expression of sympathy with our suffering fellows.' 'Casum lugentis amici' is the reading of Ruperti and Heinrich. [Jahn and Ribbeck] have the common reading, 'causam dicentis,' which is defended by making 'causam dicentis amici' and 'rei' one subject, thus: 'squalorem amici causam dicentis reique.' But that construction is harsh. Several MSS. and old editions have 'lugentis;' 'casum' is in very few. 'Squalorem' refers to the appearance of mourning, beard unshorn,

Squaloremque rei, pupillum ad jura vocantem
Circumscriptorem, cujus manantia fletu
Ora puellares faciunt incerta capilli.
Naturae imperio gemimus, quum funus adultae
Virginis occurrit, vel terra clauditur infans
Et minor igne rogi. Quis enim bonus et face dignus
Arcana, qualem Cereris vult esse sacerdos,
Ulla aliena sibi credat mala? Separat hoc nos
A grege mutorum, atque ideo venerabile soli
Sortiti ingenium, divinorumque capaces,
Atque exercendis capiendisque artibus apti,
Sensum a caelesti demissum traximus arce,
Cujus egent prona et terram spectantia. Mundi

unwashed toga, and so forth, put on by persons in sorrow or on trial (Pers. i. 83). Heinrich quotes Aen. ii. 93: "Et casum insontis mecum indignabar amici."

135. *pupillum ad jura vocantem*] The proper expression for bringing a man before the court is 'in jus vocare,' which is explained on Horace, S. i. 9. 77. 'Circumscribere' is used twice above (x. 222, xiv. 237). When a 'pupillus' came of age he could bring an action against his tutor for mismanagement of his property. If the tutor was condemned the penalty was 'infamia.' (See Long's article 'Tutor' in Dict. Ant.) Boys wore long hair till they took the 'toga virilis.' This is therefore the case of a 'pupillus' complaining of his tutor during his pupilage. The tutor in such cases was sometimes removed.

140. *Et minor igne rogi.*] That is 'too little to be burnt.' According to Pliny (H. N. vii. 16) it was not usual to burn children who died before they had cut their teeth.

—*face dignus Arcana,*] There were no mysteries at Rome analogous to those of Greece, at which none but the initiated could be present. They were bound by oath to keep secret the mysteries (whatever they were) then made known to them. As every Greek might be initiated if he pleased the secrecy did not amount to much. Nevertheless it passed into a proverb and the Romans took it from the Greeks, so that Horace says,

"Est et fideli tuta silentio
 Merces: vetabo qui Cereris sacrum
  Vulgarit arcanae sub isdem
   Sit trabibus fragilemve mecum
   Solvat phaselon."
(C. iii. 2. 25, and note.)

Ceres represented the Greek Demeter, and the allusion there as here is to the Eleusinian mysteries, an Attic festival which lasted seven days. On the fifth the initiated carried torches to the temple of the goddess, led by a priest called from his office δᾳδοῦχος. This explains 'face arcana,' and Juvenal says no man would be worthy to join the torch-bearers at the festival of Eleusis who thought himself unconcerned in any of the misfortunes of his neighbours. The allusion in S. vi. 50, "Paucae adeo Cereris vittas contingere dignae," is different, as the note will show. Terence (Heaut. i. 1. 25) makes his old man say "Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto."

143. *venerabile soli Sortiti ingenium,*] 'Venerabile' here I think has an active meaning. There is nothing that so distinguishes man from the beasts as his reverence for the divine Being. 'Venerabile ingenium' I take to be a reverential mind. The active meaning of adjectives in 'bilis' is common. 'Venerabilis' is so used. See Forcellini, who gives two instances from Valerius Maximus.

146. *demissum traximus arce,*] 'Trahere' is often used in the various senses of 'ducere.' See note on S. xii. 8, and Hor. C. iv. 2. 59, Epod. xiv. 4.

147. *prona et terram spectantia.*] This may be imitated from Ovid (Met. i. 84):

"Pronaque cum spectent animalia caetera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit caelumque tueri

Principio indulsit communis conditor illis
Tantum animas, nobis animum quoque, mutuus ut nos
Affectus petere auxilium et praestare juberet,
Dispersos trahere in populum, migrare vetusto
De nemore et proavis habitatas linquere silvas,
Aedificare domos, Laribus conjungere nostris
Tectum aliud, tutos vicino limine somnos
Ut collata daret fiducia, protegere armis
Lapsum aut ingenti nutantem vulnere civem,
Communi dare signa tuba, defendier isdem
Turribus atque una portarum clave teneri.
Sed jam serpentum major concordia: parcit
Cognatis maculis similis fera. Quando leoni
Fortior eripuit vitam leo? quo nemore unquam
Exspiravit aper majoris dentibus apri?
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
Perpetuam; saevis inter se convenit ursis.
Ast homini ferrum letale incude nefanda
Produxisse parum est, quum rastra et sarcula tantum
Assueti coquere et marris ac vomere lassi
Nescirint primi gladios extendere fabri.

Jussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus."

149. *Tantum animas, nobis animum*] 'Anima' and 'animus' are essentially the same word, and are used as synonymous by the best writers. But 'anima' more commonly represents the material being, and 'animus' the sentient and intelligent being. That distinction is obvious here and in Seneca, Ep. 4: "Difficile est animum perducere ad contemptum animae" (see Forcellini), and Ep. 58, "quaedam (animantia) animum habent, quaedam tantum animam." This sense of 'indulgere,' 'to give,' is not I believe found in the writers before the empire.

155. *Ut collata daret fiducia,*] "That united confidence might bring us sleep, secured by a neighbour's threshold." P. has 'limite' for 'limine,' but there is no sense in it. Jahn and Hermann have rightly taken 'limine.' Mr. Mayor prefers 'limite.' Juvenal says the effect of that gift of mind was to lead men, through the affections they have in common, to help one another, to form communities, to quit the woods and live in towns; to fight side by side and to defend themselves behind the same walls.

159. *Sed jam serpentum major concordia:*] But now things are changed and the snakes live more harmoniously than man. The Scholiast quotes Varro (de Ling. Lat. l. vi.), "Canis caninam non est," which is not universally true, as I have seen. Erasmus (Adag. p. 155, fol. ed.) quotes Varro's proverb and refers to Aeschylus (Supp. 222), *ὄρνιθος ὄρνις πῶς ἂν ἁγνεύοι φαγών*; (where see Paley's note.)

166. *Produxisse parum est,*] 'Produxisse' here is like 'extendere' below (168); both express the hammering out of iron. 'Extendere' is the reading of P. and some other MSS. The common reading followed by Ruperti is 'extundere,' but as Heinrich says it is only a gloss. Servius on Virgil (Aen. vii. 634), "alii thoracas aenos Aut leves ocreas lento ducunt argento," says "Ducunt: id est, extendunt." (See Bentley on Horace, Ep. ii. 1. 240, where he puts 'cuderet aera' into the text for the right word 'duceret aera.') Juvenal says it is not enough now even for men to forge the sword; though the first smiths only knew how to make harrows and hoes and

Aspicimus populos quorum non sufficit irae
Occidisse aliquem, sed pectora, brachia, vultum
Crediderint genus esse cibi. Quid diceret ergo,
Vel quo non fugeret, si nunc haec monstra videret
Pythagoras, cunctis animalibus abstinuit qui
Tanquam homine et ventri indulsit non omne legumen?

mattocks and shares. The 'sarculum' was a lighter instrument than the 'marra,' but both were for turning the soil. Heinrich defends the form 'nescirint' against 'nescierint,' which is in most MSS. 'Crediderint' (171) he says is the potential mood and signifies 'possunt credere.' It seems to mean that 'they are such as to think' (v. 21). As to Pythagoras see S. iii. 229; above, v. 9, n. As to 'indulsit' see v. 148, n.

SATIRA XVI.

INTRODUCTION.

This satire is said by Heinrich not to be found in two MSS. of Copenhagen. Lubinus (1603) says of it, "Nec desunt qui hanc Satyram Juvenalis esse negent cum in antiquissimis codicibus non inveniatur. Aliter sentit magnus ille Scaliger filius (Joseph) ut praesenti mihi quondam ipse indicavit." He does not say by whom its absence from ancient MSS. is affirmed, and he had just before said that in very old MSS. it came before the fifteenth satire. Calderini (about 1450) a contemporary of Valla says, "Penultimo loco haec Satira edita est a Juvenali, sed librariorum culpa in finem translata; quem errorem ex codicibus antiquis facile dignoscas." Ruperti tells us Valla says it is wanting in the oldest MSS., but does not refer us to the place where he says so. Caspar Barthius (1624) quotes from a MS. of his: "Satira haec non postremo edita est a Juvenale sed ordo debet esse ut istam sequatur praecedens. Juvenalis enim a Paride in exilium extrusus non videtur sibi male esse. Ergo laudat militiam. Quidam dicunt non esse Juvenalis sed ab ejus amico appositam." Barthius adds, "Nos si quis sententiam rogarit dicemus Juvenalis plane non esse. In eadem autem opinione fuit olim Ang. Decembrius estque hodie J. Rutgersius" (Barth. Adv. xiv. 16). The Scholiast of Pithoeus says, "Ista a plerisque exploditur et dicitur non esse Juvenalis." S. xvi. v. 2 is quoted by Priscian, and v. 6 and 42 by Servius. The former lived about the middle of the fifth century, and the latter rather earlier: the commentary (on Virgil) attributed to Servius has been interpolated in many places and cannot be relied on. But the satire must have been extant in Priscian's time and supposed by him to be Juvenal's. Some parts of the Scholia of Pithoeus were written by one who was not a Christian (see note on xiv. 103), and for this reason are supposed to be earlier than Constantine (A.D. 306). But other parts are by later hands, and the Scholium above mentioned is not to be implicitly relied upon as of great antiquity. Jahn quotes a Scholium on a Paris MS. which he assigns to the twelfth century, in which it is said that the satire is by some not supposed to be genuine, but that this opinion is refuted by the quotation of v. 42 by Servius.

I think the above is all the authority from old sources that can be adduced, and it

does not amount in my opinion to sufficient evidence against the authenticity of the satire. The only MSS. from which it is distinctly said to be absent are the two Copenhagen noticed by Heinrich, who does not mention their ages. What Lubinus says is only repeated from others, whom he does not name, while if Scaliger really said to Lubinus what he attributes to him, his opinion must be allowed great weight. If he did not, then Lubinus' word is worth nothing. The date of the principal Scholium is uncertain, and the observation it contains makes no reference to MSS.; and though the Scholium shows that the satire was by many not thought to be Juvenal's, it does not say on what grounds they "exploded" it. An opinion founded only on the merits of a work like this would not be worth more in the third century than now.

That the poem is complete no one can say, whether it be Juvenal's or another's, and one who had set himself to imitate Juvenal, and had the ability to do it as well as this writer, is not likely to have published a fragment or a composition so defective in order and integrity as this. I do not think with Heinrich that it is begging the question to say it is only a fragment. It seems to me impossible to view it in any other light than that of an unfinished poem, and I think it may very well have been a posthumous publication of Juvenal's. I cannot otherwise account for its publication at all, for as a whole it is without point; while nevertheless it contains some good writing worthy of Juvenal, and might have been expanded, if the author had finished it according to his design, into a very amusing satire. Whoever the writer was, it is to be regretted for historical purposes he did not finish his work, for it relates to a subject, Roman military life, which is full of interest.

Heinrich is right in saying that to judge of the authenticity of a work by the style and manner and language is unsafe, that the value of such judgment depends on the capacity of the critic, and that it requires peculiar skill and natural instincts, which are not common. But in this instance, where it is not denied by those who think Juvenal may be the author that the work is not in the state in which if he had finished it we should now have had it, this sort of sagacity is not wanted. The satire is in a condition in which no author of so much capacity would have given it to the world who wished to gain reputation by it, and no author of reputation would have published it in his lifetime, though he might have made it known to his friends. The person who wrote v. 7 (which Heinrich rejects without good reason) must have intended to write more on the subject that verse introduces; and he who should bring in a single example by an exordium plainly intended for several and not see that he was bungling, could never have written the verses in which that example is set forth.

I do not think then there is sufficient reason for supposing the fragment spurious, or the partial rejection of it in early times to have proceeded from any other cause than its imperfect character.

The satire is in the form of an epistle like the last, and it professes to set forth the advantages of a military life, looking at it as a young man might when tired of a civilian's restraints. Of these advantages the writer instances the liberty of the soldier to assault a civilian without any fear of an action for damages, for the soldier can only be tried in camp, and if a townsman comes there for redress he may get a rude sort of justice from a court-martial, but the whole camp will make him rue his revenge. Then justice in civil courts is attended with many delays, while in the camp it is prompt and decisive. Besides which a father has no power over his son's military earnings, and the soldier can make a will of his own.

This is literally the whole of the satire. It is as much a satire upon the camp as the town, and so probably it would have been carried out in a variety of comparisons between the soldier and civilian. Assuming Juvenal to be the author of the satire we need not imagine (as the old commentators did) any particular circumstances having given rise to it. The subject is one that might have suggested itself to any one, and

no doubt it was capable of illustration in many ways. There is among ourselves sufficient distinction between the habits of the army or navy and those of civilians to suggest plenty of material for good-humoured raillery on either side; and military justice especially has always been a subject of wonder or amusement to non-military persons, while some soldiers on their part are seriously of opinion that courts of law are only made to obstruct justice, and to prevent honest men or dishonest from getting their due. It is to be observed that the author of this piece writes as a civilian, and the force of the satire turns partly on this.

ARGUMENT.

O Gallus, who can tell the advantages of lucky service? Give me a successful legion and I'll enlist and think my stars have favoured me. Of course a fortunate hour avails one more than if his wife or mother wrote commending one to Mars.

V. 7. First the advantages that all enjoy. The greatest is that no civilian dares to strike you, nay more, if you strike him he holds his tongue and dares not show his grievance to the praetor. If he would have revenge he has his judge, a stout centurion in the camp, for soldiers may not go beyond for trial. Most just no doubt is the centurion's judgment, and if I've right upon my side he'll give me satisfaction. But all the camp will see that my revenge shall prove a greater trouble than the wrong. And he's a bold man who would dare offend so many boots and hobnails. And who would come so far to give his evidence? Let's dry our tears, nor trouble friends who will not fail to excuse themselves. The man who dares to witness to the assault is worthy of the olden times: a lying witness may be easier got against a townsman than a true against a soldier's fortunes and his honour.

V. 35. And if a scoundrel neighbour moves my landmark, or debtor will not give me back my own, then I must wait and go through all the law's delays, but soldiers are allowed the time that suits themselves and no drag stops their suit.

V. 51. The soldier too may make a will while yet his father lives, for all he gets in service is his own. The old man therefore courts his lucky soldier who by fair favour is rewarded as his gallant deeds deserve. For 'tis the general's interest that the brave should also be the lucky and pride themselves upon their chains and collars—

Quis numerare queat felicis praemia, Galle,
Militiae? Quod si subeuntur prospera castra,
Me pavidum excipiat tironem porta secundo

1. *Quis numerare queat*] According to Heinrich this is an imitation of the opening of the last satire. The writer asks "who can number the advantages of military service if it be successful? As for that, if I join a fortunate legion, let me enlist and I shall count myself lucky." He speaks as a young man might speak of joining what is called by our soldiers a crack regiment, and like some of our own tiros he can think of nothing more delightful. He is speaking sarcastically. In place of 'quod,' the MSS. have 'nam,' and 'quod' which I prefer, with Heinrich, is only found in a quotation of this verse by Priscian (viii. 6. 31; 15. 82). [Ribbeck has 'quot, si . . . castra!'] Some of the more distinguished legions bore names of honour, such as Victrix, Felix, Adjutrix, and so forth. This is what he means by 'prospera castra.' A Roman camp, which was nearly square, had four principal gates, the Porta Praetoria before the commander's tent and facing the enemy, Decumana in the rear, and Principales, dextra and sinistra, at the sides. A soldier was a 'tiro' till he had seen service and was acquainted with his duties. 'Pavidum' is here only a redundant epithet. Most 'tirones' might be supposed to feel a little uneasy at first. I see no reason therefore to adopt Heinrich's alteration of 'me' into 'nec.'

Sidere. Plus etenim fati valet hora benigni,
Quam si nos Veneris commendet epistola Marti
Et Samia genitrix quae delectatur arena.
Commoda tractemus primum communia, quorum
Haud minimum illud erit, ne te pulsare togatus
Audeat; immo etsi pulsetur, dissimulet nec
Audeat excussos Praetori ostendere dentes,
Et nigram in facie tumidis livoribus offam,
Atque oculum medico nil promittente relictum.
Bardaicus judex datur haec punire volenti

4. *fati valet hora benigni,*] This is Juvenal's ironical style: having mentioned a lucky star he adds, "for of course the moment of a smiling fate is of more avail than a letter of recommendation to Mars from Venus or his mother Juno." Juno's worship at Samos is well known from other writers and from Virgil in particular (Aen. i. 15: "Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam Posthabita coluisse Samo"). Her temple, the Heraeum, was on the coast, and it is to the Samian shore that 'arena' refers, not to the sandy character of the island, as Ruperti says, for it is generally very fertile.

7. *communia,*] That which all soldiers held in common. 'Togatus' is the common word for a civilian. 'Immo' here is affirmative of what precedes, and introduces something more. It is sometimes used negatively according to the nature of the sentence: but its common use is to add some statement, reason, &c., in continuation and support of what goes before. Professor Key (L. G. 1429) thinks the negative use arises from carelessness of speech. Mr. Long considers the word a contraction of 'in modo' (Cic. in Verr. ii. 1. 1, n., "Immo vero adsit").

11. *tumidis livoribus offam,*] 'Offa,' which is used for a chop or other piece of meat, Juvenal uses twice, each time in a sense of his own. In S. ii. 33 it signifies an abortive birth; here it means a swelling from a blow. 'Livoribus' are black contusions. 'Medico nil promittente' means that the doctor cannot warrant that the man will not lose his eye.

13. *Bardaicus judex datur*] Among other things that stink Martial (iv. 4) mentions "Lassi bardaicus evocati," 'the bardaicus of the weary veteran.' Some interpreters say it means a 'cucullus,' a cloak with a covering for the head, otherwise called 'bardocucullus.' (S. viii. 145, n.) The meaning may be the same there as here, but still there may be doubt about the thing. It is not certain that 'bardaicus' agrees, as many take it, with 'calceus' in this place. I think it may be taken independently as in Martial. 'Calceus' will in that case be qualified like 'surae' by 'grandes.' 'Calceus' was the general name for a walking shoe or boot as opposed to others worn in the house, or sandals which only covered the sole or were strapped on to the upper part of the foot. Of the latter sort were 'caligae' (24) which were heavy sandals with nails worn by the common soldiers as the 'calceus' was worn by the officers, though sometimes the officers wore 'caligae' (Lips. on Tac. Ann. i. 41). See iii. 247, n.

> "—— planta mox undique magna
> Calcor et in digito clavus mihi militis haeret."

The form 'bardaicus' is not certain. Some MSS. have 'bardiacus' which seems more suited to the metre. I doubt whether the second syllable of 'bardaicus' according to its received etymology can be shortened. For this reason the reading 'Archaicis' has been properly rejected in Horace, Epp. i. 5. 1, "Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis." The name is said to be derived from the Bardaei, an Illyrian people from whom this sort of military shoe was taken, as it is said.

Juvenal says (according to the above) if a man wishes to punish the soldier who has maltreated him, the judex assigned to him is a 'bardaicus,' a great boot, and a pair of thick calves under a big bench: that is, he must carry his case into the camp, and if he is allowed a trial it will be a court-martial with a centurion for judex. 'Judicem dare' was properly said of the praetor who could appoint if he pleased a judex privatus to hear a private case at the instance of the

Calceus et grandes magna ad subsellia surae,
Legibus antiquis castrorum et more Camilli
Servato, miles ne vallum litiget extra
Et procul a signis. Justissima Centurionum
Cognitio est igitur de milite; nec mihi deerit
Ultio si justae defertur causa querelae.
Tota cohors tamen est inimica, omnesque manipli
Consensu magno efficiunt curabilis ut sit
Vindicta gravior quam injuria. Dignum erit ergo

plaintiff. (See Long's Excursus on the Judicia, Cic. Orat. vol. i. p. 46.) Up to a certain time during the empire 'injuriae' could only be prosecuted criminally under the Lex Cornelia de Injuriis, one of the leges named after the dictator Sulla. Whether the power of proceeding by a civil action, which is implied in the text, existed in Juvenal's time, is uncertain. If it could be shown that it did not, this would decide the question as to the authenticity of the satire, as Heinrich says (p. 543).

It is usual to describe the centurions as great stout men. Horace speaks of "pueri magnis e centurionibus orti" (S. i. 6. 73). See also Persius, S. iii. 77, v. 189. 'Caput intactum buxo,' 'nares pilosae,' 'grandes alae' are spoken of as the strongest recommendation to this office in S. xiv. 194. He speaks here of great benches to match the great legs. All is in the rough way.

15. *more Camilli*] The days of the old discipline when M. Furius Camillus was dictator and besieged Veii (B.C. 393). Ruperti says he issued an order that no soldier should be prosecuted beyond the camp, but he does not give his authority.

17. *Justissima Centurionum*] Ruperti says these are the words of the poet to himself or of Gallus to the poet, and that 20 sqq. are the words of the soldiers to the injured person, or rather of the poet doing away with the objection. It is not so; nor is there irony, as Gifford and others say, in the language. Juvenal says the centurions give just judgment against a soldier, and if a man goes before them with a good complaint he will get satisfaction. But he will find the whole camp set against him, and his satisfaction will be worse for him than his wrong. 'Igitur' serves to keep the sentences together. 'Well then the centurion will give just judgment.' When he says 'nec mihi deerit' he puts himself in the position of an injured civilian, as below, v. 28, "non sollicitemus amicos." 'Querelae' is the genitive of quality, 'a cause in which the complaint is just.' 'Deferre,' with or without 'nomen,' means to inform against. 'Deferre causam' is not a legal phrase. 'Tota cohors' is put generally for 'tota castra' (2). (See xiv. 197, n.) 'Consensu magno' is an ordinary phrase for perfect unanimity.

21. *efficiunt curabilis ut sit*] 'Curabilis' is the reading of P. and a few MSS., of the Scholiast and many old editions, among others the Editio Princeps. Nearly all the MSS. have 'curabitis' and 'officiunt,' after which is a full stop. 'Efficiunt' and 'curabilis' are the right words, though the latter is not found elsewhere. It means that which wants curing. P. alone of all the MSS. has 'et' after 'vindicta.' Heinrich omits it with the other MSS., and I have no doubt he is right, and that the absence of 'et' led the copyists to change 'curabilis' into 'curabitis.' The way of speaking, 'gravior curabilis,' is Greek: the usual Latin would be 'gravius.' A like construction is found in Horace (C. iii. 20. 7), "tibi praeda cedat Major an illi." Heinrich's way of taking 'curabilis' with 'injuria' appears to me very harsh and unnecessary. The lengthening of the short vowel before the two consonants is common enough. 'Vindicta' (which here seems only to mean satisfaction) and 'injuria' are both legal terms. The first was the name given to certain actions for compensation or restitution of rights or satisfaction for violence, insult, &c., for 'injuria' is a wide term. (See Dict. Ant., Long's arts. 'Vindicta' and 'Injuria.') [Jahn and Ribbeck have 'et gravior.']

22. *Dignum erit ergo*] "It is a proceeding then worthy of the ranting Vagellius with his stupid hardihood, as long as you have got two sound legs to provoke so many shoes, such thousands of hobnails." This is explained above on v. 14. Who Vagellius was is not known. He was ready for any job in his line it would seem, and had no want of boldness of a certain sort.

Declamatoris mulino corde Vagelli,
Quum duo crura habeas, offendere tot caligas, tot
Millia clavorum. Quis tam procul absit ab Urbe
Praeterea? quis tam Pylades molem aggeris ultra
Ut veniat? Lacrimae siccentur protinus, et se
Excusaturos non sollicitemus amicos,
"Da testem," judex quum dixerit. Audeat ille
Nescio quis pugnos qui vidit dicere, "Vidi,"
Et credam dignum barba dignumque capillis
Majorum. Citius falsum producere testem
Contra paganum possis quam vera loquentem
Contra fortunam armati contraque pudorem.
Praemia nunc alia atque alia emolumenta notemus
Sacramentorum. Convallem ruris aviti

The name occurs above, xiii. 119. Most MSS. have 'Mutinensis' where P. and a few others have 'mulino.'

25. *Quis tam procul absit*] "Besides this (he asks) who would come so far from town, who is so fast a friend (such a Pylades) that he will come out to the camp to give evidence for you? We had better dry up our tears forthwith and not plague our friends who are sure to make excuses, when the judge tells us we must bring witnesses." 'Molem aggeris' is referred to in x. 95, "castra domestica," and mentioned in S. v. 153, "in aggere rodit," and note. The praetorian camp is here referred to. 'Tam procul' therefore is ironical, for the camp was not above a quarter of a mile from either of the two gates Collina and Esquilina, north-east of the city. A man must be a Pylades to take such a walk for a friend, though the Agger which overlooked the camp was a common promenade. The judex here is the military officer who heard the complaint.

33. *Contra paganum possis*] 'Paganus' after the time of Augustus came to be applied to all civilians as opposed to military men. It may have been first given them by soldiers in the way of contempt, for it belongs properly to the country people. Pers. Prol. 6, n. 'Pudorem' is his honour, which the soldier is supposed to prize more than the man of peace. The word is so used in viii. 83: "Summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori."

36. *Sacramentorum.*] 'Sacramentum' was the soldier's oath which he swore by the 'signa' (standards), promising fidelity to his country and his commander. The oath was administered on enlistment. It is used here for military service, and is put in the plural number as 'stipendia,' which means 'campaigns,' that is properly the number of times a soldier has earned pay, as 'sacramenta' would be the number of times he has taken the oath, which as long as he remained with the army would ordinarily be only once, though there were cases in which it was repeated. Tacitus speaks of "miles urbanus longo Caesarum sacramento imbutus" (Hist. i. 5).

— *Convallem ruris aviti*] He says if any man robs him of his land, removes his landmark, or denies his debts, he will have to go through all the law's delays before he can get justice, which is promptly administered in camps. 'Convallis' is said to be properly a valley surrounded on all sides with hills, and 'vallis' one between two ranges. The stone or other boundary by which private property was marked off (Hor. Epp. ii. 2. 170, n., "qua populus adsita certis Limitibus vicina refugit jurgia") was sacred. The lands were in the first instance divided by the Agrimensores with religious ceremonies, and offerings were annually made close by them to the god Terminus, whose image was often no more than a shapeless stone. The neighbours met and offered sacrifice jointly at the Terminalia. Cakes of flour and honey (liba) ground 'far' (puls, S. xi. 58, note) were commonly offered, and by those who could afford it a lamb or young pig was added (see Horace, Epod. ii. 59, "Vel agna festis caesa Terminalibus," and Epp. i. 10. 10, "Utque sacerdotis fugitivus liba recuso"). The reading of P. and a few MSS. with

Improbus aut campum mihi si vicinus ademit,
Et sacrum effodit medio de limite saxum
Quod mea cum patulo coluit puls annua libo;
Debitor aut sumptos pergit non reddere nummos,
Vana supervacui dicens chirographa ligni;
Exspectandus erit qui lites inchoet annus
Totius populi. Sed tunc quoque mille ferenda
Taedia, mille morae; toties subsellia tantum
Sternuntur; tum, facundo ponente lacernas
Caedicio et Fusco jam micturiente, parati
Digredimur lentaque fori pugnamus arena.
Ast illis quos arma tegunt et balteus ambit
Quod placitum est ipsis praestatur tempus agendi,
Nec res atteritur longo sufflamine litis.
  Solis praeterea testandi militibus jus

Henninius' and other old editions is 'patulo,' in support of which Heinrich quotes Virgil (Aen. vii. 115), "patulis nec parcere quadris," broad flat cakes. Ruperti follows the majority of MSS. in reading 'vetulo,' which he says is "lectio haud dubie exquisitior," and that the 'libum' is called 'vetulum' because the ceremony, or the possession of the property and the stone are old, either of which goes to increase the offence. This is hardly worth repeating. Any person whose boundary was removed had an 'actio termini moti' against the person who did it.

40. *pergit non reddere nummos,*] "Persists in not restoring money deposited with him." This is the offence that gave occasion for S. xiii. (see note on xiii. 16). The next line is repeated from the 137th of that satire, which Heinrich considers a manifest proof of imitation. But supposing the line has not got into the text surreptitiously, this is not a very good proof of imitation. Men do not borrow whole lines from an author they are imitating. Juvenal repeats himself in x. 365 and xiv. 315.

42. *qui lites inchoet annus*] "I must wait for some indefinite time that shall even make a beginning of the causes of an entire people." So Heinrich takes it, and I see no better way. 'Annus totius populi' I can make no meaning of. Mr. Mayor calls it "*the people's year*; in which the litigation of a whole people is to be settled." If the text is not corrupt, this is the most unlike Juvenal's style of any part of the satire. 'Annus' is probably a definite word for an indefinite period. 'Inchoare' is commonly used for such a beginning as is not brought to an end; and 'tunc quoque,' &c., means that no more than a beginning is made or likely to be made.

44. *toties subsellia tantum*] This means that the court was ready, cushions on the seats, and every body there, but the advocates loitered. The case must therefore wait. As to 'lacerna' see i. 27, n. ['jam facundo,' Pgs, Jahn and Ribbeck.]

46. *parati Digredimur*] This is the language of the amphitheatre. "Prepared to fight we are obliged to separate, and the forum is but a slow arena for our combat." 'Balteus' was a belt which went over the shoulder and held the sword. 'Sufflamine' is explained on viii. 148 to be a drag, and it is here used in that sense figuratively.

51. *testandi militibus jus*] Under the Roman law all that a son acquired who was not free from his father's power by emancipation or death was acquired for his father, and he had no power of making a will. About the time of Augustus an exception was made in favour of money acquired through military service, which was called 'castrense peculium.' Whatever a son got while he was 'in patria potestate' was 'peculium,' and with certain modifications was held on the same terms as a slave's (iii. 187, n.). In the time of Constantine the same privilege that attached to the 'castrense peculium,' or money earned in military service, was extended to money earned in civil offices, which was therefore called 'quasi castrense

Vivo patre datur: nam quae sunt parta labore
Militiae placuit non esse in corpore census,
Omne tenet cujus regimen pater. Ergo Coranum
Signorum comitem castrorumque aera merentem
Quamvis jam tremulus captat pater. Hunc labor aequus
Provehit et pulcro reddit sua dona labori.
Ipsius certe ducis hoc referre videtur
Ut qui fortis erit sit felicissimus idem,
Ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus omnes—

peculium.' This, as Heinrich says, is an argument in favour of the satire having been written before the time of Constantine, A.D. 306 (see Dict. Ant., Long's article 'Patria Potestas'). Both were strictly the property of the 'paterfamilias.' 'Non esse in corpore census' means that it was not part of the property which was under his father's control. Forcellini quotes from the Digest "corpus patrimonii" (iv. 2. 20) and "omnia corpora maternae haereditatis" (xxxi. 77, 20). 'Placuit' means only that it is settled law. The legal word for 'regimen' is 'potestas.'

54. *Ergo Coranum Signorum comitem*] Horace (S. ii. 5. 55, sqq.) refers to the story of one Nasica, a fortune-hunter, who was laughed at by one Coranus. The name Coranus seems to have become proverbial in this connexion. This man, because he has got money of his own which he has the power to dispose of, is courted by his own father, trembling with years, in hopes he may survive his rich son yet, and get something by his will. 'Captare' is the common word in this sense. See v. 98, n.; vi. 40; x. 202; xii. 114. Heinrich thinks it should be 'captat socer,' 'pater' occurring just in the same place two lines above. If so, the man wants to get him for his daughter. But there is no authority for this change.

56. *Hunc labor aequus*] There is no sense in this. Jahn [and Ribbeck] have adopted a conjecture of Ruperti's, who thinks 'labor' should be 'favor.' Heinrich approves, and quotes Horace, Epp. ii. 1. 9: "Ploravere suis non respondere favorem Speratum meritis." 'b' and 'v' are sometimes interchanged; and if the word 'favor' were written 'fabor,' the transition to 'labor' is easily accounted for. This is the only conjecture that has thrown light on the passage. 'Pulcro labori' is the same as 'labore militiae' above (52). 'Hunc' does not refer to the latter of the two persons, a common usage.

58. *ducis hoc referre videtur*] This use of the genitive with 'referre' is easily understood by resolving 'referre' into its parts, 'rem ferre;' where 'rem' is 'the interest' of a person or something which concerns him (Key's Lat. Gr. § 910, note). Here it is said to be for the interest of the commander himself that he who is brave should also be most fortunate, that all (who deserve them) should be made happy with decorations, which were as much prized by Roman soldiers as by our own. They were conferred in a way to enhance their value. In the presence of all the troops such men as had distinguished themselves by particular acts of gallantry were called up before the Commander-in-chief and by him presented with decorations varying according to their exploits.

60. *Ut laeti phaleris omnes*] Lipsius (de Mil. Rom. v. 17) treats 'phalerae' and 'torques' as nearly alike, 'phalerae' being collars that hung down on the chest, and 'torques' fitting close to the neck. Polybius (vi. 39, Bekker) speaks of 'phalara' as rewards given to cavalry soldiers, which has led many to suppose they were part of the trappings of a horse (Dict. Ant., 'Phalera'). The word is commonly used for the ornaments on the harness and for the harness itself (xi. 103). But it appears also to have been a decoration worn by soldiers round the neck, as Lipsius shows. 'Torques' probably included armlets and bracelets as well as collars for the neck.

The repetition of 'omnes' shows either a corrupt text or an unfinished and uncorrected fragment. No imitator would intentionally write such a verse, much less one who could imitate as well as this writer. I prefer treating it as a fragment abruptly stopping in the middle of a sentence.

A. PERSII FLACCI

SATIRAE.

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SATIRAE.

PROLOGUS.

INTRODUCTION.

It is generally supposed that Persius, in publishing his Satires or contemplating their publication, wrote these few lines as a sort of Introduction. They have the appearance of a fragment, and it is not unlikely he meant to write more. By this supposition some difficulty arising out of the want of connexion will be removed. The verses are no more than an apology for his presumption in presenting his offering to the Muses. He says he is conscious that he is no poet, and he seems to imply that he was driven to write by want, as Horace says he was. But this can only have been meant by Persius for a joke, and a way of introducing a stroke at the many poets of the day who wrote for patrons and for what they could get. Some, including Casaubon, Passow, Jahn, take the verses as a prologue only to the first Satire, which they suppose is meant by 'carmen nostrum' in v. 7. The title is due to the grammarians, whatever Persius meant.

The metre is the choliambic or scazon, the trimeter iambic with a spondee in the last place, as in Catullus' ode which begins

"O funde noster, seu Sabine, seu Tiburs." (C. 44.)

ARGUMENT.

I never drank from Hippocrene nor dreamt upon Parnassus, that I should be a poet. The Muses' haunts I leave for those who wear the ivy. I am but little better than a clown, who bring my offering to the poets' store. Who taught the parrot and the pie to speak? Hunger, the teacher of all arts, able to reach even forbidden tongues. Let hope of gain but shine upon them, and you would think our crows and magpies were singing Muses' nectar.

Nec fonte labra prolui caballino,
Nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnasso

1. *Nec fonte labra prolui caballino,*] "I have not bathed my lips in Hippocrene." 'Fons caballinus' is Persius' version of the equivalent Greek name (Ἱπποκρήνη). "Caballino autem dicit non equino, eo quod Satyrae humiliora verba conveniant." (Schol.) Juvenal speaks of Pegasus as "Gorgonei caballi" (S. iii. 118), but serious writers only use the word for horses of the lower sort. On the range of Helicon in Boeotia were two springs dedicated to the Muses, one named Aganippe (Juvenal, S. vii. 6, n.), and the other about thirty stadia further west, named Hippocrene, which had its name from the legend that it was produced by a stroke of Pegasus' hoof. They both flowed down the northern side of Helicon, feeding the streams Permessus and Olmeius; and the waters of both were supposed to inspire those who drank them.

2. *Nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnasso*] The range of Parnassus terminates on the

Memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem;
Heliconidasque pallidamque Pirenen
Illis remitto quorum imagines lambunt
Hederae sequaces: ipse semipaganus

south with high cliffs, called by the ancients *Φαιδριάδες*, under which lay the town of Delphi. These rocks, in one place, about the centre, are divided, and on each side of the chasm rises a high peak. Between the two flows the stream Castalia, celebrated for its connexion with Apollo. From these two hills Parnassus came to be spoken of as having two tops, as in Soph. Antig. 1126,

> *σὲ δ' ὑπὲρ διλόφου πέτρας*
> *στέροψ ὄπωπε λιγνύς.*

Herodotus (viii. 32, 39) speaks of two summits of Parnassus, which he calls Tithorea and Hyampeia; and Ovid (Met. i. 316) has:

> "Mons ibi verticibus petit arduus astra duobus
> Nomine Parnassus, superatque cacumine nubes."

In 'somniasse' he refers to the dream of Ennius, noticed on vi. 10.

3. *ut repente sic poeta prodirem;*] 'Sic' has a force of its own, which is not easily expressed in English. Horace (C. ii. 11. 14) has:

> "Cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
> Pinu jacentes sic temere et rosa,"

where I have quoted a place from Terence (Phorm. i. 2. 94). Virgil (Aen. iii. 668) has "recepto Supplice sic merito." The Greeks used *οὕτω* in the same way; and the Scholiast on Soph. Aj. 1179, says it is *ἀντὶ τοῦ ὡς ἔτυχε*. 'Just as I was,' is perhaps the best rendering here: "that I should turn out a poet all of a sudden, just as I was;" that is, an illiterate person, as Casaubon says.

4. *Heliconidasque pallidamque Pirenen*] The best MSS. are said to have 'Heliconiadas.' Passow and Heinrich prefer 'Heliconidas,' which is found in some MSS. As Jahn observes, both forms are good. The association of the Muses with Helicon and Parnassus Müller (Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 27) attributes to the Pierians, to whom he assigns the invention of Greek poetry, and who, he says, originally inhabited those parts, and afterwards, migrating northwards, gave the Muses their other habitations on Olympus and in Thrace. Pirene was the name of a spring (or perhaps more than one) at Corinth, at which, according to the legend, Bellerophon caught Pegasus. Through Pegasus, who was associated with the Muses, Pirene came to be so too; and Persius gives it the epithet which the imagination commonly connects with poets and other men of study. Casaubon notices that the Greek poets did not give this distinction to Pirene, and that the Romans perhaps did so from ignorance. Very probably.

5. *quorum imagines lambunt*] See note on Juv. S. vii. 29, "Ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra," and Ovid, Trist. i. 7. 1:

> "Si quis habes nostris similes in imagine vultus,
> Deme meis hederas Bacchica serta comis."

'Sequaces' is an epithet used for parasitical plants, as we call them 'creepers.' It applies in the same way to fire (Virgil, Aen. viii. 432, "flammis sequacibus") and to smoke (Georg. iv. 230, "fumosque manu praetende sequaces"). Jahn explains it "quo quis ducat sequi promptae;" but ivy is not trained: it is left to find its own support. 'Sequi' is not necessarily to follow a lead.

6. *ipse semipaganus*] 'Paganus,' as stated on Juv. xvi. 33, is used for a civilian as opposed to a soldier. 'Semipaganus' Casaubon takes to mean but half a soldier, that is but half a poet, quoting in illustration Pliny, Epp. vii. 25, "sunt enim ut in castris sic etiam in literis nostris plures cultu pagano, quos cinctos et armatos et quidem ardentissimo ingenio diligentius scrutatus invenies." Forcellini also compares the two places (Paganus). Jahn gives another interpretation. 'Pagani' he says are those of the same 'pagus,' and those of the same 'pagus' had the same sacred rites. True poets are 'pagani,' but Persius only aspires to be half a poet, and so he is only half a 'paganus.' I do not believe this is Persius' meaning, nor need we think much about the soldiers. 'Semipaganus' is half a clown, not above half educated and polished. "Pagani dicuntur rustici qui non noverunt urbem" (Schol.). What follows is only a way of saying that he brings his contribution

Ad sacra vatum carmen affero nostrum.
Quis expedivit psittaco suum χαῖρε,
Picasque docuit verba nostra conari?
Magister artis ingenique largitor
Venter, negatas artifex sequi voces.
Quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi,
Corvos poetas et poetridas picas
Cantare credas Pegaseium nectar.

to the common stock of poetry, all of which is an offering to the Muses, and the poets are his priests; as Horace calls himself, C. iii. 1. 3, "Musarum sacerdos." 'Carmen' may mean his volume, in which sense it is understood by many in Horace, Epod. xiv. 7, "olim promissum carmen," or more probably his poetry in general. So Heinrich takes it. But see Introduction.

8. *Quis expedivit psittaco suum χαῖρε,*] He asks who taught the parrot or the magpie to speak? And he answers it was hunger, and this he means to imply is the reason why so many parrots and magpies take to poetry. So Horace says of himself "paupertas impulit audax Ut versus facerem" (Epp. ii. 2. 51). It seems their way of teaching the bird to speak was to starve it. 'Expedire' is here to make easy, as 'impedire' is to make difficult. So it is equivalent to 'docere' in the next line. 'Suum χαῖρε' means that the word was a common one for parrots, who are frequently taught to say 'how d'ye do' with us, or 'how are you?' The Roman women were very fond of parrots, which were brought from India. Ovid wrote a very pretty elegy on the death of Corinna's parrot (Amor. ii. 6). He says (23, sq.):

"Non fuit in terris vocum simulantior ales,
Reddebas blaeso tam bene verba sono."

Jahn says "Psittacus suum, i.e. peregrinum χαῖρε sonabat, ut solebant tunc Romani Graecis formulis uti, pica indigena vernaculo sermone loquitur." An Indian bird could not be said to speak Greek as his own language; and I see no such opposition between the foreign and vernacular as Jahn supposes. After this verse in some of the old editions there is found another which is also in a few MSS., "Corvos quis olim concavum salutare," which Casaubon calls "barbarum et ridiculum versum." Lubinus wastes a good deal of comment upon it.

11. *artifex sequi voces.*] This is the same Greek construction as in S. i. 70, "nec ponere lucum artifices," and i. 59, "auriculas imitari mobilis albas." The construction is extremely common in the odes of Horace. I have collected a number of instances on C. i. 1. 18, "indocilis pauperiem pati."

12. *Quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi,*] He does not stop to explain what he means, but goes on, as if he had said "want drives men to write verses," but if a ray of hope beams forth that they are going to get money by them, straightway you would think our "crow poets and poetic pies" (as Holyday translates it) were pouring Pegasus' nectar from their tongue. He means they write for money, and if they suddenly see a chance of getting it, they become excited, and begin spouting away as if their stuff was Muses' nectar. The money is called 'dolosus' I suppose because it cheats them into believing themselves somebody, or it may be taken as a general epithet. There is a note on 'cantare' on Juv. S. i. 3. As to Pegaseius see note on v. 4. The word is Ionic in its formation. The reading of most MSS. and of Casaubon is 'Pegaseium melos,' which he defends though it is against the metre. 'Nectar' is the reading of the Scholiast, who says "in aliis est melos." Barthius (Adv. xxiv. 17) shows that Pindar and Theocritus speak of the Muses' nectar, which proves nothing. But some MSS., and two of the best, have 'nectar,' and there is no doubt I think of 'melos' being a gloss, the original of which was probably 'mel.' 'Cantare nectar' is not 'mere jargon' as Gifford says, but is as intelligible as 'speaking honey,' or many like expressions which use has made tawdry, and which suit the ancient languages better than our own. The MSS. are in favour of the form 'poetridas,' and the form is analogous to αὐλητρίς, the feminine of αὐλητής. Casaubon though he allows this form adopts 'poetrias,' which is the ordinary Greek word, ποιητρία. 'Poetidas' is another reading, of which and 'poetridas' Burmann (on Ovid, Heroid. xv. 183) says they are "ignota veteribus vocabula neque

in Romanam civitatem adsciscenda." Nevertheless I think the MSS. may be trusted. I do not believe with Jahn that Persius meant female poets, such as he says Juvenal attacks in vi. 434, where however Juvenal speaks of women-critics not poets. I do not know what Persius had to do with women here. They would be nothing to his purpose.

SATIRA I.

INTRODUCTION.

The object of this satire is to ridicule the literary taste of the day. The poet begins with a verse supposed to be taken from a poem of his own, which he begins repeating to a friend. The friend tells him no one will read his poetry; and this gives him occasion to express his contempt for public opinion and his reasons for despising it; which are, that while every body must write and spout, every body writes and spouts for effect, and none are satisfied without vulgar applause. So men write lewd verses to catch wanton ears, and mincing stuff to please the delicate critics. The man upon his trial is not satisfied unless the court applaud his eloquence. And what is this applause? The rich man has it of course, while behind his back he is only laughed at; and whoever gets it must be content to share it with the feeblest drivellers, and to earn it by pandering to a vicious taste, and avoiding all offence to the great people. He appeals at last to the admirers of the worthies of the old Greek comedy—"Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae"—and is ready to abide by their judgment.

We cannot rightly infer from this that Persius had written or had not written in any other style than satire. The opening verse is not one he would have chosen as a specimen of his style if he wished to produce something very good, and it is plainly only made for the occasion. It is neither very good nor very bad. It is a specimen of the morbid school of sentimental poetry, and reminds us of the celebrated parody of Byron in the Rejected Addresses, "Where nought is every thing, and every thing is nought;" and though it is not impossible that Persius may have suffered for some of his juvenile productions, as our poet had suffered before he wrote the English Bards and Scotch Reviewers, in which the spirit of this satire is sometimes seen, there is no necessity for supposing it was written under such provocation.

The form in which it is written, involving frequent interruptions and many supposed speakers and several quotations from poems of the day and opposing sentiments and criticisms, constitutes the chief difficulty of the satire. I have tried to make these matters plain, but I have had to differ in turn from the other commentators, sometimes agreeing with one and sometimes with another. Any one who tries to read the satire without a great deal of study and without help, will see how difficult it is to follow the argument and to determine the arrangement. The allusions are soon disposed of, and do not constitute the chief difficulty in reading Persius.

There is no clue to the date.

ARGUMENT.

O human griefs! O what an empty world! 'Why, who will read this stuff?' Speak you to me? No one, of course; yes, one or two, perhaps. 'But that were shame to you.' Why so? Lest the fine folk like Labeo more than me? Pshaw! weigh not

yourself in these fine scales; look for yourself within. Oh! when I look at our sour, scandalous ways, then you must pardon me. 'I cannot.' What must I do? Nay, I must laugh; my spleen is wanton.

V. 13. We all must write, one verse, another prose. Such is the trash that, combed and ringed, with leering eye, a man will spout before the people, tickling their wanton blood. What you, old wretch, purvey such food for strangers' ears, that they may applaud till even you cry 'Hold, enough!' 'But what's the use of learning if it may never come to light?' What then, is it for this you make your cheek so pale? Is all your knowledge nought if others know not that you have it? 'But it is pleasant to be pointed at, with That's the man! Would you not like your poems to be learnt by all the well-bred boys at school?' Why, see you! there are some gentlemen discussing over their wine what true poetry is. One with a violet cloak lisps something about Phyllis or Hypsipyle, or other sentimental trash, and all applaud. Now, is not that poet happy in his grave, and will not violets spring from out his ashes? 'You're too severe,' says one; 'no one despises well-earned fame, or leaving verses that the world will read.'

V. 44. If ever by a lucky chance I write a tolerable thing or two, I refuse not praise; my liver is not hard. All I deny is that the end of life and limit of all good is that applause of yours. Examine it and see what it contains; the Iliad of Accius, all the stuff that great men make at table; for how should they get truth from their poor clients, though they profess to like it? But will you hear the truth from me? What can you write but trash with your fat belly hanging down? O happy Janus, whom none can mock behind his back! Ye who have no eyes in the back of your head, look out for the gibe behind.

V. 63. 'What say the people?' What but this: 'His verses now are smooth even to perfection! His work is straight as any carpenter's.' Or if satire is the theme, 'Our friend's the Muse's man.' And see, because they've learnt a little Greek, they write of heroes, though they can't describe a wood or sing the country's praises. Some now-a-days like Accius and Pacuvius; and when blind fathers teach their children so, no wonder if our language is a medley, and beardless boys jump on the benches to applaud. Even in courts when men are pleading for their lives, they weigh their sentences and plant their tropes, and the audience cry, Beautiful! O Romans, are ye fallen so low? What, if a shipwrecked sailor sings me a song shall I take out my purse? No; true woe for me if I am to be moved.

V. 92. 'But we've improved our style, and introduced more delicate stuff than the old dull *Arma virum*.' Nay, would such stuff be written if there were one particle of the old vigour in us? 'Tis trash that floats upon the tongue, and savours not of thought and study.

V. 107. 'But why offend soft ears? You'll only lose your friends. I hear the dog growl at their doors.' Oh! for my part, let black be white; I care not. Bravo all! Does this content you? 'Let no one commit nuisance here.' Paint up two snakes. I cry: Begone you boys, the place is sacred.

V. 114. Lucilius lashed the town and Flaccus laughed at them; must I not mutter e'er a word? no, not in the ditch or any where. But I will bury the secret here. 'I've seen an ass's ears, my little book, with my own eyes; they all have got them.' This secret and this joke of mine I'll sell for none of your Iliads. All you who can admire Cratinus, Eupolis, and the grand old veteran, look ye at what I write. These are the men I'd have warm with my verses; not your scoffers at the Greek, and tasteless witlings who think themselves of some account because they've acted aediles in the country; nor they who laugh at science and philosophers. To them I leave their morning lounge and afternoon debauchery.

O curas hominum! o quantum est in rebus inane!
"Quis leget haec?" Min' tu istud ais? Nemo hercule, nemo;
Vel duo vel nemo.—"Turpe et miserabile!"—Quare?
Ne mihi Polydamas et Troiades Labeonem
Praetulerint? nugae. Non, si quid turbida Roma

1. *O curas hominum!*] Jahn says that in this verse Persius straightway declares the argument he is going to handle. If that be so, he straightway abandons it. But it is not so. He pretends to have written some verses (very unlike any thing he ever wrote probably), and repeats one of the lines to a friend, and the friend asks who will read such poetry. Persius answers, no one will, or at most but one or two. His friend thinks this will disgrace him, and Persius rejects that idea with contempt. The satire turns upon the neglect of good poets, and the preference shown to bad. He thinks what he has written is good, and does not care for the world's judgment. He does not refer to what he is going to write. The Scholiast on v. 2 says that verse is taken from Lucilius. It has been conjectured that his remark is meant for v. 1, and Jahn says, if that be so, it confirms his view. I do not see how it can be confirmed by any thing but the fact, and the fact is, that the first verse does not contain the subject of this Satire or any of the others, and though dark enough it does not contain any thing particularly satirical.

3. *Vel duo vel nemo.*] This is a conventional way of saying, 'scarcely any one.' The Greeks said, ἢ τὶς ἢ οὐδείς. 'Unus et alter' is the same sort of expression. The dialogue is differently distributed in different editions. The arrangement in the text I have not seen elsewhere, but it seems the simplest.

4. *Ne mihi Polydamas*] This is a proverbial way of speaking taken from Homer. When his parents tried to persuade Hector to enter the walls and avoid Achilles, he refused, and reasoned thus with his great heart:—

> ὤ μοι ἐγὼν εἰ μέν κε πύλας καὶ τείχεα δύω,
> Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει,

and he adds,

> αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους. (Il. xxii. 99, sqq.)

He was afraid of the reproaches of his friend Polydamas, the son of Panthous, who had advised all the Trojans to retire within their walls (xviii. 254, sqq.), and he was ashamed to meet the men and women of Troy. The Romans, who were familiar with Homer from boyhood, seem to have adopted this as a way of speaking. Cicero writing to Atticus uses it repeatedly (ii. 5; vii. 1; viii. 16). Aristotle quotes the same passage to show that shame helps courage (Ethic. Eudem. iii. 1). Persius calls his countrymen Trojans, as Juvenal does (S. i. 100, "Ipsos Troiugenas"), and he is generally supposed to mean a stroke at them when he says 'Troiades,' Trojan women, as the Rutulian says (Aen. ix. 617), "O vere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges." This piece of satire may have crossed his mind, but he only uses words which others had used without such intention.

Of Labeo, the Scholiast says he made a ridiculous translation of the Iliad and Odyssey word for word, of which he quotes as a specimen,

> "Crudum manduces Priamum Priamique pisinnos,"

which is the translation of Il. iv. 35,

> ὠμὸν βεβρώθοις Πρίαμον Πριάμοιό τε παῖδας.

According to the Scholiast, he is the man named below (50) Accius.

5. *Non, si quid turbida Roma Elevet,*] As to 'non' for 'ne,' see note on Horace C. i. 13. 13. 'Turbida' expresses Horace's "Fumum et opes strepitumque Romae" (C. iii. 29. 12). 'Elevare' is to disparage, to underrate. (See Forcellini.) 'Trutina' is the common name of two kinds of balance in use among the Romans, the scales (libra) and the steelyard (statera). Here the former is meant, for 'examen' means the tongue of a pair of scales which works in the handle. 'Castigare' is to correct, and Persius tells his friend not to waste his time in correcting the false index in the scales of public judgment, but to examine himself and be his own mirror, not looking for himself out of himself, that is in the opinion of the world.

Elevet, accedas, examenve improbum in illa
Castiges trutina, nec te quaesiveris extra.
Nam Romae quis non—at si fas dicere—sed fas
Tunc cum ad canitiem et nostrum istud vivere triste
Aspexi, ac nucibus facimus quaecunque relictis,
Cum sapimus patruos; tunc, tunc ignoscite.—"Nolo."—
Quid faciam? Sed sum petulanti splene cachinno.
Scribimus, inclusus numeros ille, hic pede liber,

8. *Nam Romae quis non*] [Jahn has 'Nam Romae est quis non? ac'—] We need not be at any pains to supply what Persius meant to say. He meant to say nothing and has said it very expressively. What follows is not more complete or less intelligible. "For at Rome who is not—and, if I may say it—nay I may, when I look to our gray hairs and that ill-tempered life we live, and all we do from childhood, savouring of our uncles—then, then pardon me—'I will not' answers the friend. Then what am I to do? But my spleen is saucy and I am prone to laugh." 'Sed' anticipates the advice his friend would give him, to hold his tongue. Heinrich makes Persius say 'Nolo,' meaning he would rather not do it, but he cannot help himself. 'Quid faciam' he puts in a parenthesis, comparing iii. 26, "quid metuas?" 'Si fas dicere—sed fas' is like εἴ μοι θέμις, θέμις δὲ τἀληθῆ λέγειν (Soph. Frag. Inc. 14, Dind.). 'Canities' is like 'senectus' in Horace (Epod. xiii. 5), "obducta solvatur fronte senectus." It means a sour fault-finding habit, which is also expressed in 'triste' and 'patruos.' The Scholiast quotes Cicero, who defending Caelius says of L. Herennius the prosecutor "fuit in hac causa pertristis quidam patruus, censor, magister" (c. 11). Horace repeatedly uses 'patruus' in the same way (C. iii. 12. 3, "patruae verbera linguae;" S. ii. 2. 97, "iratum patruum, vicinos, te tibi iniquum;" ii. 3. 88, "ne sis patruus mihi"). Uncles and stepmothers were equally proverbial. Jahn understands 'canities' as a premature old age brought on by all manner of profligacy. 'Istud' has reference as usual to what had been said by the other, and shows that 'triste' means the unfair criticism with which the writer had been threatened. The use of the infinitive 'vivere' is in accordance with the nature of that mood, which represents a neuter substantive (Key's L. G. 1232). We have 'scire tuum' and 'ridere meum' in this Satire (27, 122). Horace (Epp. i. 7. 27) has three instances close together:

"Reddes dulce loqui, reddes ridere decorum, et
Inter vina fugam Cinarae moerere protervae."

The Greek use of the article (τὸ ζῆν) illustrates this sense of the infinitive.

10. *nucibus . . relictis*] Nuts were a common means of amusement with boys. (See Hor. S. ii. 3. 171.) 'Nuces relinquere' is quoted by Erasmus as a proverb; meaning (as he explains it) "omissis studiis et nugis puerilibus ad graviora magisque seria converti." Akin to this he says were 'nunquam a nucibus recedere,' 'redire ad nuces,' 'nuces intermittere,' 'nucibus indulgere,' 'nuces repetere.'

12. *petulanti splene cachinno.*] On 'splene' the Scholiast says "Et hoc secundum physicos dicit, qui dicunt homines splene ridere, felle irasci, jecore amare, corde sapere, et pulmone jactari," where 'jactari' means pride. Servius on Virg. Aen. vi. 596, says the same as to lust, mirth, and passion, and on viii. 219, he repeats it quoting this verse of Persius. 'Cachinno,' a laugher, is formed from 'cachinnus,' as 'gluto,' a glutton (v. 112), from 'glutus,' the throat, 'popino,' 'ganeo,' &c. The termination expresses one addicted to any thing.

13. *Scribimus, inclusus*] "We shut ourselves up and write (one verse, another prose), something grand for the lungs, most bountiful of breath to puff and blow." [Jahn has 'Scribimus inclusi.'] He goes on to describe a man reciting his productions (see Juv. i. 1, n.; vii. 39, sqq.), with his hair smoothed and trimmed, his toga fresh cleaned, with his best (birthday) ring on, sitting on a raised stool, his throat well gargled, and a leer in his eye, showing the lewd character of his composition:—

"His eye a comment to his sense affords,
And adds lascivious looks to luscious words." (Brewster.)

'Scilicet haec,' 'and this forsooth,' means what the man has taken such pains with,

Grande aliquid quod pulmo animae praelargus anhelet.
Scilicet haec populo, pexusque togaque recenti
Et natalitia tandem cum sardonyche albus,
Sede leget celsa, liquido cum plasmate guttur
Mobile colluerit, patranti fractus ocello.
Hic neque more probo videas nec voce serena
Ingentes trepidare Titos, cum carmina lumbum
Intrant et tremulo scalpuntur ut intima versu.
Tun', vetule, auriculis alienis colligis escas?
Auriculis quibus et dicas cute perditus, ohe!—
"Quo didicisse, nisi hoc fermentum et quae semel intus

shutting himself up to compose it, vile stuff not fit for decent ears. 'Tandem' means that the man has been long preparing his verses, and comes at last to the expected day. As to 'sardonyche,' see Juv. S. vi. 382, n.; vii. 144. This man wears a ring that he reserves for birthdays, the gayest holiday the Romans kept. 'Plasma' for a gargle or mixture for softening the throat, occurs in Quintilian (Inst. i. 8), "Sit lectio non in canticum dissoluta nec plasmate, ut nunc a plerisque fit, effeminata." "Patratio est rei venereae perfectio vel consummatio, unde et patres dicti eo quod patratione peracta filios procreant." These are the Scholiast's words, and he refers to Juv. vii. 241, "oculosque in fine trementes." This is all the explanation we are likely to get. The word is not found elsewhere. 'Fractus' is here applied to the eye as Juvenal (ii. 111) applies it to the voice. Juvenal speaks of 'trementes oculos' for lascivious eyes in S. ii. 94. Each of these words, 'patranti,' 'fractus,' 'ocello' (which diminutive refers to the contraction of the eye), expresses the author's meaning. [Jahn has 'Sede legens,' 'collueris,' and a comma after 'ocello.']

20. *Ingentes trepidare Titos,*] He is describing the effects of lascivious verses upon wanton ears. 'Ingentes Titos' seems to be an imitation of Horace's 'celsi Ramnes' (A. P. 342). The Ramnenses, Titienses, and Luceres, were the three centuries of Equites formed by Romulus, and as Horace uses the first, so Persius here uses the second for the great people in general, whom he represents as listening to this filthy stuff. 'Neque more probo' refers to their lewd gestures, and 'nec voce serena' to their loud applause of those parts in particular which were most exciting. In v. 21 most MSS. and editions have 'ubi.' There is authority for 'ut,' which Heinrich adopts to avoid the elision. This is not a sufficient reason I think.

22. *Tun', vetule,*] "What you, old sinner, turn purveyor for the ears of others?" He supposes the man to be old in vice, if not in years, and to write for no other purpose than to tickle the senses of the profligate.

23. *quibus et dicas cute perditus, ohe!*] 'Ohe!' 'ohe jam!' 'ohe jam satis!' were common exclamations, all meaning 'that's enough.' See note on Hor. S. ii. 5. 96:—

"Importunus amat laudari; donec 'Ohe jam!'
Ad caelum manibus sublatis dixerit, urge,
Crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem."

Persius may have had this in mind. 'Cute perditus' properly applies to a dropsical person. It is not meant literally here, but is the same as Horace's 'crescentem utrem,' a belly blown out by flattery, the applause of the listeners. I do not know what Jahn means by saying "translatum est ad summam animi et judicii perversitatem." The personal pronoun 'tu' is omitted here though emphatic, 'even you.' Some instances are given on Hor. C. iii. 17. 5, "Auctore ab illo ducis originem." See below, v. 56.

24. *Quo didicisse, nisi hoc fermentum*] This is the supposed answer of the poet. "What is the use of learning if this leaven and all that is born in a man is not to burst from his liver like a wild fig-tree (from a tomb)?" This common use of 'quo' is noticed on Juvenal viii. 9, "Effigies quo tot bellatorum;" and xv. 61, "Et sane quo tot

Innata est rupto jecore exierit caprificus?"
En pallor seniumque! O mores! usque adeone
Scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?
"At pulcrum digito monstrari et dicier, hic est!
Ten' cirratorum centum dictata fuisse
Pro nihilo pendas?" Ecce inter pocula quaerunt

rixantis millia turbae." 'Fermentum' is any thing which ferments within. Here it is the poet's nasty thoughts. See note on Juv. iii. 187. The man is made unconsciously to describe the corruption of his own mind by his illustration. It was common to see the wild fig springing from tombs as mentioned on Juvenal x. 145: "Sterilis mala robora ficus." Lust, as we have seen above (v. 12, n.), was supposed to have its seat in the liver.

26. *En pallor seniumque!*] For 'en' Heinrich reads 'hinc,' and gives these words to the speaker in the two preceding verses. There is no authority for 'hinc,' and the words express well the indignation of the poet. 'See this is your pale cheek and your wrinkles: this is what you have studied for, to be flattered by such people as these.' 'Senium' is like 'canities' above, v. 9, except that the cause is different. It means the severity of a studious face. In iii. 85, he says "Hoc est quod palles?" 'O mores!' seems to have been a common exclamation after Cicero, "O tempora, O mores!" (In Verr. ii. 4. 25, and in Cat. i. 1.) Martial has an epigram beginning "Dixerat 'o Mores! o Tempora!' Tullius olim" (ix. 71). Persius asks is your knowledge so entirely nothing unless another knows you have it? As to 'usque adeo' see Juv. xi. 131, n., "adeo nulla uncia nobis est eboris." On 'scire tuum' see above, v. 9, n.

28. *At pulcrum digito monstrari*] So Horace thought.

"Quod monstror digito praetereuntium
Romanae fidicen lyrae,
Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est." (C. iv. 3. 21, sqq.)

'Cirrati' are boys with long hair and curls, which they usually wore till they took the 'toga virilis.' See Juv. xv. 135, n. 'Dictata' are boys' lessons, so called because the master commonly dictated what the boys had to learn by heart. This particularly applied to poetry.

30. *Ecce inter pocula quaerunt*] Heinrich makes this, to v. 43, a continuation of the speech in the preceding verses. But it is in fact an indirect and sarcastic reply to it. The poet goes on to show the worth of such praise as the man thinks so much of, and represents a party of fellows over their cups discussing what was real poetry, and a coxcomb getting up and drawling and mincing out some trash of a sentimental sort, which is forthwith applauded by the company. "Surely (he adds sarcastically) that man is happy in his grave! The turf must lie light upon his bones after such praise, and violets must spring from his ashes." 'Romulidae' is used with contempt like 'Titos' above (v. 20). As to 'laena' see Juv. iii. 283. It was worn of various fine colours in and out of the house. Turnebus (Adv. xxviii. 26) says it was not worn out of doors. 'Hyacinthina' is a dark violet. The MSS. vary between different forms of 'hyacinthina' and 'ianthina.' As this does not suit the metre, Heinrich believing it to represent the true reading has altered it to 'Tyrianthina,' a mixed colour, purple and violet. The word is found in Martial (i. 54). 'Rancidulum' is offensive from affectation (Juv. vi. 185, n., "nam quid rancidius"). 'Balba' is applied to 'nare,' but the meaning is 'balbum locutus de nare,' drawling through his nose. Phyllis is the Thracian princess Demophoon promised to marry, and whose complaint is told in one of Ovid's most touching Epistles (Heroid. ii.). 'Hypsipyle' was the daughter of Thoas and queen of Lemnos when Jason landed there on his way to Colchis. He married and left her, and she is made to pour out her love and jealousy in another of Ovid's Epistles (Heroid. vi.). 'Eliquat:' he strains his speech like wine, that it may come out as delicate as possible, and trips his words upon his delicate palate, which is an imitation of Horace, S. ii. 3. 274, "Quid, cum balba feris annoso verba palato?" Horace is speaking of a lewd old man affecting youth. Forcellini says 'eliquat' means that he lets his speech drip word by word like wine from a strainer. The other sense is better. That

Romulidae saturi quid dia poemata narrent.
Hic aliquis cui circum humeros hyacinthina laena est,
Rancidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus,
Phyllidas, Hypsipylas, vatum et plorabile si quid,
Eliquat, ac tenero supplantat verba palato.
Assensere viri: nunc non cinis ille poetae
Felix? non levior cippus nunc imprimit ossa?
Laudant convivae; nunc non e Manibus illis,
Nunc non e tumulo fortunataque favilla
Nascentur violae? "Rides," ait, "et nimis uncis
Naribus indulges: an erit qui velle recuset
Os populi meruisse, et cedro digna locutus
Linquere nec scombros metuentia carmina nec tus?"
Quisquis es, o modo quem ex adverso dicere feci,
Non ego cum scribo si forte quid aptius exit,

Persius means any reference here to Nero I do not believe.

36. *Assensere viri:*] This is in the Epic vein. 'Nunc' is 'after this.' 'Cippus' is the monumental stone on which was the inscription, of which several are preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere. On the 'cippus' was often engraved S.T.T.L. for 'sit tibi terra levis,' and that was one of the common 'formulae' in taking leave of the dead. [Fabretti, Inscript. Antiq., &c., Romae, 1699, pp. 284, 285, 286, gives examples of monumental inscriptions which contain this formula sometimes at full length, as for example, "Optamus cuncti sit tibi terra levis."]

40. *nimis uncis Naribus indulges:*] Horace speaks of one as "minus aptus acutis Naribus horum hominum," not suited to the sharp critics of the day (S. i. 3. 29), and of one Balatro "suspendens omnia naso," who sneered at every thing (S. ii. 8. 64). He also has "Ad haec ego naribus uti Formido," 'I am afraid to answer with a sneer' (Epp. i. 19. 45). See below, v. 118. 'Ait' refers to no one in particular: "says one." 'Recuset' is used in the sense of 'neget' as below (48). Jahn says 'velle recusare' is stronger than 'nolle.' I do not know what he understands by 'recuset.' 'Os populi' is an ordinary periphrasis for fame, made proverbial by Ennius, "volito vivus per ora virum." 'Velle meruisse' is to wish one had done something to earn; 'velle linquere' is to wish one may leave. Jahn says we should expect 'merere.' I think the perfect is wanted. As to 'cedro' see Horace, A. P. 331, "speramus carmina fingi Posse linenda cedro." Cedar oil was used for preserving books from insects, and they were kept, Casaubon says, in cedar boxes and sometimes bound in cedar wood. Pliny (H. N. xiii. 13) says the preservation of the books of Numa was accounted for by their being smeared with cedar oil. Vitruvius (ii. 9) says "quae unguuntur cedrio ut libri a tineis et carie non laeduntur." 'Scombri' are mackerel. On this line see Juv. xiii. 116, n. and Martial iii. 2 (to his book), "Ne nigram cito raptus in culinam Cordylas madida tegas papyro." 'Cordylae' were young 'thynni.'

45. *Non ego cum scribo*] "Occasionally in order that it may have great emphasis 'non' is placed at the beginning of a sentence, or at the beginning of a predicative part of a sentence, and in these cases it often becomes difficult to give a translation which shall not greatly alter the order of words" (Key, L. G. 1403). Where 'non' occurs with the personal pronoun it commonly precedes it, as here and in S. iii. 78, and twice together in Horace, Epp. i. 19. 37, sqq.:

"Non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor
Impensis coenarum et tritae munere vestis,
Non ego, nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor,
Grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor."

Such cases are common in Horace. Professor Key notices S. i. 6, "Non quia,

Quamquam haec rara avis est, si quid tamen aptius exit,
Laudari metuam; neque enim mihi cornea fibra est:
Sed recti finemque extremumque esse recuso
EUGE tuum et BELLE. Nam belle hoc excute totum:
Quid non intus habet? Non hic est Ilias Acci
Ebria veratro? non si qua elegidia crudi
Dictarunt proceres? non quicquid denique lectis
Scribitur in citreis? Calidum scis ponere sumen,

Maecenas, Lydorum quicquid," &c., where "the negative is separated from the verb to which it belongs by nearly five lines."

46. *rara avis est,*] This proverbial way of speaking occurs twice in Juvenal (S. vi. 165, n.). The modest repetition 'si quid tamen aptius' is like Horace, "Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est" (v. 28, n.). 'Exit' may be taken from the potter's craft, as in Hor. A. P. 21, "Amphora coepit Institui; currente rota cur urceus exit?" 'Metuam' is used as Horace frequently uses it; "penna metuente solvi" (C. ii. 2. 7), "metuentis reddere soldum" (S. ii. 5. 65), and elsewhere. It means 'to refuse,' or something of that sort. The original notion is connected with fear and shrinking, but that is lost sight of in these places. "Labra movet metuens audiri" (Hor. Epp. i. 16. 60), quoted by Jahn, is less to the purpose: fear is there clearly expressed. 'Fibra' is the lower part of the liver, and is here equivalent to 'jecur,' the seat of all kinds of desire and passion, as here the desire of praise.

48. *Sed recti finemque extremumque*] "But I deny that your 'Euge,' 'belle,' are the end and the extreme limit of all that is right." 'Finem' is the end (τέλος) to which things tend; 'extremum' is the farthest point to which one can go in the pursuit of any thing. 'Recuso' is used as above (v. 41). The words of applause used by the Romans were numerous: σοφῶς was the most common. Horace gives three others (A. P. 428), "clamabit enim Pulcre! bene! recte!" and Martial several more (ii. 27), "effecte! graviter! cito! nequiter! euge! beate!" 'Excute' is explained on Hor. S. i. 3. 35, "denique te ipsum Concute," and on Juv. S. vi. 143, "si vero excutias, facies non uxor amatur." The idea is taken from the shaking of a suspected person's clothes to see he has nothing secreted in them. So Pliny (H. N. vii. 36) says of the woman who was allowed to visit her mother in prison and nursed her from her breast, "a janitore semper excussa nequid inferret cibi." (See Juv. iii. 314, n.) The metaphor is followed up here by "Quid non intus habet?" Compare Cic. in Pisonem, c. 5, "Haec sunt, o carnifex, in gremio sepulta consulatus tui." "This applause if searched will be found to have taken in Accius' Iliad and the trash that fine people compose for the dinner table, for how could they expect to hear the truth from their parasites?"

50. *Non hic est Ilias Acci*] This is Accius Labeo mentioned above (v. 4). The MSS. vary between 'Atti' and 'Acci.' The editors are not agreed. Casaubon, Heinrich, Passow, and Orelli have 'Acci,' Jahn 'Atti.' 'Ebria veratro,' 'drunk with hellebore,' which is the Greek name for the same plant. It was a purging medicine supposed to have much effect in clearing the brain, and so used in madness, and by poets (Pliny, H. N. xxv. 5). 'Elegidia' is a Greek diminutive not elsewhere used in Latin. The third syllable is lengthened. 'Crudi proceres' are great people who have not yet digested their dinners. 'Dictarunt' means that they did not read but spouted their nonsense extempore (or pretending that it was so) for the parasites to admire and the slave to take down. Horace says in his Epistle to Augustus "Pueri patresque severi Fronde comas vincti coenant et carmina dictant" (ii. 1. 109). 'Quicquid denique,' 'any thing in short,' means that they did not confine themselves to 'elegidia.' Citrus wood was in fashion for a long time for couches and tables. It was the most expensive of all sorts. (Hor. S. ii. 2. 4, n.)

53. *Calidum scis ponere sumen,*] 'Ponere' is 'to put upon the table,' the usual word. See Horace, S. ii. 2. 23, "posito pavone," and elsewhere; also below, S. iii. 111. The teats (sumen) of a sow which had lately littered for the first time were much prized. Persius says to the great

Scis comitem horridulum trita donare lacerna,
Et, 'Verum,' inquis, 'amo; verum mihi dicite de me.'
Quipote? Vis dicam? nugaris, cum tibi, calve,
Pinguis aqualiculus protenso sesquipede extet.
O Jane, a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit,
Nec manus auriculas imitari mobilis albas,
Nec linguae quantum sitiat canis Apula tantum.
Vos, o patricius sanguis, quos vivere fas est
Occipiti caeco, posticae occurrite sannae!
"Quis populi sermo est?" quis enim, nisi carmina molli

man (he imagines one) that he knows how to entertain a parasite and give him a shabby cloak when he is cold, and then ask his opinion, professing to wish for a candid one. He appears to have remembered Horace, Epp. i. 19. 37. (See v. 45, above.) Martial has a clever epigram to Gallicus, who had often asked him for his candid judgment on his writings (viii. 76):

"Dic verum mihi, Marce, dic amabo;
Nil est quod magis audiam libenter.
Sic et cum recitas tuos libellos,
Et causam quoties agis clientis,
Oras, Gallice, me rogasque semper.
Durum est me tibi quod rogas negare.
Vero verius ergo quid sit audi:
Verum, Gallice, non libenter audis."

He had another friend whom he calls Ponticus, equally anxious for his opinion, and he got his answer (v. 63). Casaubon observes that Persius has almost copied the words of the woman in Plautus (Mostellaria i. 3. 24), "Ego verum amo; verum volo mihi dici; mendacem odi."

56. *Quipote? Vis dicam?*] "How can they? Would you like me to tell you (the truth)? It is mere nonsense for you, baldhead (to write poetry), while you have a foot and a half of fat paunch sticking out and hanging down before you." He means he cannot expect the parasites to tell the truth, but if he likes it he will tell it himself. The emphatic pronoun is omitted again as in v. 23. He calls the man 'calve.' It was a contemptuous way of speaking it would seem. 'Aqualiculus,' the Scholiast says, properly means the paunch of a pig. 'Sesquipes' is not used in this independent way elsewhere. It is the proverbial measure for long things. Horace speaks of "sesquipedalia verba," A. P. 97.

58. *O Jane, a tergo*] He says Janus, who looked both ways, behind and before, was lucky, for no one could mock him behind his back, as these noble poets were mocked. 'Ciconia' means the stretching the fingers before the nose in the form of a stork's bill, and pretending to peck at a man, which is the meaning here of 'pinsit.' It was much the same as boys commonly do now. What follows means putting the hands to the sides of the head in imitation of large donkey's ears moving to and fro, and thrusting out the tongue as far, he says, as a thirsty dog. White asses were counted the best, and so were white horses. The dog is called Apulian because that part of the country was notoriously dry. See note on Horace, Epod. iii. 16, "Siticulosae Apuliae." Elsewhere he speaks of "pauper aquae Daunus" (C. iii. 30). 'Quantum sitiat' is an elliptical expression more easily understood than translated. It means, 'as much as a dog shows when it is thirsty.' Ovid says (Fast. vi. 123) "Stulta! videt Janus quae post sua terga gerantur." As to 'imitari mobilis,' see Prol. 11. [In v. 60 Jahn has 'tantae.']

61. *Vos, o patricius sanguis,*] "Ye noble gentlemen, whose fate it is to have no eyes in the back of your head, beware of the gibe behind you." 'Sanna' is a grimace or distortion of the mouth. Juvenal uses it for a sneer (vi. 306). 'Occurrite,' 'meet it,' means they may expect and beware of it. 'Fas' is that which the gods have ordered.

63. *Quis populi sermo est? quis enim,*] "What do the people say of me? Aye truly, what but this, that now at last verses have learnt to flow in gentle numbers, so that the joining of the parts allows the critical nail to pass over its smooth surface." The metaphor, as explained on Horace (S. i. 5. 32, "ad unguem Factus homo"), is taken from the sculptor passing his nail over his statue to test the perfect accuracy of the joinings. The vanity of the man is supposed to be pleased with praise meant as a sarcasm

Nunc demum numero fluere, ut per leve severos
Effundat junctura ungues? scit tendere versum
Non secus ac si oculo rubricam dirigat uno.
Sive opus in mores, in luxum et prandia regum
Dicere, res grandes nostro dat Musa poetae.
Ecce modo heroas sensus afferre videmus

on the feebleness of public taste, which likes a smooth flow of words, and a poem laid out as if with the eye of a carpenter measuring his work with a red line. They used a string coloured with vermilion just as our carpenters use a chalked line. 'Tendere' is used for laying out in a straight line and is appropriate to the rest of the passage. I do not think it has any thing to do with adapting verses to music either here or in Hor. S. ii. 1. 2, to which Heinrich refers (see note there). 'Effundat' expresses the unobstructed passage of the nail, like water poured out.

67. *Sive opus in mores,*] 'Sive' is opposed to what goes before, in which it is implied that the subject is of the softer sort. But if he must change his theme, and write of the manners and luxury of the age, still our poet is the man, say they, for these subjects. I differ from Jahn, who says 'sive' has nothing going before to which it can be referred in the way of opposition. I think also he is wrong in taking 'in' as representing only the subject of the man's poems. 'Dicere in' is to speak against, and 'dicere in mores,' 'in luxum,' can only be to speak against the manners and luxury of the day. Heinrich, Jahn, and others, take 'regum' for the rich, a common use of the word; and they make it depend upon 'mores, luxum, prandia.' Casaubon thinks 'prandia' refers to such tragic subjects as the dinner of Thyestes or Tereus, common subjects of tragedy (see S. v. 17). No doubt 'regum' means 'the rich.' See Hor. S. ii. 2. 44: "Necdum omnis abacta Pauperies epulis regum."

69. *Ecce modo heroas sensus*] 'Ecce modo' is, 'Do but look;' and he goes on, "We see men presenting us with the feelings of heroes on the strength of having practised a little nonsense in Greek, men who don't know how to describe a wood, or sing the praises of the country, its baskets, its fireplaces, its pigs, its Palilia." 'Heroas' is used as an adjective, as in Propertius ii. 1. 18: "Ut possem heroas ducere in arma manus." Casaubon, Passow, and Heinrich prefer 'heroos,' which is a legitimate adjective, but has no authority here.

'Afferre' is to bring and put before us. 'Nugari solitos Graece' Casaubon and some others take to mean that they were just from school. There is a reading of good MSS. 'docemus,' which Heinrich adopts in support of that interpretation. 'Ponere' is used in Horace, C. iv. 8. 8: "Sollers nunc hominem ponere nunc deum," and A. P. 34: "Infelix operis summa quia ponere totum Nesciet," with reference to the works of sculptors and painters, and here Persius uses it for poetry, as below for flowers of rhetoric (v. 86). On 'ponere artifices,' see Prol. 11, n. 'Saturum' is only a poet's epithet for the country—rich, fertile. See Virg. Georg. ii. 197: "Saturum Tarentum." From other characteristics of the country he chooses the most obvious and commonplace, such as those poets commonly noticed, as baskets (of which a quaint representation may be seen in Dict. Ant., art. Corbis), fireplaces, which Horace found more comfortable in the country than in the town (S. ii. 3. 10, n.: "Si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto"), pigs, and the Palilia. This was the shepherd's holiday, held on the 21st of April, described by Ovid (Fast. iv. 731). 'Fumosa foeno' is explained by Ovid (Fast. iv. 781, sq.):

"Moxque per ardentes stipulae crepitantis acervos
Trajicias celeri strenua membra pede."

The shepherds made fires of hay and straw and jumped through the flames by way of amusement. So Tibullus says (ii. 5. 89):

"Ille (pastor) levis stipulae sollennes potus acervos
Accendet flammas transilietque sacras;"

and Propertius (v. 4. 77, sq. Paley):

"Cumque super raros foeni flammantis acervos
Trajicit immundos ebria turba pedes."

Jahn takes 'lucum' for the grove of Mars, noticed by Juvenal (i. 7). This destroys the sense of the whole passage.

Nugari solitos Graece, nec ponere lucum
Artifices, nec rus saturum laudare, ubi corbes
Et focus et porci et fumosa Palilia foeno;
Unde Remus, sulcoque terens dentalia, Quinti,
Cum trepida ante boves dictatorem induit uxor,
Et tua aratra domum lictor tulit.—Euge, poeta!
Est nunc Brisei quem venosus liber Acci,
Sunt quos Pacuviusque et verrucosa moretur
Antiopa, *aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta.*
Hos pueris monitus patres infundere lippos
Cum videas, quaerisne unde haec sartago loquendi

73. *Unde Remus, sulcoque terens*] See Juv. x. 73, n.: "Turba Remi?" The man tells how Remus and his brother came from the country, and how Cincinnatus (L. Quintius) was driving the plough when his wife came out in a bustle with his toga, and a lictor carried home his plough. "Bravo, poet!" cries Persius, as if this was a grand effort. Livy (iii. 26) says that when the men came to Cincinnatus to tell him he was appointed dictator "togam propere e tugurio proferre uxorem Raciliam jubet." 'Dentale' is here put for the plough, but it is properly that part of the wood-work into which the share is let (γύης), the share-beam. See Servius and other commentators on Virg. Georg. i. 172: "Binae aures duplici aptantur dentalia dorso." 'Sulcoque terens' is an abrupt way of passing to the second person. It is as if he had said, 'et tu sulco terens.'

74. *dictatorem induit uxor,*] A large number of MSS. have 'dictaturam,' and Orelli, Plum, and Weber have that reading, which also appears in the quotation of John of Salisbury (Nugae, &c., vi. 2), who with the same MSS. reads 'Quem' for 'Quum.' Jahn says the best MSS. have 'dictatorem,' though they are not the most numerous. This reading is defended by Heinrich, who compares with it "pueros producit avaros" (Juv. xiv. 228); "causidicos docuit" (xv. 111). He means, I suppose, that by 'dictatorem induit' we are to understand she put his robe upon him and made him dictator. 'Induit' is used absolutely. He might have said 'vestem induit.' Most editions have "Quum—dictatorem."

76. *Est nunc Brisei*] Briseus was a name of Dionysus, the derivation of which is uncertain. The Scholiast gives several. It is here applied to Accius the tragic poet mentioned several times by Horace. The judgment of the ancients upon Accius and Pacuvius will be found in my notes on Hor. S. i. 10. 53, Epp. ii. 1. 56, and A. P. 258. 'Venosus' is 'inflated,' as 'verrucosus' is 'rough,' like a skin full of warts. Quintilian says Accius and Pacuvius were both "clarissimi gravitate sententiarum, verborum pondere." (Inst. x. 1.) Tacitus, or the author of the Dialogue de Oratoribus (c. 20), speaks of "Accii et Pacuvii veternus," their heavy drowsy style. 'Brisei' may mean the same. 'Venosus' may be understood from a passage in the same dialogue (c. 21), quoted by Plum, "Oratio autem, sicut corpus hominis, ea demum pulcra est, in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubore tegit et decore commendat." The tragedy of Antiopa was translated almost literally from the Greek of Euripides, as Cicero intimates (de Finn. i. 2). The plot is unknown. It seems to have been much acted. (See Cic. Acad. Pr. ii. 7.) Persius says there are now-a-days persons who are charmed with the puffy writings of Accius and the rough language of Pacuvius, of which he gives a specimen or a parody. For 'Brisei' Casaubon proposed 'Briseis' as if it were the subject of Accius' book. The MSS. do not vary, and the Scholiast is very explicit.

80. *unde haec sartago loquendi*] 'Sartago' is a kettle or frying-pan (Juv. x. 64). The meaning here is only to be got from the context, and it seems to be much the same as 'farrago,' a variety of things mixed up and fried together. The suggestion of Casaubon that it is taken from the hissing of the pan is noticed but rejected by Forcellini. 'Trossuli' Pliny says (H. N. xxxiii. 2)

Venerit in linguas; unde istud dedecus, in quo
Trossulus exsultat tibi per subsellia levis?
Nilne pudet capiti non posse pericula cano
Pellere, quin tepidum hoc optes audire DECENTER?
Fur es, ait Pedio. Pedius quid? crimina rasis
Librat in antithetis, doctus posuisse figuras.
Laudatur:—bellum hoc!—hoc bellum? an, Romule, ceves?
Men' moveat? quippe et cantet si naufragus assem
Protulerim. Cantas cum fracta te in trabe pictum
Ex humero portas? Verum nec nocte paratum
Plorabit qui me volet incurvasse querela.
"Sed numeris decor est et junctura addita crudis.

was a later name for the 'equites.' The origin of it is uncertain (see Forcellini). Persius says, "When blear-eyed fathers teach their boys to admire such stuff as this, do you ask where all this medley in our speech has come from, or that indecent practice of beardless boys jumping up on the benches (and applauding)?"

83. *Nilne pudet capiti*] He supposes a man on trial for theft. But even in defending himself the man (he calls him Pedius) must balance his sentences in polished antitheses, and look out for applause. 'Capiti cano' is the dative case, and the epithet is only thrown in for effect. 'Tepidum' is 'lukewarm' and 'decenter' is but qualified praise. 'Ait' is 'the prosecutor says.' Persius probably takes his name Pedius from Horace's orator, of whom not much is known (see note on S. i. 10. 28). As to 'posuisse' see Persius, v. 70, n., and S. v. 3. 'Romule' stands for a descendant of Romulus. 'Cevere' is said of the vilest sort of men, and he asks in indignation whether Romulus is a man or something viler than vile women that he should applaud such trash. Catullus (xxix. 5) says "Cinaede Romule, haec videbis et feres?" Passow says the obscene sense is not meant here. I think it is. [Jahn reads 'doctas posuisse figuras Laudatur.']

88. *Men' moveat? quippe et*] "Would he (Pedius) move me? I suppose if a shipwrecked man were to sing me a song I should take out an as and give it him! What, you sing, do you, when you carry yourself about in a picture, floating on a bit of your wreck? The man must tell some tale of real sorrow, not made up at night, who wants to move me with his story." This punctuation I have adopted with Passow and Heinrich. Most editors take 'men' moveat' with what follows, making much confusion. 'Nocte paratum' is a fictitious tale made up, as poets write their stories, at night. (Juv. i. 51, n., "Venusina digna lucerna.") Horace (A. P. 102) has "Si vis me flere dolendum est Primum ipsi tibi," which Persius may have remembered. 'Incurvasse' stands for the simple word 'flectere.' The sailor and his begging picture are referred to in Juv. xiv. 301, sq.

92. *Sed numeris decor est*] "But (says one) we have added grace and unity to the crude verse of our fathers. Thus do we learn to sing of Attis, and Arion riding on the dolphin over the waters of the sea; this is the way we stole a rib from lengthy Apennine." 'Claudere sic versum' is like Horace's "neque enim concludere versum Dixeris esse satis," and "Si quis pedibus quid claudere senis" (S. i. 4. 40; 10. 59). 'Sic' is 'after this fashion.' 'Junctura' is a comprehensive word not easily rendered. Perhaps we may call it 'harmony.' Quintilian (Inst. ix. 4. 32) says it lies "in verbis, incisis, membris, periodis;" that is, in the words and different parts of a sentence. Horace (A. P. 48) speaks of "callida junctura," the clever connexion of words with their context; and he speaks (ib. 242) of the force composition derives from "series juncturaque," that is, the regular flow and connexion of the language and parts. Attis or Atys was a favourite of Cybele, and he is called Berecyntius, from a mountain in Phrygia, where Cybele was worshipped. The story of Arion, the minstrel of Lesbos, who was thrown overboard and carried to shore on the back of a dolphin, is told by Herodotus (i. 24). The next line about the Apennines was probably found in some poem of

Claudere sic versum didicit Berecyntius Attis,
Et qui caeruleum dirimebat Nerea delphin;
Sic costam longo subduximus Apennino.
Arma virum, nonne hoc spumosum et cortice pingui,
Ut ramale vetus praegrandi subere coctum?"
Quidnam igitur tenerum et laxa cervice legendum?

the day, and is quoted as a specimen of the 'decor' which the man speaks of. The meaning of it, if it ever had any, is not so easy to explain. The poet may be speaking of crossing the Apennines, but without the context it is impossible I think to guess with any probability what he means. The same man goes on to ask whether the Aeneid (which according to a common practice he calls by its first words) is not like an old bough with a fat rind, and dried up with a great bark; which language has not much more meaning, as he applies it, than his fine quotation. 'Spumosum et cortice pingui' is explained by what Pliny says (H. N. xvii. 24): "aliquae vero (arbores laborant) et obesitate; ut omnia quae resinam ferunt nimia pinguitudine in tedam mutantur, et cum radices quoque pinguescere coepere intereunt, ut animalia, nimio adipe." Here then is meant a branch of which the sap or resin has oozed out and choked the pores, and formed the bark into a dry swollen mass.

97. *praegrandi subere coctum?*] The Scholiast on Horace (S. i. 2. 129: "vepallida lecto Desiliat") quotes this line of Persius: he read 'vegrandi subere coctum.' Servius so quotes it on Virg. Aen. xi. 552, and 'vegrandi' has some MSS. to support it. Most have 'praegrandi,' and that word is adopted by all the editors I believe but Jahn, who has 'vegrandi.' I have referred to this place in my note on Horace (l. c.), where the meaning of 've' in composition is explained.

The difficulties that have been raised about every part of these verses (92—97) are so many that it would be tedious to follow them. I think Heinrich is right in his interpretation, which I have followed. It is common to suppose 'Berecyntius Attis' (or 'Atys' or 'Attin,' as some MSS. have it), 'qui—delphin,' as well as 'costam—Apennino' to be specimens of the style the man is praising. The two next lines (96, 97) are generally given to Persius, and Jahn follows what he calls the ingenious explanation of Meister, who has written a treatise on the subject (Versuch über Persius, S. i. vs. 92—106, Frankfurt, 1801), and says 'Arma virum!' is an exclamation of impatience on the part of Persius, and that what follows relates to the stuff the other man has been praising. I see no ingenuity in such a manifest blunder, and have no doubt now about the general meaning of the passage.

98. *Quidnam igitur tenerum*] This is Persius speaking. He proceeds to give a specimen of the tender poetry as it was counted, poetry to be read with a lackadaisical air. Whether the verses are taken from some poem of the day, or invented by Persius, may be left uncertain. They refer to the revels of the Bacchanals, who were called by the Macedonians Mimallones (Plut. Alex. c. 2): they were also named Bassarides, after their god, who was called Bassareus (Hor. C. i. 18. 11). Maenades (μαίνομαι) was their commonest title. 'Bombus' is the usual word for the sound of a trumpet. Catullus (lxiv. 264) has a verse like the first of these: "Multi raucisonis efflabant cornua bombis." In the same passage, which refers like this to the orgies of Bacchus, he says (v. 258) "Pars e divulso raptabant membra juvenco" (or 'jactabant'). 'Superbo' Jahn and others say is explained by ταῦροι δ' ὑβρισταὶ κεἰς κέρας θυμούμενοι (Eurip. Bacch. v. 743). The Scholiast I think is right in saying Pentheus and Agave his mother are meant. Pentheus is called by Ovid "ex omnibus unus Contemptor Superum" (Met. iii. 513). His mother mistook him for a beast. Ovid says a boar, Euripides a lion. Here he is a calf. The Maenad is represented as mounting the chariot of Bacchus drawn by lynxes, harnessed with ivy, and raising the bacchanal cry (Hor. C. ii. 19. 7): "Euoe parce, Liber, Parce, gravi metuende thyrso." Bacchus is 'the Shouter,' and this was his cry. 'Reparabilis' is used actively (see Juv. xv. 143, n.). It means 'reproducing.' G. J. Vossius (de poet. lat. p. 43) is indignant with Persius for ridiculing these lines, which he says are better than his own. Perhaps they were his own. Casaubon thinks they are Nero's. Dion mentions a poem of the emperor's entitled Bacchae. The Scholiast too says these verses are Nero's. I do not believe it.

Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,
Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo
Bassaris, et lyncem Maenas flexura corymbis,
Euion ingeminat: reparabilis assonat Echo.
Haec fierent si testiculi vena ulla paterni
Viveret in nobis? summa delumbe saliva
Hoc natat; in labris et in udo est Maenas et Attis;
Nec pluteum caedit nec demorsos sapit ungues.
"Sed quid opus teneras mordaci radere vero
Auriculas? vide sis ne majorum tibi forte
Limina frigescant: sonat hic de nare canina
Littera."—Per me equidem sint omnia protinus alba;

103. *Haec fierent si testiculi*] The Scholiast explains this rightly, if it wants explanation. "Tam mollia et virtute rerum carentia carmina, si in nobis aliquid paternae virtutis remansisset, componeremus, si quicquam in nobis virilitatis esset, vel si masculi essemus non delumbes?" 'Delumbe' he also explains "fractum et enerve, quia in lumbis vel renibus virtus est." 'Elumbis' is used in the same way, Dial. de Orat. c. 18: "Facile est deprehendere Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audivisse tanquam solutum et enervem; a Bruto autem, ut ipsius verbis utar, tanquam fractum atque elumbem." It was a proverbial saying that a chatterer's speech floated on his tongue. Theophrastus (Char. vii. fin.) says of such a man χαλεπὸν τῷ λάλῳ ἐστὶ σιωπᾶν, καὶ ὡς ἐν ὑγρῷ ἐστὶν ἡ γλῶττα, where Casaubon quotes this verse of Persius, who means that this sort of poetry is mere gabble generated on the tongue and not coming from the brain. He says it is not of the kind that beats the wall or savours of the bitten nail. 'Pluteus,' as mentioned on Juv. ii. 7, is a bookcase fixed against the wall. The language is like that of Damasippus to Horace (S. ii. 3. 7, n.):

"Culpantur frustra calami, immeritusque laborat
Iratis natus paries diis atque poetis."

The poet who is in earnest bites his nails or raps the wall with his knuckles in his impatience and perplexity. These fluent triflers are never at a loss.

107. *Sed quid opus teneras*] He supposes some one to ask, "But supposing all this to be true, what necessity is there to rasp tender ears with biting truths? Take care if you please ('sis,' 'si vis') lest the doors of the great by any chance grow cool upon you: the dog's letter is heard there." The dog's letter is R, as coming nearest to the snarling of a dog, which is 'hirrire.' His friend advises him as if he heard the dog snarling and bidding him keep away. Lucilius in a line preserved in Charisius (i. p. 100, Putsch., see Forcellini, Hirrio), says of this letter, "Irritata canis quod homo quam planius dicit." English readers will remember the dialogue of the nurse and Romeo (Act ii. Sc. 4):

"N. Doth not rosemary and Romeo begin both with a letter?

"R. Aye, nurse, what of that? Both with an R.

"N. Ah mocker! that's the dog's name. R is for the dog. No, I know it begins with some other letter, and she hath the prettiest sententious of it, of you and rosemary, that it would do you good to hear it." In most Roman houses there was a dog kept in the porter's room by the door. (Hor. S. ii. 6. 114, n.: "domus alta Molossis Personuit canibus.") 'Majorum limina frigescant' is imitated perhaps from Horace, whose friend says much the same to him (S. ii. 1. 60):

"—— O puer, ut sis
Vitalis metuo, et majorum ne quis amicus
Frigore te feriat."

(See Forcellini, Frigus, Frigesco, Refrigero.)

110. *Per me equidem*] 'Equidem' if compounded of 'ego quidem,' as is generally supposed, must originally have been confined to verbs in the first person. Terence, if the MSS. are right, once uses 'equidem' without reference to the first person (Eun. v. 4. 34), and so does Pro-

Nil moror. Euge omnes! omnes bene mirae eritis res.
Hoc juvat? 'Hic,' inquis, 'veto quisquam faxit oletum.'
Pinge duos angues: pueri, sacer est locus, extra
Meiite; discedo.—Secuit Lucilius urbem,
Te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis.
Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico

pertius (iii. 23. 5). Whether Cicero ever used it with other persons is doubtful. The MSS. vary in the places where he seems to do so. There is also a variation here, two MSS. having 'quidem,' but one of these is of no character. It seems to be a copyist's error, and the metre will not admit of it. In Heinrich's text there is 'quidem,' I suppose by mistake. Below (S. v. 45) we have "Non equidem hoc dubites," where Heinrich says, perhaps truly, that 'equidem' is nothing more than 'quidem,' and differs from it only as *ἐκεῖνος* from *κεῖνος*. Persius says, "As far as I am concerned let henceforth (protinus) all be fair; I care for nothing. Bravo! all; you shall all be most wonderful things. Are you satisfied with this? Here, you say, let no one commit nuisance. Paint up two snakes; boys, mind this place is sacred, go outside. I too go away." 'Pinge duos angues' are the words of Persius obeying orders. Snakes were commonly painted or carved on sacred places to represent the Genius loci, and to protect the walls from this sort of profanation. The Scholiast on Aristoph. Plutus, 733, *ἐξηξάτην οὖν δύο δράκοντ' ἐκ τοῦ νεὼ* says, *κοινῶς μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς ἥρωσι δράκοντες παρετίθεντο.* Jahn refers to an inscription, accompanied by two snakes, on the wall of a room under the baths of Titus at Rome, which was part of Nero's Golden House; "DUODECI DEOS ET DIANAM ET IOVEM OPTUMUM MAXIMUM HABEAT IRATOS QUISQUIS HIC MÌXERIT AUT CACARIT." Similar inscriptions were commonly placed on tombs. Fea (on Hor. A. P. 470: "utrum Minxerit in patrios cineres") gives three from Gruter and Fabretti. See Juv. i. 131: "Cujus ad effigiem non tantum meiere fas est." 'Oletum,' 'oletare,' are words not of common occurrence. They are connected with 'oleo.' (See Forcellini.) Professor Key says the form 'faxim' arises out of the old termination of the present perfect subjunctive 'esim,' instead of the later termination 'erim.' (L. G. 566.) The forms 'faxo' and 'faxim' are discussed at length by Madvig, Opusc. ii. 60, sqq., 'de formarum quarundam verbi Latini natura et usu disputatio.' 'Fac-sim' is like *πράξαιμι*.

The MSS. and editions vary in v. 111. Most have 'omnes etenim.' Pithoeus first gave the reading of the text, which is that also of Casaubon and Heinrich. These two editors have a (?) after 'juvat.' Passow and other modern editors omit it. I think 'etenim' is weak and an interpolation. The note of interrogation is a matter of no great importance.

114. *Secuit Lucilius urbem,*] He breaks off suddenly from his irony and asks, if Lucilius and Horace were allowed, one to lash the town and the other to turn them into quiet ridicule, whether he may not mutter a word? As to Lucilius much will be found in Hor. S. i. 10; ii. i. See Juv. i. 165: "Ense velut stricto quoties Lucilius ardens Infremuit." With 'secuit,' 'verbere' may be supplied, as in Juv. S. x. 316: "secat ille cruentis Verberibus." Horace (S. ii. 1. 67) speaks of Metellus and Lupus as objects of Lucilius' satire. The Lupus in question was perhaps L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, consul B.C. 156. Mucius' name occurs in two fragments of Lucilius, but there is nothing to guide us to the person. It was probably either P. Mucius Scaevola, cos. B.C. 133, and father of the eminent jurist, the pontifex Q. Mucius Scaevola (to whose teaching Cicero attached himself after the death of his namesake the augur, as he says at the beginning of the treatise De Amicitia), or the augur himself. It is impossible to say what offence either of them may have given Lucilius. The augur married the daughter of Lucilius' friend Laelius. Mucius is referred to by Juv. i. 154. 'Genuinum fregit' is perhaps imitated from Horace's "fragili quaerens illidere dentem Offendet solido" (S. ii. 1. 77). As to 'genuinum' see note on Juv. v. 69.

116. *Omne vafer vitium*] This is a celebrated description of Horace's style of satire, which no doubt was in the main good-natured and free from bitterness. But it made him a good many enemies. 'Populum suspendere naso' is like 'suspen-

Tangit et admissus circum praecordia ludit,
Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso.
Men' mutire nefas? nec clam nec cum scrobe, nusquam.
Hic tamen infodiam. Vidi, vidi ipse, libelle,
Auriculas asini: quis non habet? Hoc ego opertum,
Hoc ridere meum, tam nil, nulla tibi vendo
Iliade. Audaci quicunque afflate Cratino
Iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles,
Aspice et haec si forte aliquid decoctius audis.
Inde vaporata lector mihi ferveat aure,

dens omnia naso' quoted on v. 41 above. To turn up the nose and hang the object of ridicule upon it is a curious expression. Persius plainly borrowed it from Horace. 'Excusso' the Scholiast and most of the commentators explain as equivalent to 'emuncto,' used by Horace in describing Lucilius (S. i. 4. 8, "Emunctae naris"), which means a man with a clean nose, no driveller, but a clever fellow. Forcellini does not notice this place. Heinrich understands 'excusso' to mean 'sursum jactato,' like 'excussa brachia' (Ov. Met. v. 596). So it is more like "naso suspendis adunco Ignotos" (Hor. S. i. 6. 5). I incline to this explanation.

119. *Men' mutire nefas?*] 'Mutire' is to say 'mu,' and means to mutter or speak under the breath. Ovid tells this story of Midas and his ass's ears (Met. xi. 180, sqq.). He was so ashamed of them that he took pains to hide them under his turban. But the barber who cut his hair found them out, and the man wishing yet fearing to publish the secret went and dug a hole in the earth, into which he whispered it, and covering the hole he went away. But reeds sprung up over the spot, and when shaken by the wind betrayed the words of the barber. This is what Persius refers to in "nec clam nec cum scrobe;" which last is Ovid's word, "et scrobibus tacitus secedit opertis." The editors do not all agree in the punctuation of v. 119. 'Nec clam nec cum scrobe, nusquam,' is Persius' answer to himself. A (?) is not wanted after these words.

120. *Hic tamen infodiam.*] This is the same idea continued. He says he will bury what he has to say here, that is in his poem, which he personifies and addresses as if the book were the hole in which he meant to deposit the great secret he is going to tell. In the life of Persius attributed to Suetonius it is said that he wrote 'Mida rex habet,' and that his friend Cornutus after his death erased 'Mida rex' and put in 'quis non,' which would be a conventional way of saying that every one has. The MSS. all have 'quis non,' and till Casaubon every edition had the same. His reading 'Mida rex' still stands alone I believe.

121. *Hoc ego opertum, Hoc ridere meum,*] He says he will not give this secret and laugh of his, worthless as they may seem, for any Iliad in the world. He refers to the Iliad of Accius Labeo (see Persius i. 4. 50, n.). As to the infinitive 'ridere' see note on v. 9 above.

123. *Audaci quicunque afflate Cratino*] He goes on to appeal to those who are familiar with the old comic writers of Athens, saying they will read his satires. He joins Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes together, as Horace had done, S. i. 4. 1: "Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae." Horace calls Lucilius 'senex' (S. ii. 1. 34, n.), and others, without reference to their age. Persius in the same way calls Aristophanes 'praegrandis senex.' 'Afflate' is put in the vocative to agree with 'tu' as below (iii. 28, 29). A similar construction is in Horace (S. ii. 6. 20): "Matutine pater seu Jane libentius audis." 'Palles,' which is commonly used with an accusative, means to get pale with studying these great old satirists. 'Aliquid decoctius' is 'something more refined than usual.'

126. *Inde vaporata*] 'Inde' is 'by these means,' by reading these writers, and 'vaporata aure' is an ear warmed, inflamed, as Heinrich says. Casaubon takes it in the same sense as 'purgatas aures' in S. v. 63. Jahn takes it the same way, referring to "aurem mordaci lotus aceto" (v. 86), but 'vaporata' contains quite a different idea. 'Ferveat' expresses the warmth of the reader's admiration. He is supposed to

Non hic qui in crepidas Graiorum ludere gestit
Sordidus, et lusco qui possit dicere, Lusce;
Sese aliquem credens Italo quod honore supinus
Fregerit heminas Arreti aedilis iniquas;
Nec qui abaco numeros et secto in pulvere metas
Scit risisse vafer, multum gaudere paratus
Si cynico barbam petulans nonaria vellat.
His mane Edictum, post prandia Calliroen do.

read the poetry aloud to himself, and to be delighted as he hears it.

127. *Non hic qui in crepidas*] 'Not the man who laughs at all that is Greek,' which he expresses by 'crepidas Graiorum,' the 'crepida' being the Greek shoe (κρηπὶς), from which the Romans called their tragedies with Greek plots 'crepidatae' (see note on Hor. A. P. 288). 'Sordidus' is a low fellow with no taste, a man who has no more wit than to cry 'lusce' after a man with one eye, and thinks himself somebody because he has been an aedile in a country town. 'Possit' means his power of satire extends so far and no farther. The mood is not the same as in 'gestit,' but neither is the sense. He takes pleasure in the one, and would be able to do the other. Casaubon substitutes 'poscit' for the sake of the indicative. As to the country aediles, who looked to the market and the weights and measures, among other things, see notes on Juv. iii. 179; x. 100. 'Hemina' was half a 'sextarius.' 'Iniquus' was the usual word for a false measure, as in Juv. xiv. 126: "modio castigat iniquo." 'Arretium' (Arezzo) was a town of Etruria, between the Tiber and the Arnus. There was an old city of great antiquity, and a more modern on the site of the present town, where many curious relics have been found, particularly of pottery, for which this town was famous. It is said to have been the birth-place of Maecenas. 'Supinus' seems to mean 'proud,' with his head up, or as one says, walking as if he had swallowed a spit, quoting Epictetus (apud Arrianum i. 21), ὀβέλισκον καταπιὼν περιπατεῖς (Plum). Forcellini takes it so, and all the commentators. Martial (v. 8) has "Haec et talia dum refert supinus" in the same sense.

131. *Nec qui abaco numeros*] 'Abacus' was a board or tray, with raised border and wooden divisions, used for calculating numbers with pebbles. The way of doing it is given conjecturally in Dict. Antiqq. The author of the article 'Abacus' in that dictionary has mistaken this passage. It is clear that the first sentence refers to arithmetical computations on an 'abacus,' and the second to geometrical figures drawn on sand, for which an 'abacus' was also used. 'Metas' are cones, but any diagrams may be understood. 'Scit risisse vafer' is sarcastic, like 'possit dicere' above. 'Sit' has been proposed, for which Heinrich quotes authority, but I prefer the common reading: "He knows how to laugh, the clever fellow, at arithmetic and geometry, and is ready at any time to be delighted if a wanton prostitute pulls the beard of a philosopher." 'Nonaria' (meretrix) does not occur elsewhere, and the only explanation given of it is by the Scholiast, who says that these women were so called because they might not begin their trade till the ninth hour, the reason for which, he says, was that young men might not leave their military exercises to go to them. The Scholiast on Juv. vi. 117 gives the same explanation of the name. See Gesner, Thes. L. L. 'Nonaria.' Horace speaks of the boys pulling the Stoic by his beard, S. i. 3. 133.

134. *His mane Edictum,*] 'His' is 'to such as these' (Juv. xv. 10, n.). To such readers as these he leaves the life of the idle and the profligate, the first of which he expresses by the praetor's 'edictum' to represent the business of the forum much frequented by idle people in the morning, and the second by the name of some woman, as it seems, of bad character, or a name commonly borne by such women. As to the 'edicta' of Roman magistrates, see Long's Cic. vol. i. p. 162. Jahn seems to incline to the notion that the 'edictum' Persius means is a play-bill of the games, with the names of the gladiators and other matters. His note is rather in the Ruperti style, acknowledging the right but coquetting with the wrong. 'Prandia' is not used strictly. The 'prandium' was eaten about noon. He means 'coena,' as in 67.

SATIRA II.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS Satire is nearly free from difficulty. It is addressed to one Macrinus on his birthday, and Persius is led to contrast the prayers his friend, an honest man, will offer on that day with those of the generality of men, who, while openly they appear to pray for a good understanding and a good report, in private ask for the gratification of their meanest desires, sacrificing their flocks in the hope the gods will increase them, and in their infatuated love of gold offering gold to the gods, and driving out the simplicity of the old temple service, judging divine tastes by those of human corruption. The moral is that of Horace's address to the rustic Phidyle, that he who brings to the altar clean hands and an honest heart may offer the humblest sacrifice and it will be accepted.

The Satire may be read with pleasure and some instruction. There is nothing forced or unnatural in the language. The illustrations are not numerous, and the connexion of the parts is easily followed. Above all, the lesson is not out of date, and as long as God and Mammon continue to be worshipped together, the imposture of hollow and selfish prayer will continue too. It is one of the inconsistencies of the human mind to acknowledge the power of God by invoking it to the assistance of its own wickedness, which it must be the first purpose of that power, if it exists, to punish. It has been said perseveringly by the commentators and translators, and Addison has laid it down as a fact in the Spectator, No. 207, that the ideas in this Satire are taken from the Dialogue falsely ascribed to Plato, and called "Alcibiades Secundus." I have looked through that spurious production, and can see no thought or trace of expression that Persius need be supposed to have taken from that source; and whether he ever read the Dialogue may be doubtful. He had suggestion enough close at hand, in the book he studied most attentively—the men and women about him—to have enabled him to write as much as he pleased about hypocrisy, whether it took the form of prayer or any other; and every time we imagine him borrowing from writers rather than from real life, we degrade him into a position he certainly does not deserve, that of an imitator and mere rhetorician. This remark obviously does not apply to a case like that in S. iv.; where for the sake of illustrating a general truth, which is the subject of the Satire, a scene is taken from Plato.

ARGUMENT.

Set down a white mark for this day, Macrinus, and pour libations to your Genius. You do not need to take the gods apart and buy their favour, as most of our great men do; for 'tis not all can venture open prayer, banishing whispers from our temples. They've common prayers for strangers' ears, but mutter to themselves—'Oh that my uncle would depart this life.' 'Kind Hercules, grant a treasure may turn up beneath my plough.' 'Would my ward's name were blotted from the will: he's scrofulous and bilious.' 'Nerius is burying his third wife.' To offer prayers like these without offence you dip your head in the Tiber twice or thrice, and wash away the night's debauch.

V. 17. Now tell me—'tis not much—are you prepared to place Jove above—whom?—why, Staius say, an upright man as any. Go, ask of Staius what you ask of Jove—how would he cry, 'O Jupiter!' and shall not Jove cry out, 'O Jupiter!'

V. 24. Think you to pluck his beard because his lightning spares you and your house? What is the price you pay for the god's ears? Nothing but greasy entrails? See the old superstitious grandmother or aunt takes up the baby from its cradle, with spittle charms the Evil Eye away, then prays her hopeful may be rich some day, a son-in-law for kings, the girls all mad for him, and roses growing wheresoe'er he treads. Grant not their prayers, O Jove, though they come all in white to offer them.

V. 41. You ask for health and strength; well, be it so; but your gross feeding will not let the gods be kind.

V. 44. You think to make a fortune by your sacrifices, and pray Mercurius to increase your flocks. How can he while you waste so many in the flames? Yet the man goes on hoping, thinking to win by entrails and meal-cakes—'now are my lands—now are my flocks increasing—now—now,' till the last coin is left to sigh forlorn at the bottom of the chest.

V. 52. If I should bring you presents chased in gold, how you would sweat with joy! Therefore you gild the statues of the gods and those who send good dreams above the rest.

V. 59. Gold has driven out the old-fashioned earthenware. Ye grovelling spirits! why bring our tastes into the temples, and judge the gods by this vile flesh of ours? 'Tis this adulterates plain olive oil with casia, dyes the white wool with purple, and scrapes the pearl from out its shell, and beats the gold from its native stone. The flesh is wrong, but yet it gets enjoyment from its wrong: but what's the use of gold in sacred things? No more than maidens' dolls offered to Venus. Let us bring that which riches cannot offer, just and religious hearts, holy and honest, and then I care not if I offer grain.

HUNC, Macrine, diem numera meliore lapillo,
Qui tibi labentes apponit candidus annos;
Funde merum Genio. Non tu prece poscis emaci

1. *Hunc, Macrine, diem*] One Scholiast calls Macrinus by the gentilician name Plotius. Another says he was a learned man and a pupil of Servilius, whose instruction Persius also received according to the writer of his life. No more is known of Macrinus than this. As to 'meliore lapillo' the Scholiast quotes Horace (C. i. 36. 10, and note), "Cressa ne careat pulcra dies nota." This use of 'candidus' to express that which is cheerful and fair is sufficiently common. (See Forcellini.) The Greeks used λευκὸς in the same way. On their birthdays the Romans sacrificed to their Genius. It was on the eve of his birthday that Horace wrote to Lamia,

"—— cras Genium mero
Curabis et porco bimestri
Cum famulis operum solutis."
(C. iii. 17. 14.)

As to the Roman Genius, see note on Hor. Epp. i. 7. 94. The Scholiast, who is large in his references to Horace, quotes for 'apponit' C. ii. 5. 13, "Currit enim ferox Aetas, et illi quos tibi dempserit Apponet annos." Persius means that each succeeding birthday adds a year to his friend's life.

3. *Non tu prece poscis emaci*] 'Emaci' is explained by v. 29 below, "qua tu mercede Deorum Emeris auriculas." He says his friend does not ask with mercenary prayer for that which he must take the gods aside to trust them with. 'Seductis divis' does not require explanation. The ideas of the ancients in respect to secret prayer are explained on Horace, Epp. i. 16. 59. That passage Persius no doubt had in mind. Horace's 'Labra movet metuens audiri' is repeated in 'murmurque humilesque susurros,' 'sub lingua immurmurat.' 'Bona pars' is an expression Horace uses repeatedly. 'Acerra' is a box of frankincense (λιβάνωτις). The derivation is uncertain (Hor. C. iii. 8. 2, "Quid velint flores et acerra thuris"). The MSS. vary

Quae nisi seductis nequeas committere divis.
At bona pars procerum tacita libavit acerra:
Haud cuivis promptum est murmurque humilesque susurros
Tollere de templis et aperto vivere voto.
'Mens bona, fama, fides,' haec clare et ut audiat hospes:
Illa sibi introrsum et sub lingua immurmurat: 'O si
Ebulliat patruus, praeclarum funus!' et, 'O si
Sub rastro crepet argenti mihi seria dextro
Hercule, pupillumve utinam quem proximus heres
Impello expungam, namque est scabiosus et acri
Bile tumet. Nerio jam tertia conditur uxor.'

between 'libabit' and 'libavit.' Some also have 'litabit,' and others 'litavit,' against the metre. Heinrich prefers the perfect, 'libavit.' Madvig, whom Jahn follows, defends the future (Opusc. ii. 117, note). Most MSS. and editors favour 'libabit.' There can be no doubt that either tense is admissible. Madvig runs his rules too fine. The perfect would express a habit. The future expresses the same meaning as the Greek optative with ἄν. 'Cuivis' is like the Greek τῷ τυχόντι, 'any ordinary person.' Heinrich reads 'aut' for 'haud,' and puts a (?) at 'voto,' making the sentence an ironical question. The MSS. are all in favour of 'haud,' for which some as usual have 'haut.' But some persons may prefer Heinrich's reading.

8. *Mens bona, fama, fides,*] 'Mens bona' is not what we should call a good heart, but a good understanding—"mens sana in corpore sano" (Juv. x. 356); 'fama' is 'a good report,' and 'fides' is what we mean by 'credit.' The ancients would no more think of praying for virtuous affections than we should pray for a handsome face or an addition to our stature in manhood. A man's virtues and vices they believed were born with him, and their Genius was to be thanked or blamed according as their natural dispositions were bad or good (Persius iv. 27). In all other matters their sense of dependence upon the gods was as wide as that which we profess.

10. *Ebulliat patruus,*] Forcellini, who has the old reading 'ebullit,' explains it by 'prodit,' in reference to a funeral procession. The word is not easy to explain, and is not used elsewhere in any such sense as here. Heinrich says it is "facit morte sua ut funus denique erumpat." I think 'ebulliat' only means 'would breathe his last,' the idea being taken from the bubbling of water. (S. iii. 34.) 'Funus' need not be taken for the man's funeral, but for his death, or his corpse. 'Ebullit,' Casaubon's reading, is in many MSS.; but it cannot be sustained as a subjunctive form, and the subjunctive is wanted here. The line that follows is imitated from Horace (S. ii. 6. 10, and note),

"O si urnam argenti fors quae mihi monstret, ut illi
Thesauro invento qui mercenarius agrum
Illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
Hercule."

'Seria' was an earthenware pot, and corresponds to Horace's 'urna' (Persius iv. 29).

12. *quem proximus heres*] He speaks as a 'tutor' or guardian of a minor's property, and as the 'heres substitutus' or 'heres secundo gradu,' whom the testator appointed to take the property if the 'heres' forfeited or declined it or died. (Horace, S. ii. 5. 53, n., "quid prima secundo Cera velit versu.") 'Impello' means 'he comes close after him,' treads on his heels. 'Expungere' here means to erase his name from the will, and he justifies his prayer as well as his secret hopes by saying the boy is scrofulous and bilious.

14. *Nerio jam tertia conditur uxor.*] This is the reading of the oldest MSS. Most of the later have 'ducitur,' which the modern editors too have adopted. Either way the man complains that 'neighbour Nerius,' as Brewster has it, is more lucky than himself, who has only had the chance of marrying one wife, and securing one 'dos,' as to which see note on Juv. S. xiv. 220. 'Conditur' has more force perhaps than 'ducitur.' Servius (on Virg. Georg. iv. 256) is the earliest authority,

Haec sancte ut poscas Tiberino in gurgite mergis
Mane caput bis terque et noctem flumine purgas.
Heus age, responde; minimum est quod scire laboro:
De Jove quid sentis? estne ut praeponere cures
Hunc cuiquam? "Cuinam vis?" Staio. An scilicet haeres?
Quis potior judex puerisve quis aptior orbis?
Hoc igitur quo tu Jovis aurem impellere tentas
Dic agedum Staio: 'proh Jupiter! o bone (clamet)
Jupiter!' At sese non clamet Jupiter ipse?
Ignovisse putas, quia cum tonat ocius ilex
Sulfure discutitur sacro quam tuque domusque?
An quia non fibris ovium Ergennaque jubente
Triste jaces lucis evitandumque bidental,
Idcirco stolidam praebet tibi vellere barbam
Jupiter? at quidnam est, qua tu mercede Deorum

and he has 'ducitur.' Nerius is a fictitious name used by Horace (S. ii. 3. 69, "Scribe decem Nerio").

15. *Tiberino in gurgite*] See Juv. vi. 523, n. 'Bis terque' is equivalent to 'again and again.' See note on Hor. Epod. v. 33, "Longo die bis terque mutatae dapis Inemori spectaculo." 'Noctem' means the pollution of the night's debauchery. 'Haec' is 'such prayers as these.'

17. *minimum est quod scire laboro:*] Horace has "scire laboro" (Epp. i. 3. 2), and "pulcre fuerit tibi nosse laboro" (S. ii. 8. 19). He asks, and says sarcastically it is a very small matter that he wants to know, what the man thinks of Jove that he prays to him thus. Would he rank him above any man? Whereupon the other suggests that he should name some one: he names Staius, and when the man seems to hesitate he asks, who can be better than Staius either as a 'judex' or 'tutor.' But let him go and ask of him what he asks of Jove, and Staius would cry out with indignation. Shall not then Jove much more cry out? The reader may make what he can of this. The general sense is plain, that men are ready to ask of heaven what they would not ask of any man. But from the way the question is put we should expect to have a bad man brought forward, and the Scholiast says Staius (whom he calls Aelius) was a corrupt 'judex.' If so v. 20, "quis potior judex, puerisve quis aptior orbis?" must be taken ironically, and in that case the wit destroys the sense. The reading in the text 'cuiquam' is that of many MSS. and Heinrich. Most editors repeat 'cuinam:'

"Estne ut praeponere cures
Hunc—'cuinam?'—Cuinam? vis Staio?"

This does not get rid of the difficulty, though it may be the true reading. This sort of question and answer is in Persius' style, but it adds nothing to the strength of it.

26. *fibris ovium Ergennaque jubente*] That is through the directions of Ergenna, and the sacrifices he bids you offer. Ergenna is in form an Etruscan name like Porsenna, as Casaubon observes, and these religious rites being all of Etruscan origin, an 'haruspex' of that nation is supposed. As to 'fibris' see S. i. 47, n. 'Bidental' is a spot struck by lightning, so called from the offering of a 'bidens' by which it was purified. See Horace, A. P. 471, "an triste bidental Moverit incestus," where as here the name of the spot is given to the corpse struck dead in it. 'Vellere barbam' we had in the last Satire (133). 'Quidnam est qua tu mercede,' Heinrich says, is the same as 'quidnam mercedis est qua tu.' That does not explain the construction. He begins, 'What is it?' and he adds 'With what price?' It is like 'quid,' 'quid enim,' at the beginning of a sentence. 'Lactes' are the small intestines. See Plautus, Curculio ii. 3. 40, "Ita cibi vacivitate venio laxis lactibus." The Greeks called them γαλακτίδες. See Forcellini.

Emeris auriculas? pulmone et lactibus unctis?
Ecce avia, aut metuens divum matertera, cunis
Exemit puerum, frontemque atque uda labella
Infami digito et lustralibus ante salivis
Expiat, urentes oculos inhibere perita.
Tunc manibus quatit, et spem macram supplice voto
Nunc Licini in campos, nunc Crassi mittit in aedes.
'Hunc optent generum rex et regina; puellae
Hunc rapiant; quicquid calcaverit hic rosa fiat!'
Ast ego nutrici non mando vota; negato,
Jupiter, haec illi, quamvis te albata rogarit.
Poscis opem nervis corpusque fidele senectae.
Esto age: sed grandes patinae tucetaque crassa
Annuere his superos vetuere Jovemque morantur.
Rem struere exoptas caeso bove, Mercuriumque
Arcessis fibra: 'da fortunare Penates,

33. *Infami digito*] This is the middle finger usually called 'famosus.' See note on Hor. S. ii. 8. 26, "indice monstraret digito." The grandmother or aunt, whichever it may be, wets the baby's brow and lips with spittle on her middle finger, as if it was holy water, to keep away the Evil Eye. Casaubon has a long note on the lustration of infants which may be read with interest, but it does not concern this place. The power of certain malignant persons to injure infants in particular by looking at them has been believed in from the earliest times, and is firmly credited still by many of our own peasantry. Shepherds feared the Evil Eye for their flocks, as they do now. See Virgil, Ecl. iii. 103, "Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos." See also Plutarch, Quaes. Symp. v. Qu. 7. Spitting was counted a charm against all such spells, which accounts for the old lady's lustral water. 'Metuens divum' is equivalent to δεισιδαίμων, a word which may or may not be used with contempt.

35. *Tunc manibus quatit,*] She tosses him in her arms and prays that her slender hopeful may one day possess the lands of Licinus, the wealthy freedman of C. Julius Caesar (Juv. i. 109), or be master of the palace of Crassus, that is M. Crassus who was killed by the Parthians, and whose wealth was enormous, as related by Plutarch in his life. These two names are used proverbially here. As to 'rapiant' see note on Juv. S. vi. 404, "quis diripiatur adulter." 'Non mando,' 'I don't entrust a nurse with making prayers;' it is not her business. 'Albata' is with a clean dress on, as she would have on a very solemn occasion. See note on Hor. S. ii. 2. 61, "Festos albatus celebret."

42. *tucetaque crassa*] What sort of dish 'tucetum' was is not very clear. According to the Scholiast here, it was beef dressed up in some shape. It was something coarse. Persius says the man prays for health, but his gluttonous coarse feeding will not allow of his prayer being granted. 'Esto age' is 'well, be it so,' that is, 'your prayer is all right, but how is it to be granted?'

45. *da fortunare Penates,*] 'Grant me to enrich my household gods.' The poet is speaking of those fools who while they prayed to the gods to enlarge their herds and flocks, wasted them in sacrifices offered to obtain their increase. 'Quo, pessime, pacto' is copied from Horace, S. ii. 7. 22, "'Ad te, inquam.' 'Quo pacto, pessime?'" 'Junix' is not a common word. It is a cow not quite full grown, but bigger than a calf, 'vitula.' As to 'omenta' see Juv. S. xiii. 118. 'Fertum' is a sort of cake used in sacrifice. The man's sanguine eagerness is well expressed in the words that are given him, and these hopes continue till the last bit of money is left to sigh forlorn at the bottom of the chest. The man's disappointment is transferred to the sestertius, and the

Da pecus et gregibus fetum!' Quo, pessime, pacto,
Tot tibi cum in flammas junicum omenta liquescant?
Et tamen hic extis et opimo vincere ferto
Intendit: 'Jam crescit ager, jam crescit ovile,
Jam dabitur, jam, jam,' donec deceptus et exspes
Nequicquam fundo suspiret nummus in imo.
Si tibi crateras argenti incusaque pingui
Auro dona feram, sudes et pectore laevo
Excutiat guttas laetari praetrepidum cor.
Hinc illud subiit auro sacras quod ovato
Perducis facies: nam fratres inter ahenos
Somnia pituita qui purgatissima mittunt
Praecipui sunto, sitque illis aurea barba.
Aurum vasa Numae Saturniaque impulit aera,
Vestalesque urnas et Tuscum fictile mutat.

picture of a bankrupt speculator is well represented. Jahn spoils it by his punctuation, "donec deceptus et exspes: *Nequicquam fundo*, suspiret, *nummus in imo!*" The commentators quote from Seneca (Epp. i. 4), "Sera parsimonia in fundo est," 'economy is too late when we come to the bottom of the cash-chest.' [Jahn has in v. 47 'flamma,' and in v. 48 'ac tamen.']

52. *incusaque pingui Auro*] 'Presents overlaid with thick gold;' that is, with 'emblemata,' which are explained on Juv. S. v. 38. He says if he was to offer the man presents of this sort he would burst out into a sweat with joy, and his heart jump with delight and ooze out at his left breast. 'Pectore laevo' is not I think explained, as Casaubon and others say, by "Si mens non laeva fuisset" (Virg. Aen. ii. 54). It is the same as Juvenal's "Scilicet arguitur quod laeva in parte mamillae Nil salit Arcadio juveni" (S. vii. 159). 'Laetari' depends on 'praetrepidum,' 'in a great flutter of joy.'

55. *Hinc illud subiit*] 'Hinc' means that because the man has this inordinate love of gold, he thinks the gods must have the same, and so he gilds the faces of their statues. 'Ovato auro' is gold that has been taken in war and paraded in the victor's triumph. Ovid (Epp. ex Pont. ii. 1. 41) has "Deque triumphato quod sol incenderit auro." As to the gilding of statues, see Juv. S. xiii. 151, sq. Cicero was honoured with a gilded statue by the people of Capua (In Pisonem, c. 11).

56. *nam fratres inter ahenos*] 'Nam' is used by way of introducing a case. For instance, 'You must give the preference among the gods to those who give good dreams, so go and gild their beards.' It is an abrupt way of speaking, in Persius' style. Who these bronze brothers may be is a question not yet decided to everybody's satisfaction. The Scholiast, approved by Casaubon, says, on the authority of Acron, who must therefore have been older, that they were statues of the fifty sons of Aegyptus, erected opposite to those of the daughters of Danaus in the temple of Apollo Palatinus. Plum supposes they were the Hermae generally distributed about the city. Others, as the Scholiast says, suppose Castor and Pollux. It appears to me that the bronze brethren are all those gods whose statues are made of bronze. 'Pituita purgatissima' means 'most free from the disturbances of a disordered stomach;' 'pituita' being phlegm generated in the intestines. The word is pronounced as one of three syllables. See notes on Hor. S. ii. 2. 73. Epp. i. 1. 108. The ancients believed the gift of dreams, particularly of a prophetic character, was in the power of particular gods, 'di somniales,' among whom Apollo and Hercules were foremost.

59. *Aurum vasa Numae*] He goes on to complain of the introduction of gold into the temple-worship, as if the tastes of the gods were to be measured by man's. Juvenal, referring to the ancient worship, says (vi. 342):

O curvae in terras animae et caelestium inanes!
Quid juvat hoc, templis nostros immittere mores,
Et bona Dis ex hac scelerata ducere pulpa?
Haec sibi corrupto casiam dissolvit olivo,
Haec Calabrum coxit vitiato murice vellus,
Haec baccam conchae rasisse, et stringere venas
Ferventis massae crudo de pulvere jussit.
Peccat et haec, peccat; vitio tamen utitur. At vos
Dicite, Pontifices, in sacro quid facit aurum?
Nempe hoc quod Veneri donatae a virgine pupae.
Quin damus id superis de magna quod dare lance

"Et quis tunc hominum contemptor numinis? aut quis
Simpuvium ridere Numae nigrumque catinum
Et Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas
Ausus erat?"

He has also (S. xi. 109), "Ponebant igitur Tusco farrata catino." The Vestal worship was maintained in the old form with the rude vessels of earthenware. 'Impulit' means, 'has pushed aside,' or something of that sort.

63. *Et bona Dis ex hac*] He asks, 'What satisfaction is this (why should we do it?), to introduce our habits into the temples, and to derive our notions of what is acceptable to the gods from this profligate flesh of ours?' For 'hoc' (v. 62) most MSS. and the older editors have 'hos' to agree with 'mores.' But with 'ex hac pulpa' in the next line, 'hos mores' would be weak, and 'hoc' goes naturally with 'juvat,' as in i. 112. Hor. S. i. 1. 77:

"Formidare malos fures, incendia, servos,
Ne te compilent fugientes, hoc juvat?"

'Pulpa' is the lean part of the flesh; 'caro' includes all but the bones. Our use of the words 'carnal,' 'flesh,' &c., as expressing the corruptions of man, is derived from the Hebrew, through which, and not through the Greek or Latin language, the word passed into the New Testament. "My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh," was the language that gave warning of the deluge. (Gen. vi. 3.) 'Pulpa' may have come after Persius to be more common in this sense. Three centuries afterwards Ausonius wrote (Epp. iv. 98),

"Nec fas est mihi regio magistro
Plebeiam numeros docere pulpam;"

but this is not exactly the same. 'Pulpa' here means vicious desires, the φρόνημα σαρκὸς of theology.

64. *Haec sibi corrupto*] It is this (pulpa) which adulterates for its own indulgence (sibi) the olive oil with oil of casia, which was added to give it a spicy flavour; as Virgil says, Georg. ii. 465:

"Alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno,
Nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi."

It is this (he goes on) which dyes the fine wool of Calabria (principally from the pastures of Tarentum, "dulce pellitis ovibus Galaesi Flumen," Hor. Carm. ii. 6. 10) with purple; it is this teaches us to scrape the pearl from its shell, and to tear the veins of molten ore from the native earth (the quartz in which it is embedded). The ore he means is that of gold. We have no word corresponding to 'stringere' here. It is commonly used of that which is grasped by the hand. The praeterperfects 'dissolvit,' 'coxit,' 'jussit' have the meaning of the aorist.

68. *Peccat et haec, peccat;*] 'The flesh too errs, it errs; but yet makes profit of its fault.' But he goes on to ask, what is the good of gold in sacred things and places? about as much as dolls offered by girls to Venus—a common practice after childhood, as gladiators hung up in temples their arms, and workmen their tools and so forth, when they had no further need of them. Most MSS. have 'sancto,' which Jahn adopts. I think with the other MSS. and editors that 'sacro' is the right word to express a sacred ceremony or place, and both are involved here, as the context shows.

Non possit magni Messalae lippa propago;
Compositum jus fasque animo, sanctosque recessus
Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto?
Haec cedo ut admoveam templis, et farre litabo.

72. *Messalae lippa propago;*] The 'Messalae' were of the Valeria gens, one of the most distinguished in Rome. (Hor. S. i. 6. 12, n., "Contra Laevinum Valeri genus.") Persius uses the name with contempt because it suits his purpose to do so. He says, Why should we not rather offer to the gods that which no blear-eyed scion of the aristocracy could offer in his big dish, a heart in which the laws of God and man are joined, a mind of which every corner is holy, and a breast penetrated with a generous honesty? The last line, as the Scholiast says, is like that of Horace (C. iii. 23. 17):

"Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumptuosa blandior hostia
Mollivit aversos Penates
Farre pio et saliente mica."

SATIRA III.

INTRODUCTION.

This Satire contains as fine writing and as much power of condensed expression, without great obscurity, as any that Juvenal has written. There is not the same breadth and scope in Persius' writings as in Juvenal's, but some of the passages in this poem Juvenal has not, I think, surpassed. The reader will judge for himself.

The poet begins with complaining of the habit of young men wasting their time in debauchery at night, and in bed in the morning; and then supposes a scene in which a youth is lying in bed as usual till a late hour, and one of his companions comes and wakes him. He starts up in a rage, abuses his servants, dresses, and goes off to his work. Instead of writing what he has to write, he begins abusing his pens and his ink; whereupon the poet takes him up, and reads him a lesson upon idleness, pride, and debauchery; telling him he is old enough to know better than to waste his time like a schoolboy; that he has not the excuse of a vicious, gross nature, and of those who are hardened in their ignorance; and that if conscience lays hold of him he will find its tortures worse than all that tyranny ever invented. In all of this there is much solemn wisdom and grave though vigorous reproof. He treats the man as a weak child, with his excuses and his presumption, and bids him go back to his nursery and his pap, or go to the potter's and get turned again, as a pot that has been made of soft watery clay. The condition of one who is falling into despair, with fears in his bosom too great for his wife to know, is described in a few terrible words, and the severity of his punishment is excellently told.

The above imaginary scene occupies half the satire. The other half is more general. It teaches us to begin early, before life has become tainted and medicine of no avail, to study the nature and end of our being, our relation to others, and our duty to God. Let us get wisdom, and despise the gains of the worldly and the ridicule of the vulgar. The coarse wit of the soldiers at the expense of the philosophers, and their self-complacency in the contemplation of their own ignorance, are represented in the best style

of Roman satire; and the summary of ethics that goes before has become proverbial. A specimen of sensuality, and its consequences, forms a dramatic sketch of much power; and when, in conclusion, he who is satisfied with himself, and who in his even pulse and quiet veins reads the tokens of a healthy mind and body, is told to wait till temptation comes to try his lusts, his appetites, his passions, it is impossible not to feel that in this Satire much has been done to expose the vicious to themselves, to teach them the penalties of self-indulgence, and to point out the true way to a life of innocence and peace.

ARGUMENT.

Yes, so it always is, we snore till noon, till yesterday's debauch is slept away. 'Get up, for shame; the heat is parching up the corn, the cattle long have sought the shade,' cries one. 'What! can it be! quick, some one! where are you all?' The man gets furious and roars, you'd think Arcadia had turned loose her asses. At last he takes his paper, parchment, pens, and then complains the ink won't write; now it's too thick, and now too pale. You wretched man, and are we come to this? Why don't you go and cry for pap again, and squall when the nurse sings lullabies to soothe you? 'But what's the use of such a pen as this?' Whom do you think to cheat? What means this nonsense? You cheat yourself, running away to waste; you'll come to be despised; a pot that rings not, made of ill-baked clay. Go to the potter and be made anew. Oh! but you've got a family estate, and all you want upon it; this is enough for you. Is this enough to make you burst with pride, a Tuscan pedigree and doting censor? Off with your decorations to the vulgar: I know you inside, outside, all of you. You're not ashamed to take Natta the profligate for your example.

V. 32. But such as he have some excuse. They're dull from natural defect, and fat, and ignorant, and know not what they lose; mere things that sink to the bottom and appear no more. Great Father, I desire no greater punishment than this for tyrants: let them see Virtue's form, and pine to think they have abandoned her. No tortures of their own are like to this, despair and terrors that the dearest may not share.

V. 44. I shirked my tasks, I know, when yet a schoolboy, and thought that play was every thing. But you have studied in the schools, and learnt the Stoics' wisdom and the way of life; and yet you snore till now, and yawn away until your jaws are out of joint. What, have you any aim in life at all, or are you pelting crows all day, careless of where you go, living but for the passing hour?

V. 63. Meet the disease when it begins, or afterwards no medicine will avail. And what's the use of feeing doctors? Go home, ye wretches, learn the first principles of action; what we are, what our destiny; our place in the course, the way to turn the goal; the limits of desire and getting; the use of money; what we owe to country and to friends; what God would have us be; what place we occupy among our kind. Learn; and envy not the lawyer and his fees.

V. 77. Here some rough captain cries: 'I know enough for me; I've no ambition to become a sage, with eyes downcast, and muttering to himself, and meditating sick men's dreams, as how that nothing comes from nothing, and to nothing nothing goes. Is this why you're so pale? Is it for this a man's to lose his dinner?' And then the vulgar laugh, and the young officers curl up their nose and giggle.

V. 88. A man consults his doctor, and he bids him go to bed. After three days he feels a little better, borrows a jar of wine, and goes to bathe. 'Why, friend, you're looking pale.' ''Tis nothing.' 'Well, but you'd better see to it; your skin looks dark and puffy.' 'Nay, you look worse than I do: hold your tongue; I

had a tutor once, but he is dead. I wish you were so too.' 'Well, go your way, I shall say nothing more.' He goes to bathe again with his belly full. Or ere he's drunk his wine a trembling seizes him, the cup falls from his hand, his bare teeth chatter, the greasy dainties drop from out his lips. Then comes the laying out, the funeral!

V. 107. So you're in perfect health, your blood flows even, hands and feet are warm. But how if money comes perchance to tempt you, or the sly smiles of the fair dame hard by? Then does your heart beat true? Or let us try a humble dish of country vulgar fare. Nay, such plebeian stuff as that would hurt your mouth. You're cold when fear comes; and when anger kindles, your blood is hot, your eyes flash fire, and then you do and say what mad Orestes would himself call mad.

NEMPE haec assidue: jam clarum mane fenestras
Intrat et angustas extendit lumine rimas,
Stertimus indomitum quod despumare Falernum
Sufficiat, quinta dum linea tangitur umbra.
"En quid agis? siccas insana Canicula messes

1. *Nempe haec assidue:*] 'Of course this is always the way.' The clause is better so than interrogative. The MSS. and editions vary between 'haec' and 'hoc.' As to 'fenestrae' see Juv. iii. 268, n. Here Persius says, though the bright morning is entering the windows and making the chinks in the closed shutters seem wider with the admission of light (an effect any body may observe under the same circumstances), men go on snoring till the fifth hour, long enough to sleep off their debauch. Before 'stertimus' 'et tamen' may be supplied to connect the clauses, as in v. 58 below. [Jahn has a full stop after 'rimas;' but this punctuation destroys the coherence of the first four lines. Yet some readers may prefer the full stop at 'rimas,' and find good reasons for it.] 'Despumare' is to give the wine time to ferment and go off. Seneca uses this word with reference to anger. "Ut minuatur non ut consumatur calor, nimiusque ille fervor despumet" (de Ira ii. 20). He uses it repeatedly as a neuter verb. (See Forcellini.) As to Falernum, see Juv. xiii. 216.

4. *quinta dum linea tangitur umbra.*] That is, till the solarium tells that it is the fifth hour. Sundials were introduced into Rome according to Pliny (H. N. vii. 60) B.C. 294, eleven (or twelve, for the text is uncertain) years before the war with Pyrrhus. The first was erected, he says, by L. Papirius Cursor, by the temple of Quirinus, which he built when he was consul. They had been used in Greece for 200 years before this. The Roman division of the day into twelve parts, from sunrise to sunset, must have rendered the construction of the sundial very complicated, and its indication of the hours imperfect. A century and a half later the clepsydra was introduced from Greece, a water-clock acting probably after the manner of our sand-glasses. But its construction is not clearly understood. The finger of the solarium (gnomon) was a thin perpendicular piece of iron. The fifth hour at the summer solstice, near which the following scene is supposed to happen, began about half-past nine of our day. Dials were erected in different parts of the city, and clepsydrae were used in private houses. See Juv. x. 216: "Quem dicat venisse puer, quot nunciet horas." The general name for clocks of all sorts was 'horologium.'

5. *En quid agis?*] All the commentators but Heinrich put the first four lines as well as the two that follow into the mouth of the remonstrating friend. I believe the first four lines are spoken by the poet, abusing the practice of young men lying in bed till near noon. The scene then begins. A young man is snoring, and a friend comes in and wakes him. He starts up and calls for his servant in a rage, making as much noise as a herd of asses braying. 'Vitrea bilis' is probably an imitation of Horace's 'splendida bilis' (S. ii. 3. 141, n.). In the next line the greater number of MSS. have 'Findor ut,' and so

Jam dudum coquit, et patula pecus omne sub ulmo est:"
Unus ait comitum. "Verumne? itane? ocius adsit
Huc aliquis: nemon'?" Turgescit vitrea bilis,
Finditur, Arcadiae pecuaria rudere dicas.
Jam liber et bicolor positis membrana capillis,
Inque manus chartae nodosaque venit arundo.
Tunc queritur crassus calamo quod pendeat humor,
Nigra quod infusa vanescat sepia lympha;
Dilutas queritur geminet quod fistula guttas.
O miser, inque dies ultra miser, huccine rerum
Venimus? at cur non potius, teneroque columbo
Et similis regum pueris, pappare minutum
Poscis, et iratus mammae lallare recusas?
"An tali studeam calamo?" Cui verba? quid istas
Succinis ambages? tibi luditur; effluis amens;

the verse is quoted in several places by Servius and others. Most of the modern editors, Passow, Koenig, Orelli, Heinrich, have the reading of the text, which is that of a smaller number of MSS. [Jahn has '"Findor"—ut,' &c.] The man is ready to split with rage, as Horace has it (S. i. 3. 135): "miserque Rumperis et latras." The best asses in Greece, Pliny says (H. N. viii. 43), came from Arcadia. (Juv. vii. 160, "Nil salit Arcadio juveni.") The quantity of the first syllable in 'rudere' is short in Virgil and Ovid.

10. *Jam liber et . . positis*] See notes on Juv. i. 5; vii. 23. The hair was rubbed off the back of the skin, and it was polished with pumice and stained, wherefore he calls it 'bicolor.' 'Chartae' must mean loose sheets of papyrus, as 'liber' would mean the same bound up. 'Nodosa arundo,' 'fistula,' are the 'calamus,' or reed-pen. The fellow complains first that his ink is too thick, and when he has mixed some water with it, that it is too pale and drops from the pen. 'Sepia,' the black secretion of the cuttle-fish, was used, as it appears, by the Romans for writing, though the Scholiast on this place denies it, and says 'sepia' is used here for 'atramentum.' (See article 'Atramentum' in Dict. Ant., and Becker, Gallus, Eng. Abrid. 239.)

15. *O miser, inque dies*] The poet jeers the young gentleman, and asks him why he does not go back to the nursery and ask for a little pap, and get in a passion and refuse to listen to his nurse's lullaby. 'Pappare' is to eat pap, 'lallare' to sing a lullaby, and these infinitives are used as "nostrum illud vivere triste" (i. 9), and others there noticed. 'Mamma' is a child's word for nurse as well as mother. The poet is disgusted with the young man's childishness in getting angry with his paper and pens, while he ought to be ashamed of himself.

19. *Cui verba?*] 'Whom are you trying to deceive? Why this prevaricating answer?' 'Das' may be supplied after 'verba.' See S. iv. 45, n. 'Succinis' is used by Horace, Epp. i. 17. 48, "Succinit alter." He goes on, You are deceiving yourself; you are losing your senses; you will only be despised; the pot does not ring, the clay has not been properly baked. He means his head is soft, and he must be put under the wheel and made over again. 'Effluere' is to run to waste like water. 'Sonat vitium' is the reverse of 'solidum crepare' (v. 25). This use of 'maligne' in the sense of 'parum' (as Forcellini, who does not notice this passage, explains it) is only found in the later writers. 'Viridis' is used like χλωρὸς (ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ χλωρὰν ψάμαθον ἐκβεβλημένος, Ajax 1064). 'Nunc nunc' means he must not lose a moment. He must be put under the potter's wheel, and whirled round quickly without stopping, which is only a way of describing the process of turning. "Argillam atque rotam citius properate," says Juvenal (iv. 134).

Contemnere: sonat vitium percussa, maligne
Respondet viridi non cocta fidelia limo.
Udum et molle lutum es, nunc, nunc properandus et acri
Fingendus sine fine rota. Sed rure paterno
Est tibi far modicum, purum et sine labe salinum,
(Quid metuas?) cultrixque foci secura patella:
Hoc satis. An deceat pulmonem rumpere ventis,
Stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis,
Censorem fatuum vel quod trabeate salutas?
Ad populum phaleras, ego te intus et in cute novi.
Non pudet ad morem discincti vivere Nattae.
Sed stupet hic vitio, fibris increvit opimum

24. *Sed rure paterno*] He supposes the youth to say that he is a gentleman, and need not trouble himself about learning. He does not mean to say that he is rich, but he has got a sufficient estate and a good pedigree. 'Far modicum' is a fair amount of arable land. He was one of those of whom Horace says (C. ii. 16. 13):

> "Vivitur parvo bene cui paternum
> Splendet in mensa tenui salinum."

See note on Hor. S. i. 3. 14, "Concha salis puri." The salt-cellar was an heirloom in all good families, and the man boasts that his has come down without a blot. 'Quid metuas,' in a parenthesis, is still part of the poet's irony, as would seem evident; but Casaubon says, "et hic versus sub adolescentis persona pronuntiatur. Planior lectio sit 'Quid metuam' sed aliter scripti libri." 'Patella' is variously explained. It seems to mean, as Forcellini, Casaubon, and others explain it, a small flat dish in which were placed those parts of the food that were offered to the Lares, a ceremony that preceded every principal meal. So Ovid says (Fast. ii. 633):

> "Et libate dapes ut, grati pignus honoris,
> Nutriat incinctos missa patella Lares."

The 'patella' is called 'cultrix foci,' because it was kept near the fire, or because its contents were thrown into it. 'Secura' is free from care, like Horace's "securum olus" (S. ii. 7. 30). It means that there was plenty to eat. A good many MSS. repeat 'est' after 'patella.' I am surprised that Heinrich follows them. There is good authority for its omission.

27. *Hoc satis.*] The contempt of these words is better shown without a (?). 'Pulmonem rumpere ventis' is to puff himself up. 'Stemma' is explained in the note on Juvenal, S. viii. 1, to be the table of a man's pedigree. This man's origin is like that of Maecenas, from an old Etrurian stock. 'Ramum' means one of those "lineae discurrentes ad imagines pictas," lines traced here and there over the 'tabula capax' (as Juvenal calls it, viii. 6), and joining the different members of the family; "multae stemmatum flexurae," as Seneca says. (See note above referred to.) This man makes the thousandth branch on his 'stemma.' 'Millesime' is put in the vocative to agree with the person addressed, rather than with 'ramum,' with which it properly agrees, as above, S. i. 123, "audaci quicumque afflate Cratino," and in Juv. vi. 277, "quae scripta et quas lecture tabellas," where see notes. As to 'trabea' see Juv. viii. 259; x. 35. The man is supposed to be especially respectful to a censor in his family tree, to whom the poet is not so respectful.

30. *Ad populum phaleras,*] "Carry your 'phalerae' to the people, they may admire them; I know you inside and out." 'Phalerae' were decorations won by his military ancestors. (Juv. xvi. 60, n.) 'Discincti' is 'loose,' as Horace, "Discinctus aut perdam nepos" (Epod. i. 34). Persius calls his profligate Natta. Horace has a niggard of that name (S. i. 6. 124). But it is used there and here as representing a man of good family. Juvenal (viii. 95) has a governor Natta. L. Murena, whom Cicero defended, had a stepson, L. Pinarius Natta, of high distinction. See Pro Murena, c. 35, Long's note.

32. *Sed stupet hic vitio,*] 'Vitium' is

Pingue, caret culpa, nescit quid perdat, et alto
Demersus summa rursus non bullit in unda.
Magne pater divum, saevos punire tyrannos
Haud alia ratione velis, cum dira libido
Moverit ingenium ferventi tincta veneno:
Virtutem videant intabescantque relicta.
Anne magis Siculi gemuerunt aera juvenci,
Et magis auratis pendens laquearibus ensis
Purpureas subter cervices terruit, "Imus,
Imus praecipites," quam si sibi dicat, et intus
Palleat infelix quod proxima nesciat uxor?
Saepe oculos, memini, tangebam parvus olivo,
Grandia si nollem morituri verba Catonis
Dicere, non sano multum laudanda magistro,
Quae pater adductis sudans audiret amicis.
Jure etenim id summum, quid dexter senio ferret

a defect of nature, 'culpa' a fault of conduct, or error of judgment. See Hor. S. ii. 6. 7, n., "Nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem." 'Hic' is such as Natta. He says such a man is stupid from natural viciousness, his heart is gross, he cannot be blamed, for he knows not what he is throwing away, he is like one who sinks and never rises again. But the man he is speaking to has no such excuse, for he knows what virtue is, and yet deserts her; and there is no greater punishment he can pray Jove to visit upon the most savage tyrants than this, that they should see the image of virtue and waste away with the consciousness of having abandoned her. This passage is very fine. The dolt who has no conscience is well described, and the misery of an acute conscience still better. The brazen bull is that of Phalaris, in which its inventor, Perillus, was the first to suffer (Juv. viii. 81). The sword is that which Dionysius hung over Damocles' head to give him a taste of regal happiness, and of which Horace says:

"Districtus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pendet non Siculae dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
Non avium citharaeque cantus
Somnum reducent."
(C. iii. 1. 17, sqq.)

44. *Saepe oculos, memini,*] He used often at the rhetoric school to rub his eyes with olive oil to make himself look ill, that he might get off declaiming. How the oil would have that effect I do not know. He supposes the subject to be the last speech of Cato of Utica (of which Addison's version is sufficiently hackneyed in our schools), and says the silly master would applaud him loudly, and his father attend, in spite of the heat of a crowded room, with a party of friends. See note on Juv. vii. 165, "Quantum vis stipulare et protinus accipe quod do Ut toties illum pater audiat." Some say the father would sweat with nervousness. That would add to the other cause, but we know what crowds can be gathered on speech days, to witness a very silly exhibition. There is sufficient authority for 'dicere' (46), which Heinrich has. Most MSS. and the other editors have 'discere.'

48. *Jure etenim id summum,*] He says this was only natural at that age, that he should like to play at dice, to pitch into a jar, and turn the whipping-top. 'Senio' is the six, and 'canicula' or 'canis' is the ace. The throw called Venus implied the use of several dice when all the faces turned up were different. This was the highest throw. See Hor. C. ii. 7. 25, "quem Venus arbitrum dicet bibendi." 'Quid . . . ferret' is how much it brought in to his store; 'quantum raderet' is how much it took from it. The Scholiast here and Pollux (ix. 7. 103, quoted by Casaubon) tell us it was a common sport to throw nuts or bones (ἀστραγάλους) into a

Scire, erat in voto; damnosa canicula quantum
Raderet; angustae collo non fallier orcae;
Neu quis callidior buxum torquere flagello.
Haud tibi inexpertum curvos deprendere mores,
Quaeque docet sapiens braccatis illita Medis
Porticus, insomnis quibus et detonsa juventus
Invigilat, siliquis et grandi pasta polenta;
Et tibi quae Samios diduxit littera ramo
Surgentem dextro monstravit limite callem:
Stertis adhuc, laxumque caput compage soluta
Oscitat hesternum, dissutis undique malis.
Est aliquid quo tendis et in quod dirigis arcum?
An passim sequeris corvos testaque lutoque
Securus quo pes ferat, atque ex tempore vivis?

pitcher from a distance. The same is common enough now. The sports here referred to were not confined to boys. Men whipped tops and trundled hoops, and taught their children to gamble (Juv. xiv. 4). After 'callidior' 'sit' must be supplied. 'Non fallier' is 'not to miss.' [Jahn has 'Jure: etenim,' &c.]

52. *Haud tibi inexpertum*] He means by this that the youth he is speaking to is too old for such trifling. He has already begun to study philosophy, and has learnt "curvo dignoscere rectum," as Horace says (Epp. ii. 2. 44); and, as Persius says in the next Satire (v. 11), "rectum discernis ubi inter Curva subit, vel cum fallit pede regula varo." In S. v. 38 he has "Apposita intortos extendit regula mores." The ordinary word for 'curvos' would be 'pravos.' The 'porticus' he refers to is the Stoics' in the Ceramicus at Athens ("Chrysippi porticus," Hor. S. ii. 3. 44), in which was a picture of the battle of Marathon. This is what Persius alludes to. On this picture he represents the young Stoics gazing, denying themselves sleep, and cutting their hair close to their skulls, and feeding upon beans and barley-cake. See note on Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 123, "vivit siliquis et pane secundo." Pliny's description of the way 'polenta' was made is given by Forcellini. 'Grandi' only means that it was coarse thick stuff.

56. *quae Samios diduxit littera ramo*] "The letter which with its branches led the Samians different ways, and pointed to the path which rises on the right-hand side." Samos is said to have been the birth-place of Pythagoras; the earliest authority being Isocrates, who calls him Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος (Busiris, p. 227, Steph.). To him tradition attributed the origin of that notion which Prodicus made celebrated by his fable of the choice of Hercules. The two paths to virtue and vice, as well as the early course of childhood inclining to neither, Pythagoras is said to have represented by the letter Υ. It is probable the story is of very late origin, and derived from the Latin Y, which suits it better than the Greek; the right hand representing the narrow path of virtue, and the other the broad road of vice, as our Saviour represents them. 'Surgentem' here means steep, 'arduum' (see S. v. 34). 'Diduxit,' as stated by Casaubon, is the true reading, and not 'deduxit.' See note on Hor. C. i. 1. 13, "nunquam dimoveas." The confusion in MSS. between 'di' and 'de' in composition is common. [Jahn has 'et tibi quae Samios diduxit litera ramos.']

58. *Stertis adhuc*] The connecting words 'et tamen' are omitted (v. 3): "And yet you go on snoring to this late hour, nodding your head as if the hinges were loose, yawning off yesterday's debauch, with your jaws at full stretch. Have you an object or an aim in life (he goes on), or are you here and there, no matter where, pelting crows and living only for the moment?" 'Ex tempore vivere' is to get our objects and purposes only from the present moment. [Here also (see v. 3, n.) Jahn has a full stop at 'callem,' and he consistently has a note of interrogation after 'adhuc,' and after 'malis.' This matter of punctuation is often a great difficulty.]

Helleborum frustra cum jam cutis aegra tumebit
Poscentes videas: venienti occurrite morbo:
Et quid opus Cratero magnos promittere montes?
Discite, io miseri, et causas cognoscite rerum,
Quid sumus, aut quidnam victuri gignimur; ordo
Quis datus, et metae qua mollis flexus et unde;
Quis modus argento, quid fas optare, quid asper
Utile nummus habet; patriae carisque propinquis
Quantum elargiri deceat; quem te Deus esse
Jussit, et humana qua parte locatus es in re.
Disce, neque invideas quod multa fidelia putet

63. *Helleborum frustra*] This is the golden rule, 'principiis obsta.' We lose sight of the young man now, and go on to general topics. As to 'helleborum' see S. i. 51, n. Craterus was a physician of Cicero's time, and attended Atticus' daughter. Persius uses his name for any eminent man of his profession, as Horace does, S. ii. 3. 161, "Craterum dixisse putato." 'Magnos promittere montes' is a proverbial hyperbole, 'auri' being understood. See Juvenal, xii. 129, "montibus aurum exaequet." In Sallust (Cat. 23) Q. Curius is said to promise Fulvia seas and mountains of money: "Repente glorians maria montesque polliceri coepit." In Terence (Phormio i. 2. 18), we have "modo non montes auri pollicens." Passow and Jahn have a comma at 'morbo,' and connect that sentence with the following: "Meet the disease as it comes, and then what need of a doctor?" The rest of the editors have the punctuation of the text, and it appears to me right. He says, "Meet the disease when it begins, or you may find it is too late. Besides, what is the use of promising mountains of gold to Craterus?" that is, of throwing away your money as well as risking your life. Orelli reads 'ecquid' on his own authority.

66. *Discite, io miseri,*] These verses have been much quoted. They will be found in Augustin, de Civ. Dei, ii. 6, and John of Salisbury, Nugae, &c. iii. 2. Barthius (Adv. xlii. 5) is the first to quote them with the opening 'Discite, io miseri.' The reading of most MSS. is 'discite, o miseri,' and all the editors but Heinrich have that reading or 'discite et.' Some years ago I corrected Augustin's quotation from 'o' to 'io,' and I believe that is the right form. The exhortation goes on, "Learn then, ye sufferers, and get wisdom." 'Discite' is used absolutely, as in 73. 'Causas rerum' are here the principles not of natural, but of moral philosophy. Casaubon compares Juvenal, viii. 84: "Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas." 'Quid sumus,' 'what we are,' our nature as rational beings; 'quidnam victuri gignimur,' 'with what prospects we were born,' that is generally, as men and women. Casaubon quotes from Marcus Antoninus (viii. 52): *ὁ μὴ εἰδὼς πρὸς ὅτι πέφυκεν οὐκ οἶδεν ὅστις ἐστίν.* 'Ordo' is our place, as the chariots at starting were placed according to lot. This refers to the relations of rich and poor, high and low, and so forth. The turning of the 'meta' was a matter of difficulty, and here accordingly it represents any critical point in the race of life, which it behoves us to foresee and be ready to meet. The way of turning easily, and the point from which the preparation should begin, are matters (he means) for nice consideration. The driver who should bring his chariot headlong up to the goal would break down as he turned it. He must take a sweep and judge accurately where the bend should begin. 'Quem te Deus esse jussit' is different from 'quid sumus;' as the latter refers to our general condition, the other to the particular destiny we are called upon to fulfil, according to the position God has given us in the world. There is emphasis therefore in 'te.'

73. *Disce, neque invideas*] He says learn and do not envy those who have slaved for country clients, and got their larder stored with such quantities of provisions as they can never eat. 'Fidelia' we have had above, 22. 'Putet' means that there is so much that it gets bad before he can eat it. Juvenal describes the same sort of payment given to advocates, vii. 119:

"Quod vocis pretium? siccus petasunculus et vas

In locuplete penu defensis pinguibus Umbris,
Et piper et pernae, Marsi monumenta clientis;
Maenaque quod prima nondum defecerit orca.
  Hic aliquis de gente hircosa centurionum
Dicat: "Quod sapio satis est mihi; non ego curo
Esse quod Arcesilas aerumnosique Solones,
Obstipo capite et figentes lumine terram
Murmura cum secum et rabiosa silentia rodunt,
Atque exporrecto trutinantur verba labello,
Aegroti veteris meditantes somnia, gigni
De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reverti.
Hoc est quod palles? cur quis non prandeat hoc est?"
His populus ridet, multumque torosa juventus
Ingeminat tremulos naso crispante cachinnos.
  "Inspice, nescio quid trepidat mihi pectus, et aegris

Pelamydum, aut veteres Afrorum epimenia bulbi,
Aut vinum Tiberi devectum, quinque lagenae,
Si quater egisti."

Thus he speaks of 'siccus petasunculus,' and here Persius speaks of 'perna.' They are both parts of a pig, but it is not certain what part each name signifies. 'Petaso' is generally called a flitch, which takes in the shoulder and ribs; 'perna' is usually supposed to be a ham. The 'maena' was a small sea-fish of some sort; and he says that they came in so fast that the first jar was not empty before others came to be added to it.

77. *Hic aliquis de gente hircosa*] Some military blockhead expresses his contempt for this sort of knowledge, and says what he knows is enough for him. We have had a sketch of these captains in the sixteenth Satire of Juvenal, and 'hircosa' corresponds to that in S. xiv. 194:

"Sed caput intactum buxo naresque pilosas
Annotet et grandes miretur Laelius alas."

Below Persius calls them 'varicosos Centuriones.' (S. v. 189.) Horace has "magni Quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti" (S. i. 6. 73), whose fathers were content to send them to the country school to learn arithmetic.

79. *Esse quod Arcesilas*] He couples the names of two very different men, who lived more than three centuries apart. Arcesilaus, or, as he was sometimes called, Arcesilas, was the disciple and successor of Crantor as the head of the Academy, in which he made such changes, chiefly with the view of bringing back the views of the founder, as to be called the founder of the New Academy. He lived about 200 B.C. 'Obstipo' means stiff and bent downwards. It is explained on Hor. S. ii. 5. 92: "Davus sis comicus atque Stes capite obstipo multum similis metuenti." This man speaks of the philosophers as chewing their muttered words and their mad silence, a description which may be understood. There is no nearer likeness of a madman than a person muttering to himself and carrying on a conversation with his own thoughts, when he gets excited and is not aware that he is seen. The man is here represented as thrusting out his lips as if he were weighing his words upon them, thinking over the dreams of some old dotard; and then we have the Epicurean maxim (Lucretius i. 150), "Nullam rem e nilo gigni divinitus unquam." M. Antoninus (iv. 4) has, in a different connexion, οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἔρχεται ὥσπερ μηδ' εἰς τὸ οὐκ ὂν ἀπέρχεται. 'Aegri somnia' is a proverbial expression, as in Horace, A. P. 7, "velut aegri somnia." As to 'aegroti veteris' see note on Juv. ix. 16, "Quid macies aegri veteris." As to 'cur quis non prandeat' compare Horace (S. ii. 3. 257), "Postquam est impransi correptus voce magistri." 'Naso crispante,' 'with curling nose,' is like 'naso suspendis adunco,' 'uncis naribus,' and the like (S. i. 40, n.).

Faucibus exsuperat gravis halitus; inspice sodes,"
Qui dicit medico, jussus requiescere, postquam
Tertia compositas vidit nox currere venas,
De majore domo modicum sitiente lagena
Lenia loturo sibi Surrentina rogavit.
"Heus, bone, tu palles!" "Nihil est." "Videas tamen istud
Quicquid id est: surgit tacite tibi lutea pellis."
"At tu deterius palles; ne sis mihi tutor;
Jam pridem hunc sepeli: tu restas." "Perge, tacebo."
Turgidus hic epulis atque albo ventre lavatur,
Gutture sulfureas lentum exhalante mephites.
Sed tremor inter vina subit calidumque triental
Excutit e manibus, dentes crepuere retecti,
Uncta cadunt laxis tunc pulmentaria labris.
Hinc tuba, candelae, tandemque beatulus alto

92. *De majore domo*] He sends to some neighbour richer than himself a small jar, and begs for some mild Surrentine wine, as he is going to get up and bathe. 'Modicum sitiente' only means that it holds little: it is not very thirsty. [Jahn has 'modice.'] The wine of Surrentum (Sorrento) did not bear a high character. See note on Horace, Epp. i. 15. 16. 'Lagena' and 'amphora' were the same. After the man has had his wine and his bath, his doctor meets him and tells him he looks pale; and when the man says it is nothing, he says, whatever it is he must see to it; his skin is beginning to swell. The patient gets angry, and tells him he does not look as bad as the doctor himself; he doesn't want him for his guardian, who is dead and gone long ago. "You are alive," he adds; by which he means he wishes he was dead, as Horace does in that amusing dialogue, S. i. 9. 26, sqq.:

"—— Est tibi mater,
Cognati, quis te salvo est opus? Haud mihi quisquam;
Omnes composui. Felices! Nunc ego resto."

The doctor, in despair, tells him to go his own way, he shall say no more.

98. *Turgidus hic epulis*] See Horace, Epp. i. 6. 61, "Crudi tumidique lavemur," and Juv. i. 142, "Poena tamen praesens," &c. ['lentum,' Heinrich's conjecture.]

100. *Sed tremor inter vina subit*] 'Sed' means, 'nay more,' that is, without bathing, before he leaves the table. 'Triental' is the name of a cup holding one-third of a sextarius, or four cyathi. The usual name is 'triens,' and most MSS. have 'trientem' here. But the other form which only occurs here is not likely to have been invented. The man is drinking 'calda,' hot negus, which the Romans were very partial to. See Juv. S. v. 63: "Quando vocatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister." 'Dentes retecti' are teeth from which the gums have receded, as they do from the effect of fever. They now chatter with the chill of death. As to 'pulmentaria' see Juv. vii. 185.

103. *Hinc tuba, candelae,*] 'Hinc' means 'after this.' Immediately after death among other ceremonies the friends set up loud cries, and horns were blown, and a great noise was made, in the hope that the deceased might still show signs of life. When this was over, they cried 'conclamatum est,' 'the cries are done,' and there was no hope. Whereupon the body was washed and anointed by a servant (pollinctor) of the undertaker, and if the deceased was a free man his toga was put round him (Juv. iii. 172: "Nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus"). The body was then ('tandem,' after all the preliminary performances) laid on a 'lectus funebris,' and the bed, as it appears from this passage, was placed in the 'atrium,' with the feet of the dead towards the door. After the body had lain in state a certain number of days, it was carried out to be burnt. The procession is described in my note on Hor. S. i. 6. 43: "Concurrantque

Compositus lecto crassisque lutatus amomis
In portam rigidos calces extendit: at illum
Hesterni capite induto subiere Quirites.
Tange, miser, venas et pone in pectore dextram;
"Nil calet hic;" summosque pedes attinge manusque;
"Non frigent." Visa est si forte pecunia, sive
Candida vicini subrisit molle puella,
Cor tibi rite salit? Positum est algente catino
Durum olus et populi cribro decussa farina,
Tentemus fauces; tenero latet ulcus in ore
Putre, quod haud deceat plebeia radere beta.
Alges cum excussit membris timor albus aristas;
Nunc face supposita fervescit sanguis, et ira
Scintillant oculi, dicisque facisque quod ipse
Non sani esse hominis non sanus juret Orestes.

foro tria funera." The particulars there as well as here are derived from Becker's Gallus, Exc. Interment of the Dead. The body was carried out on an open bier, sometimes by relations, sometimes by people of consequence, and sometimes, as this passage shows, by the man's freedmen. 'Hesterni Quirites' are citizens of yesterday, who have but lately got their freedom. 'Capite induto' shows they wore the 'pileus' or cap, which was put on a slave's head when he was manumitted (see S. v. 82). 'Candelae' are torches burnt by the bed-side. 'Beatulus' is a sneer. As to 'amomo' see note on Juv. iv. 108: "sudans Crispinus amomo Quantum vix redolent duo funera." 'Lutare' is to smear as with mud. 'Porta' is nowhere else used for a house-door. Its proper meaning is the gate of a city or camp. Forcellini, who does not notice this exception, shows the difference between 'porta' and 'janua' or 'fores,' by Ovid's comparison between the soldier and the lover (Amor. i. 9. 19):

"Ille graves urbes, hic durae limen amicae
Obsidet: hic portas frangit, at ille fores."

107. *Tange, miser, venas*] This is another case where the man can say he has no physical ailments; but he is asked how he feels at the sight of money or his neighbour's pretty wife. 'Sed' is understood before 'visa est.' 'Puella' is so used in Juv. ix. 74, where see note. As to 'cor salit' see note on Juv. vii. 160.

111. *Positum est algente catino*] He supposes a frugal meal put before the man, of dry vegetables on a cold dish, and bread made of coarse flour (sifted through a common sieve), and then invites him to eat. But the man says his mouth is tender, and he has a sore place in it which he cannot think of hurting with plebeian beet. Persius adds, "You shiver when fear makes your hair stand on end all over your body (he calls it stubble); at another time your blood is all on fire, your eyes flash with rage, and all you say and do is such that mad Orestes himself would pronounce you mad."

What is meant by the last few verses is, that the man who boasts that his blood flows quietly in his veins, and that he is neither too hot nor too cold, has only to be excited by outward things, and his quietness vanishes. Avarice, lust, appetite, fear, passion, all have their influence with him and rob him of his boasting.

SATIRA IV.

INTRODUCTION.

There is not much to remark in this Satire. Its purpose is to show that men have little acquaintance with themselves while they are ready to criticize severely the characters of their neighbours, and to take in with delight vulgar flattery. It opens with a dialogue (if it can be called so, where one of the persons is only supposed to utter a dozen words put into his mouth by the other, v. 17, sq.) between Socrates and Alcibiades, in which the teacher remonstrates with his favourite on his vanity and self-confidence, just as he does in Plato's dialogue, Alcibiades Prior; from which some of the expressions in this scene are taken, and the scene itself is evidently copied. This part illustrates the first point in the Satire, which is men's ignorance of themselves. Their unkindness to others follows. You have only to name a man, and straightway his character is abused and his faults exaggerated; his good qualities are never mentioned. But though men may hide their sore places from the world and delight themselves in flattery, they cannot cheat conscience altogether. The moral is that men should scorn to be called what they are not; throw back the flattery of the vulgar on themselves; and make their own breast their home, that they may learn how little they have there to be proud of.

ARGUMENT.

What, you become a statesman? (suppose that Socrates is speaking.) Trusting in what, O ward of Pericles? No doubt you're wise beyond your years, and so the people when their passions rise will surely listen to you, saying, 'Citizens, I tell you this is wrong—'twere better so.' You can weigh justice in the balance, you can tell straight from crooked. You cannot? Then as you're only fair outside, why show your gaudy tail before your day to an admiring crowd? You're only fit for hellebore. What is your happiness? 'To eat good dishes and to bask in the sun.' Hold, this old woman could but answer so. Well, boast your beauty and descent, only allow that Baucis crying herbs for slaves to buy is wise as you.

V. 23. No man goes down into himself, but all can see the pack upon their neighbour's shoulders. Ask a man thus, 'Know you Vectidius' estate, the man who owns broad lands at Cures?' 'What he (the man replies) the wretch, who on a holiday eats onions raw, washed down with sour old wine he scarce has the heart to draw?' Or if you're a free liver, some one will touch you on the elbow and drag your character through the mire.

V. 42. We strike and in our turn are struck again. These are the terms we live on: so much experience teaches us! You've a deep sore within, but your broad belt conceals it. Well, try and cheat your conscience if you can. 'But if my neighbours praise me shall I not believe them?' If money turns you pale, if you indulge your lusts, or if you cheat in the Forum, 'tis vain to drink the flattery of the vulgar; scorn to be what you are not: give the cobbler back his offering; live with yourself, and you shall see how scantily furnished is your home.

Rem populi tractas? (barbatum haec crede magistrum
Dicere, sorbitio tollit quem dira cicutae,)
Quo fretus, dic, o magni pupille Pericli.
Scilicet ingenium et rerum prudentia velox
Ante pilos venit; dicenda tacendaque calles.
Ergo ubi commota fervet plebecula bile,

1. *Rem populi tractas?*] See Introduction. 'Rem populi' is equivalent to 'rem publicam.' As to 'cicuta,' see Juv. vii. 206.

3. *Quo fretus,*] Here he follows closely Socrates' language in Plato's dialogue. He supposes Alcibiades in his pride to match himself against the king of Persia, and the queen-mother to wonder ὅτῳ ποτὲ πιστεύων ἐν νῷ ἔχει οὗτος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τῷ Ἀρταξέρξῃ διαγωνίζεσθαι. She answers herself, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτῳ ἄλλῳ πιστεύων πλὴν ἐπιμελείᾳ τε καὶ σοφίᾳ, ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα ἄξια λόγου ἐν Ἕλλησι. Socrates continues, ἐπεὶ εἴ γε πύθοιτο ὡς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὗτος νῦν ἐπιχειρεῖ, πρῶτον μὲν ἔτη οὐδέπω γεγονὼς σφόδρα εἴκοσιν, ἔπειτα παντάπασιν ἀπαίδευτος, οἶμαι ἂν αὐτὴν θαυμάσαι τε καὶ ἐρέσθαι, τί οὖν ποτ' ἔστιν ὅτῳ πιστεύει τὸ μειράκιον; The MSS. instead of 'o,' which Heinrich reads, have 'hoc' or 'haec.' I do not take either of these to be right.

— *magni pupille Pericli.*] Clinias the father of Alcibiades was killed at the battle of Coroneia, B.C. 447, and left his son (whose age at the time is uncertain, but he was quite a child) under the care of Pericles and his brother Ariphron, who were second cousins, as we should call them, of Dinomache, the mother of Alcibiades. The form Pericli or Periclei is like Ulixei (Hor. Epp. i. 7. 40, &c.) and Achillei (C. i. 15. 34), from a nominative Pericleus, the last syllable of the genitive being open or contracted according to convenience.

4. *Scilicet ingenium*] This is ironical, and taken from the above passage of Plato. 'Rerum prudentia' is a knowledge of the world. See note on Hor. C. iv. 9. 35, "Est animus tibi Rerumque prudens." 'Ante pilos' is 'before the beard.' 'Dicenda tacendaque' means 'all sorts of things.' See note on Hor. Epp. i. 7. 72: "Dicenda tacenda locutus Tandem dormitum dimittitur."

6. *Ergo ubi commota*] 'Ergo,' because you are so early wise, you are eager to go among the people, and wave down their noise with the majestic motion of your arm, and then discourse to them upon honesty; of which Socrates makes him confess he knows nothing: οὐκοῦν ἐλέγχθη ὅτι περὶ δικαίων καὶ ἀδίκων Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ καλὸς ὁ Κλεινίου οὐκ ἐπίσταιτο· οἴοιτο δὲ καὶ μέλλοι εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐλθὼν συμβουλεύσειν Ἀθηναίοις περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν οἶδεν; οὐ ταῦτ' ἦν; Ἀλκ. φαίνεται (Steph. ii. 113). In 'quid deinde loquere?' Jahn sees an allusion to the young man's thoughtlessness in not preparing his speech before he goes in. This is a strange remark. Socrates takes it for granted he will say what he puts into his mouth. For 'puto' most MSS. have 'puta' [and also Jahn]. The other seems to be required. The speaker expresses his own opinion. Priscian and Servius both quote the line with 'puta,' observing that the last syllable in 'puta,' which some call an adverb, is short. As to 'libra' see S. i. 7, n. As to 'curva' see S. iii. 52. 'Regula' is properly a straight ruler. Here it is put, as part for the whole, for 'norma,' which was composed of two 'regulae' joined at right angles. These are the 'pedes' here referred to, and he supposes the instrument to have been bent and the angle altered. What he says is, You can weigh justice in the scales and tell when it is wanting; and you can distinguish a straight line when you see it among curves, or from the diverging line formed by a 'norma' when its legs are out of the perpendicular. You know also how to set your black mark against vice. Θ is for θάνατος. According to the Scholiast here (to whose authority Plum adds Isidorus, Hispal. Etymol. i. 20. 23, and Asconius, ad Cic. pro Scauro) the Greek dicasts declared their verdict of condemnation by this letter as the Roman judices did by C (condemno). Martial has an epigram (vii. 37) of which the lemma is "Ad Castricum de Theta." It begins

"Nosti mortiferum quaestoris, Castrice, signum?
Est operae pretium discere theta novum."

The Scholiast quotes from an author he

Fert animus calidae fecisse silentia turbae
Majestate manus: quid deinde loquere? 'Quirites,
Hoc puto non justum est; illud male, rectius illud.'
Scis etenim justum gemina suspendere lance
Ancipitis librae; rectum discernis ubi inter
Curva subit, vel cum fallit pede regula varo,
Et potis es nigrum vitio praefigere theta.
Quin tu igitur summa nequicquam pelle decorus
Ante diem blando caudam jactare popello
Desinis, Anticyras melior sorbere meracas?
Quae tibi summa boni est? "Uncta vixisse patella
Semper, et assiduo curata cuticula sole."
Exspecta; haud aliud respondeat haec anus. I nunc,

does not name, "Θ multum ante alias infelix littera theta."

14. *Quin tu igitur*] He goes on (as if the youth had disclaimed all that he ironically attributes to him), "Then why do you not leave off showing your fine tail (like a peacock) before your time to the flattering vulgar, you who are only fair on the surface, you who had better go and swallow all Anticyra without water?" Horace says of one (Epp. i. 16. 44, sq.):

"Sed videt hunc omnis domus et vicinia tota
Introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora."

'Ante diem' is before he has qualified himself. 'Popello' is the contemptuous form of 'populus' used by Horace (Epp. i. 7. 65), "Vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello." See below, S. vi. 50. As to Anticyra see Juv. xiii. 97. Horace speaks of three Anticyrae (A. P. 300, "tribus Anticyris caput insanabile nunquam"), but there is no more meaning in the plural there than here (see note). As to 'meracas' compare Horace, Epp. ii. 2. 137:

"Expulit helleboro morbum bilemque meraco,
Et redit ad sese."

'Uncta' is a common epithet for dainties, made-dishes. See S. iii. 102; vi. 16.

18. *assiduo curata cuticula sole.*] 'Pelliculam' or 'cutem curare' are common phrases with Horace, as in S. ii. 5. 38; Epp. i. 2. 29; i. 4. 15. It is an expression for taking care of oneself, generally in the way of eating and drinking. And so it is here. The man liked a good dinner, which in the winter he would take in a room that caught the sun's rays, as in summer in one looking to the north. See note on Hor. C. ii. 15. 14: "nulla decempedis Metata privatis opacam Porticus excipiebat Arcton." For the former the Romans had the words 'insolatio,' 'apricatio,' for the latter the phrase was 'coenatio ad Boream.' Juv. xi. 203 has "Nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem."

19. *Exspecta; haud aliud*] 'Exspecta' is 'wait a moment,' or 'look here.' It was a way of interrupting a speaker, especially when they had something disagreeable to say. Socrates adds, "This old woman here could give no worse answer than that." 'Haec' is as if pointing to an old woman hard by, whom he calls Baucis. 'I nunc' is a contemptuous way of speaking, common in Horace and Juvenal. See Hor. Epp. i. 6. 17; ii. 2. 76, and Juv. x. 110, n. 'Suffla' is 'spout out' or something of that sort. His counsellor tells him he may now, after his admission, go and boast of being the son of Dinomache (who was of the family of the Alcmaeonidae) and of his beauty, if only he admits that old ragged Baucis is as wise as he, when she cries her herbs for some rascally slave to buy. 'Pannuceus' is synonymous with 'pannosus.' Baucis is a Greek name commonly used for old slaves. 'Ocimum' is a herb described by Pliny (H. N. xviii. 16). But it is not known what plant he means. 'Bene' is used as above, S. i. 111, and as Horace occasionally uses 'male' (C. i. 17. 25, "ne male dispari Incontinentes injiciat manus," where see note). As to 'discincto' see S. iii. 31, n.

'Dinomaches ego sum,' suffla; 'sum candidus.' Esto,
Dum ne deterius sapiat pannucea Baucis,
Cum bene discincto cantaverit ocima vernae.
  Ut nemo in sese tentat descendere, nemo,
Sed praecedentis spectatur mantica tergo!
Quaesieris, "Nostin' Vectidii praedia?" "Cujus?"
"Dives arat Curibus quantum non milvus oberret."
"Hunc ais, hunc Dis iratis Genioque sinistro?
Qui quandoque jugum pertusa ad compita figit,

23. *Ut nemo in sese tentat*] Here the poet leaves Alcibiades and his teacher, to derive from the scene he has described a lesson against self-ignorance. To go down into oneself as into a dark mine or cavern is an expressive phrase. Aesop's story of the two wallets is referred to among many other writers by Horace, S. ii. 3. 299: "Respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo," where see note. According to the original fable each man carries his neighbour's vices in a wallet on his breast, and is continually looking into it, while his own he swings on his back and never sees them. Persius makes the man looking with satisfaction at the wallet on the back of one who is walking before him; thereby slightly varying the fable. [Phaedrus (iv. 9) has told the fable well in three lines:

"Peras imposuit Jupiter nobis duas:
Propriis repletam vitiis post tergum dedit;
Alienis ante pectus suspendit gravem."

In v. 24 of Persius Jahn has 'praecedenti.']

25. *Quaesieris, Nostin' Vectidii praedia?*] He supposes by way of example some one to ask whether he is acquainted with Vectidius' estate. The man asks 'which Vectidius?' and he explains by saying he has immense estates at Cures. Whereupon the other takes him up, "What, do you mean that stingy wretch, who blesses himself if he opens a jar of wine on a holiday, eating a raw onion and gulping his sour drink, while his slaves are making merry with a pot of porridge?" He means that people will only find what harm they can in a man, and exaggerate it, and never think of his better qualities.

In 'Vectidii' the second syllable is lengthened by the contraction of the two last, the penultimate vowel being sounded as a 'y.' Jahn reads Vettidi, and Heinrich shows how frequently in the same name 'c' and 't' are interchanged. Jahn says this is due to the ignorance of the middle ages, and that in inscriptions the name Vettidius is often found, but Vectidius never. That does not decide the case against the MSS., which are for the most part in favour of Vectidii.

'Cures' is the Sabine town in which tradition said Numa was born. The circumstance of Vectidius being a Sabine might account for his thriftiness, for which those people were proverbial. But his neighbours chose to take the worst view of it. As to 'quantum non milvus oberret' see Juv. ix. 54, sq.:

"Dic, passer, cui tot montes, tot praedia servas
Appula, tot milvos intra tua pascua lassos?"

'Dis iratis Genioque sinistro' are ablatives of quality. We need not understand 'natus' because Horace says, "Iratis natus paries Dis atque poetis." The man was 'Dis inimicus,' the gods hated him, and his Genius was adverse to him; he was born bad. See note on S. ii. 8.

28. *quandoque jugum pertusa ad compita figit,*] This is obscure. Forcellini renders 'pertusa' 'pervia,' which Jahn adopts, and adds in the words of the Scholiast, "quia in omnes partes patent." Heinrich explains it by 'calcata,' 'trita,' and this seems to be near the meaning. There were holes in the road from weather and use. But it is not certain what the man is about. Heinrich, Jahn, and most of the old commentators, understand that he is making an offering to the Lares Compitales at their festival, the Compitalia, which was held at the beginning of January with a good deal of eating and drinking. But there is nothing about the Compitalia in the text, which only says that the man sometimes hung up a yoke

Seriolae veterem metuens deradere limum
Ingemit, 'Hoc bene sit!' tunicatum cum sale mordens
Caepe et, farratam pueris plaudentibus ollam,
Pannosam faecem morientis sorbet aceti?"
At si unctus cesses et figas in cute solem,
Est prope te ignotus cubito qui tangat, et acre
Despuat in mores, penemque arcanaque lumbi
Runcantem populo marcentes pandere vulvas:
"Tu cum maxillis balanatum gausape pectas,
Inguinibus quare detonsus gurgulio extat?
Quinque palaestritae licet haec plantaria vellant,
Elixasque nates labefactent forcipe adunca,
Non tamen ista filix ullo mansuescit aratro."
Caedimus inque vicem praebemus crura sagittis.

at the 'compita,' and on the occasion ate and drank very poor fare. We may therefore dismiss the Compitalia, as Casaubon does. At the principal cross-roads there were small chapels dedicated to the Lares Compitales, and there the Scholiast says it was the custom of farmers to hang up their yokes when broken, a remark due, it may be supposed, to this passage, and not worth much. As observed on Horace, Epp. i. 1. 4:

"——Veianius armis
Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro,"

it was usual for persons giving up any particular calling to dedicate their tools, &c., to some god. This the commentators refer to. But here a repeated act is implied in 'quandoque,' and it cannot therefore be referred to the man's retirement from farming. We must, I think, remain ignorant of the occasions on which the farmer dedicated his yoke, admitting that a dedication to the Lares Compitales is meant. It appears that on such occasions, whatever they were, the household had a feast, which according to the speaker went against the grain with Vectidius. 'Quandoque' for 'quandocunque' is twice used by Horace, C. iv. 1. 17, "Et quandoque potentior," &c., and 2. 34, "Caesarem quandoque trahet feroces," &c. See Forcellini.

29. *Seriolae veterem*] 'Seria' was one of the different sorts of jars in which wine was kept, and 'seriola' was a small one of the same sort. This man is said with all his riches to be unwilling to take off the dirt from his old jar to draw the wine, and prays that no harm may come of such extravagance. 'Hoc bene sit,' 'quod bene sit,' were ordinary forms of prayer, especially when there was any thing doubtful about the matter in hand. 'Tunicatum caepe' is a raw onion with the shell on. See Juv. xiv. 153, "Tunicam mihi malo lupini," &c. 'Farratam ollam' is a jar of porridge, 'puls.' See Juv. xi. 109, where 'farrata' is used absolutely for 'pultes.' See also his description of the young rustics' supper, "grandes fumabant pultibus ollae" (xiv. 171). The slaves clapped their hands when they saw this mess. It was an improvement on their ordinary meals: but what could they have been? for 'far' was the daily allowance of slaves in general. He calls the wine 'the ragged dregs of dying vinegar.'

Casaubon, Passow, and most editors, have 'farrata olla,' and Heinrich says this is equivalent to 'plaudentibus ad ollam' or 'de olla.' But I do not think this is Latin. All Orelli's MSS., some of Achaintre's, and several others, have the accusative, which Jahn has adopted. The only way in which the ablative can be understood is by making it absolute and using 'farrata' strictly as a passive participle, 'pueris' being the dative, "While a pot is filled with 'far' for the slaves who clap their hands."

33. *At si unctus cesses*] 'But if you be not a thrifty liver like Vectidius, but self-indulgent, like Alcibiades (see v. 18), then people will find something worse to say of you.' What they say the reader will be glad to pass over.

42. *Caedimus inque vicem*] Horace has something like this (Epp. ii. 2. 97),

Vivitur hoc pacto; sic novimus. Ilia subter
Caecum vulnus habes; sed lato balteus auro
Praetegit: ut mavis, da verba et decipe nervos
Si potes. "Egregium cum me vicinia dicat
Non credam?" Viso si palles, improbe, nummo,
Si facis in penem quicquid tibi venit amarum,
Si puteal multa cautus vibice flagellas,
Nequicquam populo bibulas donaveris aures.
Respue quod non es; tollat sua munera cerdo;
Tecum habita, noris quam sit tibi curta supellex.

"Caedimur et totidem plagis consumimus hostem," but the application is different. Here Persius means to say 'men are all one as bad as another, and he who strikes now will presently get his own castigation: this we all understand, and on these terms life goes on.' Then he goes on to suppose a man may have disease in him, but hide it from the world: and he bids him deceive his own nerves, if he can. But, says the other, 'if the neighbours speak well of me, must I not believe them?' To which the reply is, if his conscience tells him he is covetous, sensual, and a cheat, there is no use in listening to what the people say. 'Sic novimus' is an incomplete expression, in whatever way we understand it. Heinrich supplies 'nos;' 'this is the way we know ourselves.' Jahn says it is 'sic notum est,' 'we all know it to be so.' I think it means 'we know this (or so we have learned) from experience.' It was the fashion for persons of consideration about the court of the emperors to wear 'baltei,' 'baldrics,' richly ornamented with plates of gold. They were worn obliquely from the right shoulder. It was properly a part of the military dress. 'Ut mavis' is equivalent to 'esto.' 'Be it so—the world cannot see it: it is hidden by your fine belt (that is your rank hides it); but try and cheat your conscience.' 'Dare verba' is 'to give words for deeds,' and so 'to deceive.' See S. iii. 19. 'Nervi' are the muscles. The ancients knew nothing of the nerves, and so mistook the seat of pain.

47. *si palles, improbe, nummo,*] We have below "pallentes radere mores," v. 15.

48. *amarum,*] This is the reading of all the MSS., and seems to be an adaptation of the Greek *πικρόν*, which is used in various senses in which mischief is implied. John of Salisbury (Nugae, &c. iii. 5) quotes the verse with 'quicquid tibi venit amorum,' but his quotation is evidently from memory, and his reading is not to be trusted. I do not see the difficulty in 'amarum' that Jahn does. He takes 'amorum' from John.

49. *Si puteal multa*] The meaning of this line has been much disputed. It means something that the man should not do; but what? 'Puteal Libonis' was the place in the Forum Romanum where money-lenders did their business, as is generally believed. (Hor. S. ii. 6. 35, "Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras.") It would seem then that the man whipped the Puteal severely, which may be, overreached the people who did business with him, being himself up to the tricks of trade (cautus).

51. *tollat sua munera cerdo;*] 'Let the cobbler carry off his gift of flattery.' Juvenal uses 'cerdones' for the lowest of the people, S. iv. 153, "Sed periit postquam cerdonibus esse timendus Coeperat;" S. viii. 182, "et quae Turpia cerdoni Volesos Brutumque decebunt." He finishes with a good line: 'Live with yourself, and you will soon find how scanty is your furniture:' enter into your own mind, look round as a tenant inspects his new lodging, and you will see how little good it contains. After 'tecum habita' the MSS. have 'ut' or 'et' or 'aut,' but a conjunction only weakens the language.

SATIRA V.

INTRODUCTION.

L. ANNAEUS CORNUTUS, to whom this satire is addressed, as stated in the Introduction, was the instructor of Persius, who went to him as soon as he came to man's estate, to learn the Stoic philosophy. He was a native of one of the two places in Libya named Leptis (Κορνοῦτος Λεπτίτης φιλόσοφος· ἡ δὲ Λέπτις πόλις Λιβύης. Suidas, Κορνοῦτος). His name shows him to have been a freedman of one of the Annaei, of which family there were many wealthy branches. Seneca was one of them, and was a friend of Cornutus. The poet Lucan was an Annaeus, and one of his pupils. Dion Cassius (62, c. 29) says that Nero, intending to write a Roman history in Epic verse, consulted Cornutus as to the number of books it should be in. Some of his flatterers told him they should be four hundred, but Cornutus said no one would read them. And when some one said Chrysippus, the Stoic, had written many more, Cornutus answered that his books had something useful in them for human life. Whereupon Nero sent him into exile. This must have been after the death of Persius, A.D. 62. According to Jerome it was in 68, the last year of Nero's reign, [but according to Dion it was before the consulship of Telesinus, and therefore before B.C. 66.]

The Satire turns upon the character and teaching of Cornutus. It is supposed to be delivered in conversation with him, and the introduction is well arranged. Persius begins by referring to the commonplace of poets asking the Muse for a hundred tongues; and Cornutus asks what he can be about, and hopes he is not going to write a tragedy or an Epic poem. He answers that he wants this gift of tongues to tell his affection and gratitude towards his friend and teacher, whom he addresses in affectionate language, declaring that their fates are the same, and their lives under the protection of the same star. He contrasts the earnest life of his master, devoted to study and to the instruction of the young, with the various selfish pursuits of the world; and he takes that opportunity to urge upon old and young the study of philosophy. One of the tenets of the Stoics is that which is dwelt upon at length in the seventh satire of Horace's second book, and in the fifth of Cicero's Paradoxa, of which the title is ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος καὶ πᾶς ἄφρων δοῦλος. Taking up this doctrine Persius occupies the rest of his Satire with illustrations of it, showing that real liberty is not that of the slave set free by the Praetor, though with his freedom he may get the world to worship him, and fancy he is at liberty to live as he pleases. These notions he treats as old wives' tales; for the Praetor cannot teach a man the duties of life and how to enjoy it, any more than he can teach a low fellow to play the harp. A man cannot do what he pleases, for he can only do what he is fit for. If he is upright, and discerning, and just, and moderate, and kind, and liberal without extravagance, and free from avarice, he is a free man; but if not, he is as much a slave as the man that carries his master's things to the bath, and is flogged if he loiters on the way. There are those, he goes on to say, who are slaves alternately of avarice and self-indulgence, but who believe themselves free notwithstanding. The youth who has summoned courage to give up his mistress after she has ill-treated him, and thinks he is going to lead a new life, finds his liberty is not proof against the first invitation to return. The ambitious man is the slave of the mob, the superstitious of his fears and of the knaves that impose upon him.

The Satire ends abruptly with the old hit at the rude gentlemen of the army (S. iii. 77, sqq.), whose business, of course, it is to ridicule these fine sentiments. This abrupt-

ness is frequent in Horace, whose language Persius copies in this Satire more even than in the others. Most of the places are pointed out in the notes.

This poem is ranked by the critics above the other five. There is not much obscurity in it, though, according to the plan of this edition, it requires a good many notes. The address to Cornutus has those evidences of genuine feeling which always attract admiration. Had it been expressed in language more original, it would have appeared still more real. The astrological fictions (of course known by the writer to be so) do not much detract from this reality, though they would hardly answer the same purpose now. The description of a slave's manumission, and its consequences, is humorous and vigorous. Cornutus, who had gone through the process himself, was probably amused when he read it. The rest of the poem contains so much that is borrowed in form and language, that, although the borrowed material is well applied and forcibly used, it takes a good deal from the credit of the poem, and makes it doubtful whether it will sustain all the praises that have been bestowed upon it.

Various passages are quoted by Scholiasts and old writers, and particularly by John of Salisbury, who, in his Policraticus sive De nugis Curialium et vestigiis Philosophorum (Lugd. Bat. 1639), makes large use of quotations from Juvenal and Persius. His readings would be of much value, as belonging to the twelfth century, if it were not that he sometimes quotes from memory, and changes the words to suit his purpose.

ARGUMENT.

Bards tragic and bards epic all are wont to pray the Muses for a hundred tongues. 'What's this? What strong meat are you going to give us now? Let the grand poets go to Helicon and gather fogs. You're not the man to labour at the forge, and mutter to yourself, and puff your cheeks. Yours is the common tongue, harmonious, smooth, skilful in humorous satire. Confine yourself to this; leave horrid banquets, stick to vulgar dinners.'

V. 19. I've no desire to swell my page with tragic nonsense, giving weight to smoke. We are alone, and here I offer you, Cornutus, my heart to search, that you may know how much of me you are. Strike, you will find it solid. For this I ask a hundred tongues, to tell my hidden love for you.

V. 30. When first I went abroad a man, that time when friends are wont to flatter, and ignorance to lead the feet astray, I gave myself to you. You took me to your bosom: insensibly you trained my principles; my mind submitted gladly; you formed with artist's skill the plastic features: with you I passed long days, and stole the early hours from night. Our work and rest were one, and social meals relaxed our serious toils. You cannot doubt our days are joined in one sure bond; our star is one: our times were equal at our birth; our fates harmonious; Jove protects us both.

V. 50. Men and their wishes vary. One trades, another sleeps, one loves the Campus, one the dice, another languishes in lust. But when the gout comes then they mourn too late the life they've left behind them. 'Tis your delight to study and to sow the seeds of truth in youthful ears. Here, young and old, get for your minds a purpose, and provision for hoar hairs. 'To-morrow it shall be.' Aye, to-morrow it will be the same. 'What, grudge me but one day?' But when another day is come then yesterday is gone, and so to-morrow drives away to-day, and the time always lies a little further. The hinder wheel can never overtake the foremost.

V. 73. We all want liberty, not that which gives the slave his name and his corn ticket. Fools! who suppose a single turn can make a citizen. This worthless Dama gets a twist and straight is Marcus Dama! Marcus is surety, who would refuse to

lend? Marcus is Judex, who shall be afraid? Marcus has spoken, and it must be true! Marcus, I pray you sign and seal my will! This is pure liberty: the cap of freedom gives us this!

V. 83. 'But who is free but he who does what he likes? I live as I please, and am I not more free than Brutus?' Your inference is bad, the sage replies. I grant you all but that, 'I live as I please.' 'Why not, now that I've got my freedom from the Praetor —so long, at least, as I keep within the law?' Now put aside that angry look, and I'll relieve you of these old wives' tales. The Praetor could not teach you the subtle offices of life, and how to use it. As soon shall low slaves play the harp. Reason forbids that any should do that which they must spoil in doing; the laws of man and nature say the same. The ignorant must not mingle medicines: a ploughman taking to a ship were shameless. Say, have you learnt to walk uprightly? To know sound from unsound? To set their true marks upon things, whether to be pursued or shunned? And are you moderate in your wishes and your life? kind to your friends? liberal, but not extravagant? no longing eye for moneys not your own? When you can say, 'all this is mine,' be free and wise in Praetor's name and Jove's. But if within you're only what you were, then I retract, you're nought in reason's eye; only put forth your finger and you err; folly and right can never dwell together; the ditcher cannot dance Bathyllus' Satyr. You free, the servant of so many masters! Suppose you're safe from the lash, have you no lord within to punish you?

V. 132. See, Avarice wakes you up from sleep and bids you go and trade, bargain, and lie: fool! never mind though Jove should overhear you. Then off you start till Self-indulgence bids you pause: 'Madman, where go you? You to cross the seas, to sit upon a coil of rope, eat off a bench, and drink red wine of Veii? And all to double the fair interest you're getting on your capital. Indulge yourself; the moment that we live is ours; you'll soon be turned to dust; for time is flying, death will soon be here.' See your dilemma. Now you must serve this master and now that. And though you once resist you cannot say you're free. The dog may break his chain, but drags a good part after him.

V. 161. Chaerestratus declares he'll mend his ways, and wait no longer at a harlot's door. 'Well done, young master,' Davus cries. 'But do you think she'll be unhappy, Davus?' O foolish boy, she'll beat you with her shoe. Fume not, you talk fierce now, but when she calls you back you'll go in a moment. It would not be so had you left her whole and sound.

V. 174. Aye, whole and sound, here is the thing we want; not in the lictor's rod. Is that man free, led by ambition open-mouthed, flinging his largess to the people?

V. 179. When the Jews' feast comes round you mutter prayers and tremble at their sabbaths. Or a black ghost, or broken egg, or Cybele's great priests, or Isis' priestess, threatens you with plagues unless you eat a head of garlic thrice in the morning.

V. 189. Now tell all this to the captains, and they'll laugh and swear these Greeks are barely worth one as a-piece.

VATIBUS hic mos est, centum sibi poscere voces,

1. *Vatibus hic mos est,*] Homer set the example (Il. ii. 488, sqq., where he is entering on his catalogue), Πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω, Οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν, Φωνὴ δ' ἄῤῥηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη. Virgil would not be able with a hundred tongues and mouths, and a voice of iron, to tell of the crimes and the punishments of the damned (Aen. vi. 625), or the cultivation of trees (Georg. ii. 43). Ovid wants at least the same number to

Centum ora et linguas optare in carmina centum,
Fabula seu moesto ponatur hianda tragoedo,
Vulnera seu Parthi ducentis ab inguine ferrum.
"Quorsum haec? aut quantas robusti carminis offas
Ingeris, ut par sit centeno gutture niti?
Grande locuturi nebulas Helicone legunto,
Si quibus aut Prognes aut si quibus olla Thyestae
Fervebit, saepe insulso coenanda Glyconi.
Tu neque anhelanti coquitur dum massa camino
Folle premis ventos nec clauso murmure raucus

repeat the lamentations of Meleager's sisters (Met. viii. 532). Valerius Flaccus could not count the Scythians with a thousand mouths (vi. 36). The commentators bring up from Macrobius (Sat. vi. 3), "Non si mihi linguae Centum atque ora sient totidem vocesque liquatae," which he quotes from the Histric war of Hostius, a poet of whom little is known. No one who considers the poverty of the Latin Epic can be surprised at this commonplace bombast being often repeated. We have it in Silius Italicus, who was a contemporary of Persius. Claudian of course has it more than once (In Probini et Olybrii Consulatum, 55. De Sexto Cons. Honorii Augusti, 436).

3. *ponatur hianda tragoedo,*] As to 'ponatur' see S. i. 70. 86, n., and on 'hianda,' which has reference to the tragic mask, see Juv. vi. 636, n., "Grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu."

4. *Vulnera seu Parthi*] Heinrich says 'vulnera' means the wounds the man inflicts, and 'ferrum,' the scimitar carried by the Persians ("Medus acinaces," Hor. C. i. 27. 5). The Scholiast quotes Horace, "Aut labentis equo describit vulnera Parthi" (S. ii. 1. 15); he therefore understood it differently, supposing the man to be wounded and to draw the point of the arrow that shot him from his groin. This I think is right. Casaubon and Jahn take 'vulnera' actively, but 'ferri' for an arrow hanging in its quiver by the man's side. The poems on the Parthians written in Persius' time, no doubt, were as full of falsehoods as those which may have suggested Horace's line above quoted.

5. *Quorsum haec?*] His friend is supposed to interrupt him, thinking he has some grand poem in hand. 'Offas,' which Juvenal uses in ways of his own (S. ii. 33; xvi. 11), may here mean raw crude scraps of poetry of the robust or Epic sort. 'Ingeris' may mean, 'are you tossing us' as scraps of raw meat are thrown to a dog. Below we have "Vigila et cicer ingere large Rixanti populo" (177). 'Par' means that it befits the occasion, the means are equal to the end.

7. *nebulas Helicone legunto,*] 'Let them gather fogs on Helicon.' Ovid in the place above referred to (note on v. 1) has

"Non mihi si centum deus ora sonantia linguis,
Ingeniumque capax totumque Helicona dedisset," &c.

Here the νεφεληγερέται are tragic poets telling of the supper Progne put before Tereus, or Atreus before Thyestes. These suppers the actor Glyco had to digest pretty often. They were favourite subjects. The Scholiast is the only authority about Glyco. He says he was an actor of Nero's time, which is an easy guess. Persius thought him a stupid fellow.

10. *Tu neque anhelanti*] These are the great Epic poets, who puff and blow with their bellows to get the crude stuff into shape. This is taken from Horace (S. i. 4. 19, sq.):

"At tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras,
Usque laborantes dum ferrum molliat ignis,
Ut mavis imitare."

11. *nec clauso murmure raucus*] This is the poet walking up and down, and muttering something to himself which he thinks fine, and looking like a fool as he does so (iii. 81, n.). 'Cornicari' is to croak like a raven. 'Stloppus' is the sound made by compressing the cheeks when they have first been puffed out with wind. Here it represents the mouthing and ranting of tragic or epic poets repeating their productions aloud.

Nescio quid tecum grave cornicaris inepte,
Nec stloppo tumidas intendis rumpere buccas :
Verba togae sequeris junctura callidus acri,
Ore teres modico, pallentes radere mores
Doctus et ingenuo culpam defigere ludo.
Hinc trahe quae dicas, mensasque relinque Mycenis
Cum capite et pedibus, plebeiaque prandia noris."
  Non equidem hoc studeo, pullatis ut mihi nugis
Pagina turgescat, dare pondus idonea fumo.
Secreti loquimur, tibi nunc hortante Camena
Excutienda damus praecordia, quantaque nostrae
Pars tua sit, Cornute, animae tibi, dulcis amice,
Ostendisse juvat: pulsa, dignoscere cautus
Quid solidum crepet et pictae tectoria linguae.

14. *Verba togae sequeris*] 'Toga' here means common life. As to 'junctura' see S. i. 92, n. 'Teres,' which is connected with 'tero' (Hor. C. i. 1. 28, n.), signifies 'smooth.' 'Ore modico' is unambitious language. 'Pallentes mores' are vicious habits that tell upon the complexion through conscience, or anxiety, or disease. See above, iv. 47, "Viso si palles, improbe, nummo;" and Horace, Epp. i. 1. 61, "Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa." 'Radere' is used in this sense above (i. 107). 'Ingenuo ludo' is that which he ascribes to Horace (i. 116):

"Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
  Tangit, et admissus circum praecordia
    ludit."

'Defigere,' Heinrich thinks, is the huntsman's word to 'pierce;' and so Jahn takes it. It may be 'to nail fast.' This is nearly Casaubon's explanation, though he is not certain, and the sense is doubtful. 'Mensas' is the supper of Thyestes, which he tells him to leave, head, feet, and all, at Mycenae (where the scene of this terrible feast is laid), and confine his attention to vulgar dinners, by which he may mean the 'prandia regum,' as he calls them elsewhere (i. 67). They would be vulgar compared with the tragic feasts.

19. *pullatis ut mihi nugis*] 'Pullatae nugae,' the Scholiast says, are tragedies, because tragic characters were acted in dark dresses. (Juv. iii. 213, "Pullati proceres.") The Scholiast also recognizes the reading of many MSS. and the old editions 'bullatis.' The other is the right word, no doubt, and the explanation is also right. Persius says, in reply to his friend, that he has no such ambition as this, that his page should swell with dismal nonsense, and aim at giving weight to smoke,—a proverbial sort of expression. 'Fumum vendere,' the proverb quoted by Jahn, has a different meaning. As to 'pagina' see Juv. S. vii. 100, n.

21. *Secreti loquimur,*] We are talking in private, and the Muse bids me offer you here my heart to search. The Scholiast's explanation is not right. "*Secreti loquimur:* Hoc est: ea quae scribimus digna non sunt theatris—sed tibi, o Cornute, placitura." As to 'Camena' see Juv. iii. 16, n. 'Excutienda' is explained above, S. i. 49, n. The words that follow are like Horace's "Et serves animae dimidium meae," alluding to Virgil (C. i. 3. 8), and "Ah te meae si partem animae rapit Maturior vis quid moror altera?" (C. ii. 17. 5, sq.), addressed to Maecenas. The Greeks and Romans had stronger language and warmer feelings in the friendships of man and man than are common with us.

25. *Quid solidum crepet*] 'Solidum' is opposed to 'tectoria' as marble to stucco. 'Tectorium' is plaster, which, like the chunam in India, might be made to look very like marble. (See the word in Forcellini.) Juvenal uses 'tectoria' for the plasters employed by women, S. vi. 467. Graevius' conjecture of 'fictae' for 'pictae' is against all the MSS., and 'pictae' is used in allusion to the colouring given to the stucco to complete the resemblance to marble. 'Solidum crepet' is like 'sonat vitium' in S. iii. 21, and 'mendosum tinniat' below, 106.

His ego centenas ausim deposcere fauces,
Ut quantum mihi te sinuoso in pectore fixi
Voce traham pura, totumque hoc verba resignent
Quod latet arcana non enarrabile fibra.
Cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit,
Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pependit;
Cum blandi comites totaque impune Suburra
Permisit sparsisse oculos jam candidus umbo;
Cumque iter ambiguum est, et vitae nescius error
Diducit trepidas ramosa in compita mentes,
Me tibi supposui: teneros tu suscipis annos
Socratico, Cornute, sinu; tunc fallere sollers

27. *sinuoso in pectore fixi*] 'How deep I have fastened you in the folds of my breast I may with voice sincere declare, and my words may open all that lies unutterable in my secret heart.' 'Traham,' drag forth, is used in connexion with 'fixi.' His love was nailed there so fast that it required a hundred-tongue power to bring it out. As to 'fibra' see S. i. 47, n.

30. *custos mihi purpura cessit,*] This is explained on Horace, Epod. v. 7, "Per hoc inane purpurae decus precor." The 'toga praetexta,' with the purple border, is meant, which was worn by boys and laid aside by them when they took the 'toga virilis.' The 'toga praetexta' was also worn by consuls and all senators, which leads Pliny to say (H. N. ix. 36), "Huic (purpurae) fasces securesque Romanae viam faciunt: idemque pro majestate pueritiae est." This explains 'custos purpura.' As to 'bulla' see the above note on Horace, as well as those on Epp. i. 1. 4, and Juv. S. v. 164, n., "Etruscum puero si contigit aurum." The Lares whose statues were set up in little chapels of their own ('lararia,' Juv. viii. 111) were draped figures. In the Dictionary of Mythology we are told that they wore the 'cinctus Gabinus,' which was an old way of wearing the 'toga' so as to form of it a girdle round the waist. I am not aware that there is any authority for this statement. Ovid calls them 'incinctos Lares' (S. iii. 26). To the Lares a boy dedicated his 'bulla' when he put it away, and hung it up in their chapel.

32. *Cum blandi comites totaque impune Suburra*] 'When friends are complaisant.' As soon as the boy becomes a man, the people about him alter their tone. It must be remembered that every Roman of any wealth or station had plenty of followers, who left him very little to himself. Some part of the folds of a 'toga,' over the chest, was called 'umbo,' on which subject Becker may be consulted (Gallus, Exc. on the Male Attire, Engl. Abr. p. 339), and Dict. Ant. Toga. Here it is put for the whole 'toga.' 'Jam candidus' means that it no longer bore the purple border, but was all white ('toga pura'), which was the usual colour. He means that when he came to wear the man's 'toga' he had no 'paedagogus' to keep him from the bad parts of the town, where he might go and look about him as much as he pleased. As to the 'Suburra,' the worst and most crowded street in Rome, see Juv. iii. 5, n.

34. *Cumque iter ambiguum est,*] This is connected with the old story of Prodicus, referred to on iii. 56. 'Trepidas' means confused as to their choice of a path among the many travelling roads of life. 'Diducit' means 'leads astray.' 'Deducit' is wrong. Jahn has it. It is the common copyist's mistake.

36. *Me tibi supposui:*] This is only 'I put myself under you.' Jahn says it is "ut filium adsciticium, quem sibi supponere dicunt parentes (Plaut.)." This is quite beside the meaning. He went to his teacher not as a foundling or as a supposititious child, but as a pupil. His language is very tender. Cornutus received him to his bosom, as Socrates received his disciples, to whom he usually became much attached.

37. *fallere sollers*] 'Unvermerkt,' imperceptible, unobserved (Heinrich). This seems to be the meaning. It agrees with the explanations of the Scholiast and Casaubon. Jahn's note I cannot understand, "Regula dicitur *sollers fallere*, non

Apposita intortos extendit regula mores,
Et premitur ratione animus vincique laborat,
Artificemque tuo ducit sub pollice vultum.
Tecum etenim longos memini consumere soles,
Et tecum primas epulis decerpere noctes.
Unum opus et requiem pariter disponimus ambo,
Atque verecunda laxamus seria mensa.
Non equidem hoc dubites, amborum foedere certo
Consentire dies et ab uno sidere duci:
Nostra vel aequali suspendit tempora Libra
Parca tenax veri, seu nata fidelibus hora

quae sollerter fallit, sed quae sollertiam adhibet, ubi de fallendo agitur, quae non fallit, quod quanquam intelligi potest, insolenter nec bene dictum est." Persius says that when Cornutus took him in hand "the rule imperceptibly applied straightened his crooked principles." This language is explained on S. iii. 52, "curvos deprendere mores," and iv. 11.

39. *Et premitur ratione animus*] Heinrich takes 'premitur' in the sense of pruning, which it bears in Horace (C. i. 31. 9), "Premant Calena falce quibus dedit Fortuna vitem," and other places (see Forcellini). Jahn explains it differently. He quotes Virgil (Aen. vi. 80), where Phoebus is represented as breaking in the Sibyl like a wild colt, "fera corda domans fingitque premendo." It probably means no more than that his mind was brought into subjection by reason. He was anxious (through the judicious treatment of his master) she should get the victory over him; and under the hand of the philosopher his mind was shaped into artistic features. This is a confusion of metaphors which cannot well be reconciled. See Juv. vii. 237, "Exigite ut mores teneros ceu pollice ducat, Ut si quis cera vultum facit." In this place 'artificem,' which should properly go with 'pollice,' is given to 'vultum,' and so gets a passive meaning. The subject of 'ducit' is 'animus.' 'Ducere,' 'to get,' is common in a variety of ways. (Juv. xii. 8, n.) Forcellini gives instances, and also of 'artifex' in a passive sense. That which the commentators usually quote (Propertius iii. 29) he does not notice, because the sense is doubtful:

"Atque aram circum steterunt armenta Myronis,
Quattuor artificis vivida signa boves."

The MSS. all have 'artificis,' and it is not so clear as Mr. Paley thinks that it stands for 'artifices.' There is no doubt what Persius means, and the MSS. all have 'artificem.' Casaubon conjectures 'artificis.'

42. *epulis decerpere noctes.*] 'Decerpere' here means to 'steal away.'

43. *Unum opus et requiem*] Virgil has "Omnibus una quies operum, labor omnibus idem" (Georg. iv. 184). 'Disponimus' belongs to 'opus' and 'requiem.' It may be translated 'we ordered,' or something of that sort. The present is used for the metre's sake: it refers to past time.

45. *Non equidem hoc dubites,*] As to 'equidem' see S. i. 110, n. In what follows Persius may have had in mind Horace's address to Maecenas (C. ii. 17. 17, n.):

"Seu Libra seu me Scorpios adspicit
Formidolosus, pars violentior
Natalis horae, seu tyrannus
Hesperiae Capricornus undae,
Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo
Consentit astrum. Te Jovis impio
Tutela Saturno refulgens
Eripuit."

48. *Parca tenax veri,*] So Horace calls her "Parca non mendax," C. ii. 16. 39, and elsewhere he says the sisters were "veraces cecinisse Parcae" (C. S. 25, see note). Every man's Parca attended on his birth, and went with him through his life, as his Genius did (ii. 8, n.), and so they are sometimes spoken of indiscriminately. The business of the Parcae was to execute the decrees (fata) of Jove. Here the Parca that waited on the birth of these two friends is stated to have weighed their times in an even balance, and the hour which first dawned upon them divided the harmonious destinies of both to them

Dividit in Geminos concordia fata duorum,
Saturnumque gravem nostro Jove frangimus una:
Nescio quod certe est quod me tibi temperat astrum.
Mille hominum species et rerum discolor usus;
Velle suum cuique est, nec voto vivitur uno.
Mercibus hic Italis mutat sub sole recenti
Rugosum piper et pallentis grana cumini;
Hic satur irriguo mavult turgescere somno;

as twins; each, that is, had the same length of days and the same fates to fulfil. This is all poetical talk, and Persius believed in such matters no more than Horace. Cornutus lived to go into exile some years after his pupil had died an early death (see Introduction). The one was born a stranger and came to Rome a slave, the other was connected with the first families in the city, and boasted a long line of noble ancestors. 'Libra' and 'Geminos' refer to the constellations of those names. Of the latter Manilius says (ii. 631, sq.):

"Magnus erit Geminis amor et concordia duplex,
Magnus et in multos veniet successus amicos."

Ver. 50 is explained by the above passage of Horace. Jove was theirs, and under the auspices of his planet they destroyed the adverse influences of Saturnus. 'Me tibi temperat,' 'tempers me with you,' that is, fits and joins me to you. Following the conjecture of Mitscherlich on Horace, C. ii. 17. 22, Heinrich has 'Saturnumve.'

52. *Mille hominum species*] He goes on to show, in contrast to the union between him and his friend, the diversity of tastes and feelings to be found in the world. 'Rerum discolor usus' means 'various experiences of the world.' 'Velle' is used as a noun. (S. i. 9, n.) Pepper came from India to the emporia of Syria or Egypt, where it was shipped for Rome. (See below, 136, n.) Its dry appearance is explained by 'rugosum.' Horace speaks of "exsangue cuminum" (Epp. i. 19. 18). The Scholiast quotes Horace (S. i. 4. 29), "Hic mutat merces surgente a sole."

56. *Hic satur irriguo*] 'Satur' means with his belly full, as in Juv. vii. 62. Sleep, Heyne says, is called 'irriguus,' from the poetical notion of its falling like dew upon the weary body. See his note on Virg. Aen. i. 691, "At Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem Irrigat," which expression Virgil seems to have taken from Lucretius (iv. 907), "Somnus per membra quietem Irriget." He uses it again Aen. iii. 511, "fessos sopor irrigat artus." But here it is more probable Persius means that the man drinks well before he goes to bed. See Hor. S. ii. 1. 9, "Irriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento." 'Turgescere' is 'to get fat.' The Campus Martius was covered every afternoon with men taking exercise in various games, especially ball. 'Decoquit' means 'makes him a bankrupt.' The word is used elsewhere in a passive sense, 'to become a bankrupt.' (See Forcellini.) 'In Venerem est putris' means he languishes or pines for that sort of indulgence. Horace has "Omnes in Damalin putres Deponent oculos" (C. i. 36. 17, n.). Heinrich adopts the reading of one MS., 'putret.' Jahn, with the Scholiast, omits 'est.' The reading of the text is that of most MSS. Two read 'putrit,' which the Scholiast mentions. Casaubon has 'putret.' 'Putret' is a genuine verb, and is like the Greek σήπομαι, τήκειν, in Theocritus. 'Ramalia' is in apposition with 'articulos.' The knotty branches of an old beech-tree are not a bad illustration of the joints long under the influence of gout. In a different sense he speaks elsewhere (i. 97) of "ramale vetus praegrandi subere coctum." Horace calls the gout 'nodosa' (Epp. i. 1. 31), with reference to the chalk stones here alluded to in 'lapidosa.' In 'fregerit articulos' we have an imitation of Horace's "postquam illi justa cheragra Contudit articulos" (S. ii. 7. 15). 'Crassos dies' and 'lucem palustrem' express very well the dull unwholesome atmosphere in which a life of idleness and self-indulgence is spent. The MSS. all seem to have 'chiragra;' but the metre requires 'cheragra' as Bentley says on Horace, S. ii. 7. 15. In 61 the MSS. have 'seri,' or some corruption of it. John of Salisbury, who quotes this verse (Nugae, &c. vii. 19), has

Hic Campo indulget; hunc alea decoquit; ille
In Venerem est putris: sed cum lapidosa cheragra
Fregerit articulos veteris ramalia fagi,
Tunc crassos transisse dies lucemque palustrem
Et sibi jam seri vitam ingemuere relictam.
At te nocturnis juvat impallescere chartis,
Cultor enim juvenum purgatas inseris aures
Fruge Cleanthea. Petite hinc, juvenesque senesque,
Finem animo certum miserisque viatica canis.
"Cras hoc fiet." Idem cras fiet. "Quid, quasi magnum
Nempe diem donas?" Sed cum lux altera venit,
Jam cras hesternum consumpsimus: ecce aliud cras
Egerit hos annos, et semper paulum erit ultra.
Nam quamvis prope te, quamvis temone sub uno
Vertentem sese, frustra sectabere canthum,
Cum rota posterior curras et in axe secundo.
Libertate opus est, non hac qua quisque Velina

'miseri' and 'gemuere.' The first Heinrich adopts. In 65, on the other hand, 'miseris' has been changed to 'seris.' These shades of taste are not safe guides. We had better follow the MSS.

64. *Fruge Cleanthea.*] Cleanthes was the most devoted disciple and the successor of Zeno, the founder of the Stoics. (Juv. S. ii. 7, n.) Horace has "purgatam aurem" and "Auriculas collecta sorde dolentes" (Epp. i. 1. 7, 2. 53). Below we hear of the Stoic cleaning his ears with an infusion of vinegar. The ears being kept clean means that the man is wide awake, attentive, ready for observation or instruction. As to 'finem' see S. i. 48, n. 'Viatica' is provision of all sorts for a journey, and he calls on young and old to get from the fruits of wisdom provision for the journey of life when it is drawing to its close. 'Canis,' 'hoar hairs,' is used as a substantive. 'Miseris,' the reading of the MSS., Heinrich changes to 'seris,' an emendation of Markland for which there is no necessity. See last note. He follows up his advice by bidding them not to put off this provision till the morrow, for that morrow will always have another, and as the hinder wheel can never overtake the front, though it runs so near, so procrastination fails to reach the morrow on which its work is to be done, though it is but a day in advance. 'Canthus' is the felly or iron circumference of the wheel, but is here put for the wheel itself, as 'temo,' the pole, is put for the carriage. Persius is the earliest author that uses the word 'canthus.' Quintilian (Inst. i. 5. 8) speaks of his using it as a received word, though in fact it was a barbarism got from the African or Spanish language. Casaubon shows that it is Greek.

68. *Jam cras hesternum consumpsimus:*] Because in some of the MSS. of Servius on Virg. v. 19, 'heu' is inserted before 'consumpsimus,' Heinrich adopts it, and Casaubon says the addition gives pathos to the line. I do not think much of the pathos derived from expletives, and none of the MSS. have 'heu.' Priscian also quotes the verse without 'heu' (xviii. 30). 'Hos annos' is 'the present moment,' to-day. He says, 'Another to-morrow will have driven away to-day, and the time for action will always be a little farther on.'

73. *Libertate opus est,*] According to the Stoics only the sage was a free man (Hor. S. ii. 7. 83, "Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus"), and such liberty, Persius goes on to say, every man should seek, for that is not liberty which is given to a slave at his manumission. The reading of the text is that of many MSS. Most of the editions have 'ut' with or without 'qua.' 'Ut' is not wanted if 'quisque' be taken for 'quicunque,' of which there are several examples in Plautus given by Forcellini. The sense is 'we must have liberty; not that in virtue of which

Publius emeruit scabiosum tesserula far
Possidet. Heu steriles veri, quibus una Quiritem
Vertigo facit! hic Dama est, non tressis agaso,
Vappa et lippus et in tenui farragine mendax.
Verterit hunc dominus, momento turbinis exit
Marcus Dama. Papae! Marco spondente recusas
Credere tu nummos? Marco sub judice palles?
Marcus dixit, ita est: assigna, Marce, tabellas.
Haec mera libertas! hoc nobis pilea donant!

any slave that is set free gets supplied with corn at the public expense.' When a slave was given his liberty, he took his master's praenomen and gentile name. (Juv. S. v. 127, n.) He became a citizen, and was made a member of some tribe. Here the slave is supposed to belong to a person with the praenomen Publius, and to be enrolled in the Tribus Velina, which and the Quirina were the last that were added to the number of tribes. (Hor. Epp. i. 6. 52, n., "Hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina.") During the time of the Republic libertini were only admitted to the four city tribes, of which the Velina was not one, being named from the territory of the Velinus in the Sabine country. This restriction seems to have been removed under the Empire. (See Long's article Manumissio, Dict. Ant.) 'Emeruit' is a military term for a soldier who has served his time. 'Velina' is the ablative case, and it means 'Publius ex Velina.' See Long's note on Cicero, In Verrem Act. i. c. 8, "Q. Verrem Romilia." What is said about the 'far' is explained on Juv. vii. 174. "Summula ne pereat qua vilis tessera venit Frumenti." 'Scabiosum' is 'musty.'

75. *Heu steriles veri,*] He pities those as ignorant of the truth, who think that with one twist a man can be made a citizen. This refers to the method of manumission by the Vindicta, which is explained in the article referred to in the last note. The slave was brought before the Praetor, whose lictor laid a rod (festuca) on his head, and declared him a free man, 'ex jure Quiritium.' The master held the slave till the other part of the ceremony was finished, and then he turned him once round, and, after declaring that he gave him his freedom, he removed his hand, 'emisit e manu,' from which the term 'manumissio' is taken. See note on Horace, S. ii. 7. 76, "quem ter vindicta quaterque Imposita haud unquam misera formidine privet?"

76. *hic Dama est, non tressis agaso,*] 'This is no other than Dama, a groom not worth three ases, a blear-eyed profligate, who would lie in the matter of a poor feed of corn.' 'Dama' was a common name for slaves. It is a corruption of Demetrius. 'Vappa' is explained by the Scholiast on Horace, S. i. 1, 104, where see note. He derives it "a vino corrupto et evanido quod saporem perdidit." 'Farrago' is explained on Juvenal, S. i. 86. This groom cheated his master by robbing his horse of his food: the common story. [Jahn has 'vappa lippus,' and the following note: "*Vappa* vocabatur mustum, quod iterum sponte fervebat, qua calamitate deperit sapor (Plin. xiv. 20. 25), et omnino vinum vilissimum, quale servum decebat, qui immodico ejus usu *lippus* factus est, ut vinum nimium oculis nocet."]

79. *Marcus Dama.*] See foregoing notes. While the freedman took his master's praenomen and gentile name, he kept his own name instead of taking the cognomen of his late owner. 'Exit,' 'turns out,' is used as in Horace (A. P. 22), "currente rota cur urceus exit?" and below, v. 130. The groom now becomes a great man: on his security no man can refuse to lend money; with such a Judex no one need fear the failure of justice. Marcus has said, and so it must be: Marcus is called in to witness testaments. These are all marks of a free man. As to 'spondere' see Dict. Ant., Art. Obligationes. The witnesses to a will had not only to sign their name but to affix their seal. 'Tabellas' seems to mean a will here, and is the usual word. Jahn treats it as any legal document. Cornutus had been manumitted himself. See Introduction.

82. *hoc nobis pilea donant!*] See note on S. iii. 106, "Hesterni capite induto subiere Quirites." This verse Heinrich gives to the next speaker. It is better taken as the poet's sarcasm.

"An quisquam est alius liber, nisi ducere vitam
Cui licet ut voluit? licet ut volo vivere: non sum
Liberior Bruto?" Mendose colligis, inquit
Stoicus hic aurem mordaci lotus aceto;
Hoc, (reliqua accipio,) 'licet ut volo vivere' tolle.
"Vindicta postquam meus a Praetore recessi,
Cur mihi non liceat jussit quodcunque voluntas,
Excepto si quid Masuri rubrica vetavit?"
Disce; sed ira cadat naso rugosaque sanna,
Dum veteres avias tibi de pulmone revello.
Non Praetoris erat stultis dare tenuia rerum
Officia, atque usum rapidae permittere vitae:

85. *Liberior Bruto?*] To be more free than Brutus, who first gave his country freedom, is as much as the man can say.

—*Mendose colligis,*] 'Your conclusion is bad,' a logical phrase. As to the next line, see above, v. 63, n. 'Hic' is added to 'Stoicus' to give reality to the dialogue. In v. 87 there are various readings. Most MSS. have 'Haec reliqua accipio.' Some have 'hoc.' Some of the old editors and Jahn have the former; Casaubon, Passow, Heinrich, and Orelli, the latter. The MSS. also are in favour of 'licet illud et ut volo.' But there is good authority for the reading of the text, which is better. So Passow, Orelli, and Heinrich think. [Jahn has the whole line thus:

'Haec reliqua accipio, licet illud et ut volo tolle.']

88. *Vindicta postquam*] See note on v. 75. 'Vindicta' is used by Horace (quoted in the above note) for the 'festuca,' by which the act of manumission took place, and Jahn says it is so used here. But that is not the case. 'Manumissio' was performed in three ways, of which one was called Vindicta, which is explained by Mr. Long, Dict. Ant., Arts. Vindicatio and Manumissio. 'Meus' is 'my own property,' or 'mei juris.' As to 'rubrica' see note on Juv. S. xiv. 192, "perlege rubras Majorum leges." Masurius Sabinus was a jurisconsultus of eminence in the time of Tiberius and his three successors. He wrote a work of great authority on 'jus civile' in three books. To this work Persius probably refers, and 'Masuri rubrica' is the law as expounded by Masurius. 'Vetavit' is an unusual form. See note on Hor, S. i. 4. 44, "Magna sonaturum," where it is shown that these exceptional forms are not confined to the poets. Heinrich suggests 'vetabit,' which would be right; but the MSS. have the perfect form. Two have 'vetarit,' but that does not mend matters. An uncertain instance of 'vetaveram' occurs in Cicero (ad Fam. x. 23, Plancus ad Ciceron.). But the Aldine and other old editions have 'vetueram.'

91. *Disce; sed ira cadat naso*] This imperative is used absolutely twice before (S. iii. 66. 73). He says if the man wants to know he will tell him, but he must put off that angry sneer that curls his nose and wrinkles his cheek, while he plucks from his breast the old grandmothers' nonsense that he has learnt. 'Veteres avias' seems to have been a proverbial sort of expression. St. Paul uses in the same way γραώδεις μῦθοι, which we translate 'old wives' fables,' in his first epistle to Timothy (iv. 7). The man is spouting his nonsense in an angry and confident way, so Persius says he will relieve his lungs of it all.

93. *Non Praetoris erat*] This use of the imperfect is occasionally met with, as in Hor. C. i. 37. 3, "Ornare pulvinar Deorum Tempus erat dapibus, sodales" (where see note), and C. i. 27. 19, "Quanta laborabas Charybdi." Here 'erat' means the Praetor has not and never had the power to instruct fools in the subtle duties of life, esoteric duties, as the philosophers might call them, only to be learnt in the schools, or to teach them how to use their short life. With the Stoics all were fools who were not wise after their fashion. See note on Hor. S. ii. 3. 43, sq., "Quem mala stultitia et quemcunque inscitia veri Caecum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex Autumat."

Sambucam citius caloni aptaveris alto.
Stat contra ratio, et secretam gannit in aurem
Ne liceat facere id quod quis vitiabit agendo.
Publica lex hominum naturaque continet hoc fas,
Ut teneat vetitos inscitia debilis actus.
Diluis helleborum certo compescere puncto
Nescius examen, vetat hoc natura medendi.
Navem si poscat sibi peronatus arator

95. *Sambucam citius caloni*] 'You shall sooner teach a gawky calo to play upon the harp.' 'Calones' were camp slaves, of whom each soldier had one to carry his heavy accoutrements (136, n.). They were chosen therefore for their strength, and were the least likely to be fit for learning the harp. 'Sambuca' was an eastern instrument, and the name is supposed to be Hebrew. A representation of it is given in Dict. Ant.—ὄνος πρὸς λύραν, ὄνος πρὸς αὐλόν, were Greek proverbs which Persius illustrates in his way.

96. *secretam gannit in aurem*] 'Whispers privately in his ear.' The MSS. and editions vary between 'gannit' and 'garrit.' Casaubon and Jahn have 'garrit.' Most of the editors have 'gannit.' Lubinus refers to Juv. S. vi. 64; and there is no doubt 'gannit' expresses a low whisper better than 'garrit.' 'Secretam gannit in aurem' is like "seductis committere Divis," in S. ii. 4, and "arcanam mendicat in aurem" (Juv. vi. 543).

98. *Publica lex hominum naturaque*] He says philosophy and the law of nature enforce this principle, that ignorance should abstain from attempting what is forbidden to its weakness. ['Quod naturalis ratio inter omnes homines constituit, id aput omnes populos peraeque custoditur vocaturque ius gentium, quasi quo iure omnes gentes utuntur' (Gaius i. § 1). The terms Jus Gentium, and Jus Naturale are equivalent; and the Jus Naturale is founded on the 'naturalis ratio,' the common understanding of mankind. In this passage of Persius we have both 'publica lex' and 'natura,' where 'natura' appears to be only explanatory, and to mean the 'naturalis ratio,' which is the foundation of the 'publica lex.' 'Publica lex,' so far as I know, is not a term used by the Roman jurists; but it seems to express the Jus Naturale of the Roman jurists. Jahn explains 'natura' thus: 'quae unicuique rei insita est,' but this is a mistake.] Horace says, "Audax omnia perpeti Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas" (C. i. 3. 25, sq.), where 'vetitum' is used as it is here, for that which the weakness of man is forbidden, by the unwritten law of nature, to attempt. 'Ratio' is the Stoics' reason, their philosophy. Horace so uses it, S. i. 3. 78, "cur non Ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur," as Heinrich says, and he may be right in so taking v. 115 of that satire, "nec vincet ratio hoc," though I have not done so in my note on that verse.

100. *Diluis helleborum*] Suppose you take to mixing medicine though you do not know how to regulate the scale. Here the 'statera,' or steelyard, is referred to (see note on S. i. 7). Ordinarily 'examen' means the tongue or needle of the Libra, a balance, as in Virg. Aen. xii. 725, "Jupiter ipse duas aequato examine lances Sustinet." Here it means the equipoise (aequipondium), which moves along the beam (scopus) and determines the weight of the thing in the scale, by the notch (punctum) in which it rests ('compescitur' as Persius has it), when the beam is even. Persius says the man does not know how to stop the weight at a given notch or point. See Dict. Ant., Trutina, Libra. In the latter article the Libra is represented without a tongue. But such must have been of a ruder sort. Without the tongue a pair of scales could have been of small use.

This passage seems to be imitated from Horace, Epp. ii. 1. 114, sqq.:

"Navem agere ignarus navis timet; abrotonum aegro
Non audet nisi qui didicit dare: quod medicorum est
Promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri;
Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim."

102. *peronatus arator*] As to 'peronatus' see Juv. xiv. 186, n. 'Luciferi rudis' is one so ignorant of the skies, that he did not know the morning star when he saw it. Melicerta, or Melicertes, was a sea god,

Luciferi rudis, exclamat Melicerta perisse
Frontem de rebus. Tibi recto vivere talo
Ars dedit? et veri speciem dignoscere calles,
Ne qua subaerato mendosum tinniat auro?
Quaeque sequenda forent quaeque evitanda vicissim,
Illa prius creta, mox haec carbone notasti?
Es modicus voti, presso Lare, dulcis amicis?
Jam nunc astringas, jam nunc granaria laxes,
Inque luto fixum possis transcendere nummum,
Nec gluto sorbere salivam Mercurialem?
"Haec mea sunt, teneo," cum vere dixeris, esto
Liberque ac sapiens praetoribus et Jove dextro:
Sin tu, cum fueris nostrae paulo ante farinae,
Pelliculam veterem retines, et fronte politus
Astutam vapido servas sub pectore vulpem,
Quae dederam supra repeto, funemque reduco.

whose name was changed to Palaemon. 'Frons' stands for 'pudor.' Juvenal speaks of "populi frons durior" (viii. 189), and asks "Quando recepit Ejectum semel attrita de fronte pudorem?" (xiii. 242.) Forcellini refers to Horace, Epp. ii. 1. 80, "Clament periisse pudorem Cuncti paene patres" ['exclamet,' Jahn, Heinrich].

104. *Tibi recto vivere talo*] The connexion is this. No man must profess to be what he has not learnt how to be. 'You then profess to be a free man; but have you learnt to walk uprightly, to distinguish truth when you see it, to be sure there is not brass under the gilding, to set the right marks on good and bad, to moderate your desires, to live within bounds, to be kind to your friends, to join liberality with prudence, and to be indifferent to money?' 'Recto talo' Horace uses, Epp. ii. 1. 176, "an recto stet fabula talo." 'Ars' is here equivalent to 'ratio,' philosophy. For 'speciem' many MSS. have 'specimen,' which Jahn adopts. I do not know what he makes of 'ne quă.' 'Mendosum tinniat' has been noticed above, v. 25, n. Horace asks whether certain extravagant people are "sani creta, an carbone, notandi" (S. ii. 3. 246). In 110 there is the notion of liberality without recklessness, there being a time to shut the granary door as well as to open it. The subjunctive, 'astringas,' 'laxes,' has a potential sense here. The Greeks would use ἂν with the optative, or οἷος εἶ with the infinitive. As to the coin dropped in the mud and sticking to the pavement, which the Scholiast here says was a common trick with boys, see note on Hor. Epp. i. 16. 64, "In triviis fixum qui se demittit ob assem." 'Gluto,' a glutton, is formed from 'glutus,' the throat, like 'cachinno' (i. 12, n.) from 'cachinnus.' The man is asked whether he can pass a piece of money on the road without feeling his mouth water like a good feeder when he sees a good dish. The 'saliva' is called Mercurialis because it is excited by Mercurius, the god of windfalls. So the people called the lucky Damasippus Mercurialis (Hor. S. ii. 3. 25).

115. *nostrae paulo ante farinae,*] 'Eadem farina,' bread made of the same meal, is a proverbial expression, like ἓν κήριον, honey from the same comb, πάντα μία κόνις, all come to the same dust. These proverbs are all to be found, with comments, in Erasmus' collection. What Persius says is, 'But if you who professed but now to be of our sort (a free man), still keep to your old nature and are only fair outside, then I take back the concession I made above, and draw in the rope.' As usual, there is a good deal of confusion in the metaphors: there is the flour, the snake shedding its skin, the smooth forehead, the fox in a vapid breast, and the drawing in of a rope, in which the commentators see an allusion to a game played by boys. The Scholiast says it is "ad me habenas licentiae quas dederam traho, dum libertatem quam tibi concesseram adimo." I think this is the meaning.

Nil tibi concessit ratio; digitum exsere, peccas:
Et quid tam parvum? Sed nullo ture litabis,
Haereat in stultis brevis ut semuncia recti.
Haec miscere nefas; nec, cum sis cetera fossor,
Tres tantum ad numeros satyrum moveare Bathylli.
Liber ego! Unde datum hoc sumis, tot subdite rebus?
An dominum ignoras, nisi quem vindicta relaxat?
'I, puer, et strigiles Crispini ad balnea defer;
(Si increpuit,) cessas nugator?' servitium acre

119. *Nil tibi concessit ratio;*] Heinrich, on the conjecture of Lipsius, has 'Ni' against all the MSS. I see no necessity for the change, though it is ingenious. 'Nil tibi —' continues what goes before: 'ni' would be the beginning of a new sentence. 'Et quid' means, 'and yet what act is there so trifling as to put out your finger?' This omission of 'tamen' after 'et' is not uncommon. See Juv. xiii. 91, n. 'Et' and 'tamen' are both omitted in S. iii. 3. 58. He continues, 'You may think it strange that even in so small a thing you cannot do right; but pray and sacrifice as you will, you will never get the gods to grant that half an ounce of what is right should remain with fools:' that is, the Stoics' fools, of whom Horace says, in words like these, "Excidi penitus vitium irae Cactera item nequeunt stultis haerentia." Persius appears often to have imitated Horace insensibly.

122. *Haec miscere nefas;*] 'Haec' is "stultum cum recto," as Heinrich says. A clown must not attempt to dance the Satyr dance of Bathyllus. Horace (Epp. ii. 2. 125), "ut qui Nunc Satyrum nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur." 'Moveri' is in both cases equivalent to 'saltare,' and, like that verb, is coupled with the accusative (Hor. S. i. 5. 63, "Pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat"). As to Bathyllus see Juv. vi. 63. 66, n. 'Tres tantum ad numeros moveri' is the same as 'tripudiare.' See note on Hor. C. iii. 18. 15, "Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor Ter pede terram," another instance apparently of Persius' insensible imitation of Horace's language, though the subject is different.

124. *Liber ego!*] This is a contemptuous way of repeating the man's words. 'Tot subdite rebus,' 'the servant of so many things,' is like Horace (S. ii. 7. 75), "Tune mihi dominus rerum imperiis hominumque Tot tantisque minor?"

125. *nisi quem vindicta relaxat?*] 'But him whose yoke the Vindicta removes.' See note on 75. The next words are supposed to be uttered in a loud tone by some master to his servants: "Suppose you hear one shout, 'Go, slave, and carry down the scrapers to Crispinus' baths: loiter you, trifler?' the fears of slavery do not make you quicken your pace, and there is nothing outward that pulls your strings." This also seems to come from Horace (S. ii. 7. 81, n.):

"Tu mihi qui imperitas alii servis miser, atque
Duceris ut nervis alienis mobile lignum."

The allusion is to puppets pulled by wires (νευρόσπαστα). [Jahn has a note with references to passages in which this word and others which contain the same elements (νευρο, σπα) are used. The Stoics employed this word to express the passions which affect man, as we see in M. Antoninus, ii. 2, "no longer to be pulled by the strings like a puppet to unsocial movements" (μηκέτι καθ᾽ ὁρμὴν ἀκοινώνητον νευροσπασθῆναι), and x. 38; xii. 19, and other passages.] As to 'jecore aegro' see S. i. 12, n. The 'domini' are passions. 'Strigiles,' 'flesh-scrapers,' used after bathing, are described in Dict. Ant., Art. Baths. Crispinus' baths, if there were any that went by that name, we know nothing of.

127. *cessas nugator?*] 'Cessare,' 'cessator,' were the usual words for skulking slaves. 'Cessator' and 'erro' were synonymous. See Hor. S. ii. 7. 100, "Nequam et cessator Davus," and 113, "teque ipsum vitas fugitivus et erro" (note). Elsewhere the dealer says, "Semel hic cessavit et, ut fit, In scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenae" (Epp. ii. 2. 14, sq.).

Te nihil impellit, nec quicquam extrinsecus intrat
Quod nervos agitet: sed si intus et in jecore aegro
Nascuntur domini, qui tu impunitior exis
Atque hic, quem ad strigiles scutica et metus egit herilis?
  Mane piger stertis. "Surge," inquit Avaritia; "eia
Surge." Negas, instat; "Surge," inquit. "Non queo." "Surge."
"Et quid agam?" "Rogitas? saperdas advehe Ponto,
Castoreum, stuppas, ebenum, thus, lubrica Coa;
Tolle recens primus piper e sitiente camelo.

130. *qui tu impunitior exis*] This is like what Davus says to his master in the same sort of connexion in Horace, S. ii. 7. 105:

"Tergo plector enim. Qui tu impunitior illa
Quae parvo sumi nequeunt obsonia captas?"

'Exis' is used much as above, 78. 'How do you come off less scathed than the slave that gets a flogging?' As to 'scutica' see note on Hor. S. i. 3. 119, "Ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello." It was a light whip with one thong ('habena,' see last note).

132. *Mane piger stertis.*] Here we have a man who is distracted between the claims of two masters, Indulgence and Avarice. Avarice has a hard struggle to get him out of bed. 'Et quid agam?' 'besides, if I do get up, what is there to do?' a very common question with idle people. Avarice tells him to go and get a cargo from the Euxine and Aegean. 'Saperdae' were small fish caught in the Euxine and salted for exportation. [Jahn has "'Rogitas?' En saperdam."] Beavers were in former times abundant on the north shores of the Euxine. See Strabo, iii. p. 163, and Virg. Georg. i. 58, "virosaque Pontus Castorea." Flax, from the coarser fibres of which tow was made, was imported from Egypt in large quantities. Indian peppers (55) and Arabian frankincense would be shipped at the ports of Syria and Egypt. Virgil says, "Sola India nigrum Fert ebenum, solis est turea virga Sabaeis" (Georg. ii. 117), on which Heyne says Virgil by India may mean Abyssinia where ebony grows. It could not have been brought overland from the East Indies, but may have come by the Red Sea through Egypt. As to the Coan dresses see notes on Juv. ii. 66; vi. 259; viii. 101. It is supposed silk was the chief part of the material used, though the texture was open and transparent. Gibbon has remarks on the use and manufacture of silk by the ancients, which will entertain the reader (caps. XL., LIII.). He attributes these manufactures to Ceos. 'Lubrica' is 'smooth.' I think it not unlikely again that Persius may unconsciously have had in mind Horace's 'Lubrica conchylia' (S. ii. 4. 30), and transferred to the silk the epithet of the fish from which it was dyed, as Juvenal speaks of 'conchylia Coa' (viii. 101), for Coan dresses dyed with purple. Jahn thinks Coa here may mean Coan wines (Hor. S. ii. 4. 29), and 'lubrica' that they are easily swallowed.

136. *e sitiente camelo.*] The ancients knew that a camel could go long without drink, but they did not know the provision of nature by which it is enabled to do so. Pliny (H. N. viii. 18) says it can go without water for four days, but it is certain it can go many more. Avarice bids the man hasten and be the first to buy the pepper directly it was taken off the back of the beast. She bids him turn a bargain, tell lies and swear to them. And when he answers, 'Jove will hear him,' she calls him a dolt, and says he must starve if he intends to live with the fear of Jove before his eyes. 'Verte aliquid' is properly 'make an exchange;' "negotiare et speciem pro specie muta" (Schol.): here a cheating bargain is implied. 'Eheu!' is contemptuous; 'whew!' our comic writers would say, trying to write a whistle. 'Varo,' the Scholiast says, is a soldier's servant: "varones dicuntur servi militum, qui utique stultissimi sunt, servi scilicet servorum." 'Calo' was the Roman name for such (see above, 95, n.). 'Varo,' or 'baro,' as it is otherwise written, is said to have been a Gaulish word. (See Forcellini.) The confusion of B and V has been noticed before. (Juv. xvi. 56, n.) Rutgersius, Lect. Venusinae, c. 23, says all that need be said on the

Verte aliquid; jura." "Sed Juppiter audiet." "Eheu!
Varo, regustatum digito terebrare salinum
Contentus perages, si vivere cum Jove tendis."
Jam pueris pellem succinctus et oenophorum aptas.
Ocius ad navem! Nihil obstat quin trabe vasta
Aegaeum rapias, nisi sollers Luxuria ante
Seductum moneat: "Quo deinde, insane, ruis? quo?
Quid tibi vis? calido sub pectore mascula bilis
Intumuit, quam non extinxerit urna cicutae.
Tun' mare transilias? tibi torta cannabe fulto
Coena sit in transtro, Veientanumque rubellum

subject. Rubbing the salt cellar into holes to get the last grain of salt expresses the extremity of poverty. Becker (Charicles, Exc. on the Meals, p. 252, Eng. Abr.) compares a Greek proverb, *ἁλίαν τρυπᾶν*, and says the salt cellar so often alluded to was kept on the table for the guests to eat salt with their wine, a practice which appears to have been common. See Plut. Symp. iv. 4. 3, *οὐ μόνον πρὸς τροφὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς πότον ὄψον εἰσὶν οἱ ἅλες*. However, there can be no reference to wine-drinking here. The man is supposed to be reduced to his last grain of salt, and to be starving.

140. *Jam pueris pellem succinctus*] Avaritia ends her speech at 'tendis.' Then the man is supposed to be in a hurry to obey her; he gets himself and his slaves ready for the voyage. 'Pellis' is a coat of leather, and 'oenophorus' a jar of wine. See Horace, S. i. 6. 109. Heinrich has a conjectural reading, "Jam puer it pellem succinctus et oenophorum aptus." I think the MSS. reading is better. 'Succinctus' represents the man's haste, and adds force to the line which the two participles only weaken. There is the authority of one MS. for 'aptus,' and Virgil speaks of the sky as "stellis ardentibus aptum" (Aen. iv. 482), and Ennius, in a fragment quoted by Cicero (Off. iii. 29), has "O fides alma apta pinnis." But for 'pueris' there is no variant, except 'puer, is.' As to 'succinctus' see note on Hor. S. i. 5. 5, "altius ac nos Praecinctis."

141. *Ocius ad navem!*] 'Off to your ship!' This seems to be the poet's exclamation while the man hesitates, drawn back by Luxuria, Self-indulgence; like that of Horace (S. i. 1. 17), "Hinc vos, Vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus: Eia! Quid statis? Nolint." Jahn says it is the man speaking to his slaves; Heinrich, that it is a sailor singing out to them to come on board. 'Aegaeum rapere' is like 'viam corripere,' and expresses haste. Self-indulgence is called 'sollers,' ingenious, as it usually is in inventing reasons for idleness. 'Seductum' is used as in S. ii. 4, "Quae nisi seductis nequeas committere Divis." 'Deinde' in such questions expresses surprise, like 'tandem.' 'Quid tibi vis?' 'What do you mean?' is a common formula, as Bentley has shown on Horace, S. ii. 6. 29, where he has altered the text to introduce it. 'Mascula' perhaps means headstrong, violent. 'Cicuta,' hemlock, was used as an antifebrile medicine. See note on Hor. Epp. ii. 2. 53, "Quae poterunt unquam satis expurgare cicutae."

146. *Tun' mare transilias?*] 'Are you the man to cross the seas, to sleep in a hammock, and eat your dinner off a rower's bench?' This is Heinrich's version. Juvenal (iii. 82) has "fultusque toro meliore recumbet." Casaubon takes it differently, 'Are you the man to sit upon a rope (a coil, I suppose), and eat off a bench?' I think this is right. There is nothing about sleeping. Horace uses 'transiliunt' in this way (C. i. 3. 25), "impiae Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada," which very likely Persius remembered. The wine of Veii was held cheap in Horace's time (see S. ii. 3. 143), and Martial abuses it (i. 104. 9), "Veientani bibitur faex crassa rubelli." The quality is supposed here to be made still worse by the bad pitching of the 'amphora.' But sailors would not mind that. 'Obba' was a vessel of some sort with a broad bottom, for which reason he calls it 'sessilis,' one that sits firm.

Exhalet vapida laesum pice sessilis obba?
Quid petis? ut nummi, quos hic quincunce modesto
Nutrieras, peragant avidos sudare deunces?
Indulge Genio, carpamus dulcia, nostrum est
Quod vivis: cinis et Manes et fabula fies;
[Vive memor leti, fugit hora, hoc quod loquor inde est.]"
En quid agis? duplici in diversum scinderis hamo,
Hunccine an hunc sequeris. Subeas alternus oportet
Ancipiti obsequio dominos, alternus oberres:
Nec tu, cum obstiteris semel instantique negaris
Parere imperio, "Rupi jam vincula," dicas.
Nam et luctata canis nodum abripit: attamen illi
Cum fugit a collo trahitur pars longa catenae.
"Dave, cito (hoc credas jubeo) finire dolores

149. *quos hic quincunce modesto*] The legal interest was twelve per cent. per annum. (Juv. ix. 7, n.) Five per cent. therefore was moderate interest; but it is better, Self-indulgence says, than a greedy eleven per cent. got with so much labour. We may infer from this, that money could not be lent on good security at this time at a higher rate of interest than five per cent., though twelve per cent. might legally be taken. Jahn and others quote in connexion with 'nutrieras' "nummos alienos pascet," in Horace, Epp. i. 18. 35. But it is nothing to the purpose here. Heinrich's remark is more to the purpose, that the capital is looked upon as the mother of the interest, wherefore the Greeks called it τόκος. 'Peragant sudare' is to go on till they have sweated eleven per cent., which is coarser in English than in Latin. All the editors but Heinrich have 'pergant' on small authority.

151. *Indulge Genio,*] See note on S. ii. 3, "Funde merum Genio." 'To indulge your Genius' is only another expression for indulging yourself. 'Luxuria' goes on, 'Let us enjoy all that is pleasant, all we can call our own is the moment we are living.' Though this is general he expresses it by the second person in 'vivis:' 'vivimus' or 'vivitur' would be more regular. 'Quod vivis' might be 'quod tempus vivis,' an expression like that of Juvenal (xii. 128), "Vivat Pacuvius quaeso vel Nestora totum." Jahn takes it differently. 'You owe it to me that you live, i. e. revera vita frueris,' which is wrong. 'Manes et fabula' are meant to be taken as identical. See note on Juvenal, S. ii. 149. Heinrich encloses v. 153 in brackets, and it may well be so left. It is feeble and redundant, a monkish marginal verse that has got into the text. There is no reason to suppose Jerome refers to it in the place quoted by Jahn. [Comp. Horace, C. i. 11. 7, "Dum loquimur, fugerit invida Aetas."]

154. *En quid agis?*] The poet goes on again. He likens the man in his dilemma to a fish with two hooks in his mouth, while he struggles to get free of one he gets more fixed by the other. 'Duplici hamo' is like 'duplice ficu,' a couple of figs, Horace, S. ii. 2. 122. [The 'duplex ficus' of Horace seems to be a fig split open from the broad end, and left with the two other ends attached: another fig split open in the same way is then placed on it, so that the two insides fit. This makes a pair of figs adhering together. Such figs may now be seen in the island of Ischia near Naples.] The only solution of the man's difficulty is that he must obey them alternately. 'Ancipiti obsequio' is like 'Mars anceps,' and means an obedience rendered first to one and then to the other. 'Oberrare' is 'to run away.' 'Instanti' is 'threatening.'

161. *Dave, cito (hoc credas jubeo)*] Here we have another slave. Like Horace (S. ii. 3. 259, sqq.), Persius has imitated the first scene in the Eunuchus of Terence in part of the following dialogue. For Parmeno in the play we have here Davus, and for Phaedria, Chaerestratus, who begins by saying he means to put an end to his grief and his profligate way

Praeteritos meditor" (crudum Chaerestratus unguem
Abrodens ait haec). "An siccis dedecus obstem
Cognatis? An rem patriam rumore sinistro
Limen ad obscoenum frangam, dum Chrysidis udas
Ebrius aute fores extincta cum face canto?"
"Euge, puer; sapias, Dis depellentibus agnam
Percute." "Sed censen' plorabit, Dave, relicta?"
"Nugaris: solea, puer, objurgabere rubra,
Ne trepidare velis atque artos rodere casses.

of living together at one time. 'Crudum abrodens' is biting or tearing it to the quick. He asks if he should continue to oppose the good counsel of his sober relations and be a disgrace to them. 'Siccis' is used by Horace in this sense, C. i. 18. 3, "Siccis omnia nam dura Deus proposuit." 'Rem frangere' is also used by Horace, S. ii. 3. 18, "Postquam omnis res mea Janum Ad medium fracta est." 'Limen ad obscoenum' is like 'invisis foribus' in the same satire, v. 262.

165. *udas Ebrius ante fores*] Lovers poured wine on their mistresses' doors, or daubed them with sweet ointment. In the first scene of Plautus' Curculio, Phaedromus pours wine on the door of his mistress and says,

> "Agite, bibite, festivae fores!
> Potate, fite mihi volentes propitiae."

Lucretius (iv. 1177) has

> "At lacrimans exclusus amator limina saepe
> Floribus et sertis operit, postesque superbos
> Unguit amaracino, et foribus miser oscula figit."

Martial (x. 13) has

> "Ad nocturna jaces fastosae limina moechae
> Et madet, heu! lacrimis janua surda tuis."

So in Ovid (Metam. xiv. 708, sqq.) Iphis weeps at the doors of his Trojan love:

> "Interdum madidas lacrimarum rore coronas
> Postibus intendit, posuitque in limine duro
> Molle latus, tristique serae convicia fecit."

His torch was among the lover's arms which he offered to Venus, in Horace (C. iii. 26. 6):

> "—— Hic hic ponite lucida
> Funalia et vectes et arcus
> Oppositis foribus minaces."

A pitiful serenade sung by a despairing lover before his mistress's door, is the tenth ode of Horace's third book, beginning "Extremum Tanain si biberes, Lyce." Ovid (Fasti, v. 339) has

> "Ebrius ad durum formosae limen amicae
> Cantat; habent unctae mollia serta comae."

167. *Euge, puer; sapias,*] The slave applauds his master's intention, and bids him be wise, and sacrifice a lamb to the gods averters of evil, 'dii averrunci,' as they were called, or by the Greeks ἀποτρόπαιοι, ἀλεξίκακοι. The gods universally received in this character were Jupiter and Apollo, and among the heroes, Hercules and the Dioscuri. But individuals had their own protecting gods, and for particular evils there were particular divinities, which took their names from the ills they averted, as Febris, Robigus, Timor, and others. 'Sapias, percute' is like Horace's "Sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi Spem longam reseces" (C. i. 11. 6).

168. *Sed censen' plorabit,*] He begins to hesitate, and we know what that leads to under such circumstances. The slave tells him he is a fool, and if he goes back she will beat him with her slipper. "Utinam tibi commitigari videam sandalio caput," says Gnatho to the valiant captain (Ter. Eun. v. 7. 4).

170. *Ne trepidare velis*] According to the usual punctuation this verse is separated from the one before it by a full stop. This makes the words a bidding of Davus. I do not take it so. The woman he says will beat him with her slipper and teach him not to fret and bite his toils. As to 'trepidare,' which expresses confusion in various ways,

Nunc ferus et violens : at si vocet, haud mora dicas,
'Quidnam igitur faciam ? nec nunc cum arcessat et ultro
Supplicet accedam ?' Si totus et integer illinc
Exieras, nec nunc." Hic, hic quem quaerimus, hic est,
Non in festuca lictor quam jactat ineptus.
Jus habet ille sui palpo quem ducit hiantem
Cretata ambitio ? Vigila et cicer ingere large
Rixanti populo, nostra ut Floralia possint
Aprici meminisse senes : quid pulcrius ?—At cum

see note on Hor. C. ii. 11. 4. 'Haud mora' must be joined closely with 'dicas.' 'Straightway you would say, What then must I do?' Jahn has '*haud mora, dicas*,' making these words the man's answer to the summons. What follows is copied closely from Terence (Eunuch. i. 1), and Horace has copied it as closely (Sat. ii. 3. 262):

"Quid igitur faciam ? Non eam ? ne nunc quidem
Quum arcessor ultro."

The answer of the slave is, 'You would not even now if you had left her whole and sound. Here, here is the man we look for; here, not in the rod which the silly lictor flourishes' (v. 75, n.). Horace has "Hic est aut nusquam quod quaerimus," Epp. i. 17. 39. The man Persius means is he who is 'totus et integer.' Terence has 'ne nunc quidem,' and therefore Jahn and Heinrich have 'ne nunc' here, as Bentley has in the corresponding place of Horace. But the best MSS. and early editors, as well as Passow and Orelli, have 'nec nunc,' which is equivalent to 'ne nunc quidem.' 'Ne nunc,' if it is Latin, has not the force of 'nec nunc.' Several MSS. have 'nunc nunc' in 174, which only supports 'nec,' both words being abbreviated in the MSS.

176. *Jus habet ille sui palpo*] He takes another case, and asks "is that cajoling fellow 'sui juris' who is led open-mouthed by ambition ?" A man who was 'sui juris' was not in the legal power of another. [This term 'sui juris' is used by the Roman law writers when they are speaking of the Law of Persons or that part of Law which treats of the legal condition of persons : "sequitur de iure personarum alia divisio, nam quaedam personae sui iuris sunt, quaedam alieno iuri subiectae." Gaius, i. § 48.] 'Palpo' is a noun formed like 'cachinno' (S. i. 12, n.), and means a flatterer, such as one must be who goes about canvassing for votes. 'Hiantem' expresses the man's eagerness, as in Hor. S. i. 2. 88, "ne si facies ut saepe decora Molli fulta pede est, emptorem inducat hiantem." 'Ambitio' is called 'cretata,' because candidates had their togas well whitened with 'creta,' fuller's earth, from which practice they got their name. See note on Hor. S. ii. 2. 61, and above S. ii. 40, "quamvis te albata rogarit."

177. *Vigila et cicer ingere large*] So in Horace the man Servius Oppidius says to his sons, "In cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis, Latus ut in Circo spatiere et aeneus ut stes," S. ii. 3. 182, sq., where it is stated on the authority of the Scholiast that the aediles were wont at the Floralia to distribute grain to the people. 'Nostra Floralia' is the poet identifying himself ironically with the man of the text. The Floralia were celebrated in honour of Flora from the 28th of April to the 2nd of May inclusive, with much dissipation and licentiousness. The old men are called 'aprici' because they love the sun. See note on S. iv. 18. As to 'ingere,' see v. 6, n.

179. *At cum Herodis venere dies,*] Other slaves are those of superstition, and to these he now passes. The Scholiast says that 'Herodis dies' means the birthday of Herod the Great observed by his sect the Herodians. Whether this king's birthday was kept or not I do not believe Persius knew or cared, any more than Horace's friend knew what he was speaking of when he excused himself on the score of the day being the thirtieth sabbath (S. i. 9. 69, "hodie tricesima sabbata"). The Romans were well acquainted with the name of Herod, who ruled Judaea in the interest of Rome, and whose party was favourable to the Roman government. Josephus refers to the illuminations at the Jewish festivals (c. Apion. ii. 10). He says ironically in answer to a charge that they had been imposed upon by a fellow acting

Herodis venere dies, unctaque fenestra
Dispositae pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernae
Portantes violas, rubrumque amplexa catinum
Cauda natat thunni, tumet alba fidelia vino;
Labra moves tacitus recutitaque sabbata palles.
Tunc nigri lemures ovoque pericula rupto,
Tunc grandes Galli et cum sistro lusca sacerdos
Incussere deos inflantes corpora, si non
Praedictum ter mane caput gustaveris alli.
  Dixeris haec inter varicosos Centuriones,

Apollo with the help of torches; *λύχνον γὰρ οὐδέπω δῆλον ὅτι πρόσθεν ἑωράκασιν οἱ τὰς τοσαύτας καὶ τηλικαύτας λυχνοκαΐας ἐπιτελοῦντες.* The windows Persius speaks of as anointed with oil, and the lamps crowned with violets. See Juv. xii. 89, sqq. 'Rubrum catinum' is a dish of red clay, and most of the Italian pottery was of that colour. 'Fidelia' occurs twice in S. iii. vv. 22, 73. 'Labra moves tacitus' is an imitation of Horace's "Labra movet metuens audiri" (Epp. i. 16. 60). See notes on S. ii. 3 and on Juvenal xiv. 96:

"Quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem
Nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant."

Persius means that the man at these Jewish festivals adopts their way of praying in silence, of which Tacitus says "Judaei mente sola unumque numen intelligunt" (Hist. v. 5). Persius adds that the man stands in awe of the sabbath, to which he transfers the epithet that belongs to the Jews themselves. As to these superstitions see, besides the above passage of Juvenal, vi. 159, n. 542, n.

185. *Tunc nigri lemures*] Lemures and Larvae were spirits of the bad, as Manes and Lares were of the good. See note on Hor. Epp. ii. 2. 209, "Nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides?" The Scholiast explains the dangers of the broken egg. He says that eggs were put by the priests on the fire to roast, and if one broke it portended mischief to him for whom the trial was made, or to his property. There were various superstitions about eggs, such as that as soon as the inside was eaten the spoon should be thrust through the shell. Witches used them in their incantations. Livia is said to have ascertained by hatching a hen's egg by artificial means, and its producing a cock, that the child of which she was pregnant would be a boy (Sueton. Tib. 14. Plin. H. N. x. 55). Eggs were used for other superstitious purposes (see Plum's note).

186. *Tunc grandes Galli*] These are the priests of Cybele. 'Tunc—tunc' are 'now one and now the other.' See notes on Juv. S. ii. 111; vi. 511. 'Grandes Galli' corresponds to the 'ingens Semivir' of the latter passage. As to 'sistrum' see note on Juv. xiii. 93, and Wilkinson's Anc. Egypt, vol. ii. p. 322, sqq. 'Lusca sacerdos' is here the priestess of Isis, to whom this instrument particularly belonged, and with it she struck blind those with whom she was angry, as Juvenal says (l. c.), "Isis et irato feriat mea lumina sistro." The priestess is therefore called 'lusca.' She may be supposed to have had a touch of the goddess' 'sistrum.'

187. *Incussere deos inflantes corpora,*] The influences usually attributed to Isis are here assigned to the several causes named. 'The gods that swell out men's bodies' is only a way of expressing their various diseases sent by the gods. "Et phthisis et vomicae putres," as Juvenal says in a similar connexion (l. c.). Turnebus (Adv. xviii. 12, quoted by Plum) has some remarks about the superstitious use of garlic, but they throw no light on this place. It is enough that the Egyptians held this herb in particular reverence, and it may be assumed, in the absence of information, that the ceremony of eating a head of garlic three times in the morning (three successive mornings, as it seems), was invented by Persius for this occasion.

189. *Dixeris haec inter*] This is the common construction for 'suppose you tell it.' See note on Hor. S. i. 1. 45. 'Haec' means all that has been said about liberty.

Continuo crassum ridet Vulfenius ingens,
Et centum Graecos curto centusse licetur.

The Centurions are brought in again, laughing at all this philosophy. See S. iii. 78, sqq. 'Varicosus' is taken by the commentators generally to be derived from 'varix,' a swelling of the veins. The first syllable of that word is said by Forcellini to be long: [but he is corrected by Furlanetto.] In Ovid, Ars Amat. iii. 304, "ingentes varica fertque gradus," we have the form 'varica,' a straddling woman, but that is a different word from 'varicosus.' See Forcellini. The word 'varicosus' occurs in Juvenal vi. 397. 'Vulfenius' appears in the MSS. under various forms. He is one of the stout captains, 'qui in crepidas Graiorum ludere gestit" (i. 127), and he says he would not bid more than a clipped 'centussis' for a hundred Greeks, an 'as' apiece. 'Centussis' was the highest multiple of the 'as' that was used as the name of a sum of money; for it was not a coin. 'Liceri' is to bid at an auction, and the man supposes contemptuously a hundred philosophers put up in one lot, to be sold to the highest bidder.

SATIRA VI.

INTRODUCTION.

Persius' last satire, like Juvenal's, is a fragment. That he wrote slowly, as the Grammarian says, may be easily believed, and his early death may have overtaken him before he had time to finish this poem. This would give it an interest which in itself it has not.

The poet has retired for the winter to the coast, and is living on the shores of the Gulf of Spezia (Lunae portus), where, if the Scholiast is to be believed, his mother lived after her second marriage. He sits down to write to his friend Caesius Bassus, the lyric poet; and after paying a high compliment to his genius, he commends the climate and scenery and retirement of the place he is staying at. There he lives free from all anxiety and all jealousy of his neighbours' prosperity. He contrasts his own state of mind with that of men, on the one hand, who deny themselves the necessaries of life, and, on the other, who run through their estate in their youth with riotous living. He expresses his resolution to enjoy what he has got, and advises all men to deal liberally with their means, living up to their income, and being ready to help a friend in time of need, even at the sacrifice of part of their estate. This suggestion brings up the principal subject of the satire, which is the folly of those who deny themselves for the sake of their heirs, a favourite subject with Horace. Whether it was the poet's intention to continue that subject to the end of the satire, or to put in any other point of view the spirit of money-getting, it is impossible to say. But I am surprised that Casaubon, Jahn, and others should treat the satire as an entire composition. It is manifestly unfinished, and so the Grammarian's memoir expressly states.

Of Caesius Bassus not much is known. He was a lyric poet, and Persius, with the partiality of a friend, speaks highly of his poems. But Quintilian had no great opinion

of him. He says, what can easily be believed, that Horace was almost the only Roman lyric poet worth reading. There is no style that modern scholars have found so hard to imitate successfully, and it appears his countrymen did not succeed better, perhaps not so well. Quintilian adds, that if any body could be classed with Horace it was Caesius Bassus, but his abilities were far inferior to those of some poets then living. (Inst. x. 1. 95.)

From what Persius says, we may infer that his style was none of the smoothest. From the opening of the satire we learn that, like Horace, he had a house on the Sabine hills; and the Scholiast says that he had a villa in the neighbourhood of Mount Vesuvius, and was destroyed with his house by an eruption. This was, no doubt, in A.D. 79, when Pompeii and Herculaneum were destroyed, and the elder Pliny lost his life. According to late emendations of the text of the younger Pliny, in his description of his uncle's death (Epp. vi. 16) the name of Bassus is introduced in that celebrated letter. Jahn improves upon the emendations; but they are wholly conjectural, and cannot be received, the text of Pliny being hopelessly corrupt.

ARGUMENT.

Has winter sent you to the country, Bassus? and is your lyre awake, great artist of the rough old manly song, and that which sings of young men's passions and of old men's wisdom? I'm on the warm Ligurian coast, whose seas are rough and rocks are bold, on Luna's port, which Ennius praised when he woke up from dreaming he was Homer. Here I forget all care, and envy not the wealth of meaner men.

V. 18. Others may differ from me; even twins are born with different genii. One turns miser in his youth, the other runs through all his means with eating. For my part I shall use my fortune, not abuse it. Live up to your means: what should you fear? Harrow, and then your crop will come again. If duty calls, a friend cast on the coast, with all he has sunk in the sea, you may go further: give him a slice of your estate. But then your heir will bury you shabbily; and cry out against luxury brought in with our new silly tastes from the East. What! do you fear beyond the grave? Come here, my heir, a word with you. My friend, a letter has arrived from Caesar, a great victory won, there'll be a triumph, all things are preparing. I mean to give two hundred gladiators. Who shall forbid me? Do so if you dare. I'll then give largess to the people. Do you say no? Speak out. "Not I: your land is well nigh worthless." Very well; I've no relations of my own, but I can go and find a Manius at Bovillae or Aricia. "A son of Earth!" Well, ask who was my father's grandfather; it may be I could tell you: but go back two steps, and he was son of Earth. So Manius is his brother and my uncle. You've better claims than he, then why not wait? I'm your Mercurius as they have him in the pictures. Refuse you what I offer? will you not take what's left? If aught is gone I am the sufferer. Whatever you may get is entire for you. Don't lecture me and bid me live upon my income. "How much is left," d'ye ask? Here, boy, pour faster oil upon my cabbage. Am I to live on nettles and pig's head that you and yours may live in gluttony and wantonness? Am I to starve that you may get a popa's belly?

V. 75. Go sell your life; and search the world around; let no man beat you at the auction mart. Double your capital. "I have; it comes back triple, or quadruple, or it may be ten times more. Tell me where I should stop, and then we shall have found one who can solve sorites."

Admovit jam bruma foco te, Basse, Sabino?
Jamne lyra et tetrico vivunt tibi pectine chordae?
Mire opifex numeris veterum primordia vocum
Atque marem strepitum fidis intendisse Latinae,
Mox juvenes agitare jocos et pollice honesto
Egregius lusisse senes. Mihi nunc Ligus ora

1. *Admovit jam bruma foco*] Horace retired to his Sabine farm for warmth: "multa et praeclara minantis Si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto" (S. ii. 3. 10, n.). 'Tetrico' shows that his style was severe, but we have no remains to judge by. Casaubon and others think there is a special allusion here to Mons Tetricus in the Sabine country, from the character of which Servius says dull men were called 'tetrici' (Serv. Aen. vii. 713). 'Opifex' goes with 'intendisse,' like "negatas artifex sequi voces" (Prol. 11), and so 'egregius' goes with 'agitare.' 'Veterum primordia vocum' seems to mean that Bassus used archaic words, which practice Horace condemns, but Persius seems, or professes for his friend's sake, to admire it. Casaubon asks what Bassus had to do with words, and substitutes 'rerum,' which Heinrich adopts, against all the MSS. It would be as easy to ask what had Bassus to do with the elements of things. Lucretius (iv. 531) has 'primordia vocum' in a different connexion, for elementary sounds. Jahn and others think Bassus may have written a poem upon the elements of language. I agree with Weber, who holds the other opinion; but it is not easy to say, as we do not know what Bassus wrote. We have two lines of his left, one of which is an hexameter. 'Marem strepitum' is such as Horace describes in his address to Pollio (C. ii. 1), "Jam nunc minaci murmure cornuum Perstringis aures, jam litui strepunt," &c. 'Juvenes jocos,' the sports of the young, especially in love. Casaubon compares Horace, A. P. 83, sqq.:

"Musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum
Et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum
Et juvenum curas et libera vina referre."

Heinrich on conjecture has 'jocis,' saying 'agitare jocos' is not Latin. It is not always easy to decide what is not Latin. 'Agitare jocos' may be said as 'agitare moenia,' quoted from Florus (i. 1) by Forcellini; 'to construct' verses of which 'joci' were the subject. 'Lusisse' has the same meaning, not 'to mock,' but 'to sing of,' as "Ludere quae vellem calamo permisit agresti" (Virg. Ecl. i. 10). I do not see how Heinrich gets the meaning of 'delectare' from 'lusisse.' Most MSS. have 'egregios,' but 'egregius' has good authority. It is common to interpret these verses as alluding to satires of Bassus. But they have nothing to do with satire. He wrote verses on young men's love-sports and old men's wisdom, perhaps, or whatever it may have been.

6. *Mihi nunc Ligus ora*] He had gone down to the Ligurian coast to pass the winter. Horace tells his friend he shall go to the sea-side when the winter comes on (Epp. i. 7. 10, sqq.):

"Quod si bruma nives Albanis illinet agris,
Ad mare descendet vates tuus, et sibi parcet,
Contractusque leget."

Horace has "defendens pisces hiemat mare" (S. ii. 2. 17, n.). Persius only says 'meum mare' because he was staying on the coast, not because he was born there, as some suppose. (See Life.) 'Ligus' is the Greek form. The Scholiast has the Latin, 'Ligur.' The bay to which Persius had retreated for the winter the Romans called Lunae Portus. It is now well known as the Gulf of Spezia, and one of the finest harbours in Europe. It is surrounded by high mountains, and the valleys run down to the shore, as Persius describes, and two or three other bays indented the coast of this bay. Ennius appears to have visited it near two centuries before Persius wrote, and the line he quotes is from the Annales of that writer. The name of the town, if any, at which Persius was staying is not mentioned. It was not Luna (Luni), which, though it gave its name to the bay, was separated from it by a range of hills and the river Macra.

Intepet, hibernatque meum mare, qua latus ingens
Dant scopuli et multa littus se valle receptat.
Lunai portum (*est operae*) *cognoscite, cives.*
Cor jubet hoc Enni, postquam destertuit esse
Maeonides, Quintus pavone ex Pythagoreo.
Hic ego securus vulgi et quid praeparet Auster
Infelix pecori securus, et angulus ille
Vicini nostro quia pinguior; et si adeo omnes
Ditescant orti pejoribus, usque recusem
Curvus ob id minui senio, aut coenare sine uncto,
Et signum in vapida naso tetigisse lagena.

The reading of most MSS. in 9 is 'est operae cognoscere,' which Heinrich rejects for the reading of the text, because of 'jubet' in the next line. I have followed his judgment without being sure he is right. 'Pretium' would usually follow 'operae.'

10. *Cor jubet hoc Enni,*] 'Cor Enni' is equivalent to 'Ennius cordatus,' as Turnebus observes (Adv. 30. 7). 'Cordatus' is a word Ennius used, and it signifies 'wise.' So Horace has 'sententia dia Catonis' for 'Cato divine sentiens' (S. i. 2. 32), and other like phrases. See note on Juv. iv. 39, and Index (Genitive). —*postquam destertuit esse*] This verb is not used elsewhere, and the construction is Greek and elliptical. 'He ceased to snore' is 'he ceased to dream,' that he was Maeonides (Homer), and had become Quintus Ennius after passing through a peacock, in which the soul of Pythagoras had lived. Heinrich joins Quintus with Maeonides, as it might be Q. Ennius. I do not see why, if that be the connexion, the praenomen should not have been put in its proper place. Horace, alluding to this dream, which was recorded at the beginning of Ennius' Annales (as the Scholiasts here and on Horace tell us) says:

"Ennius et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus,
Ut critici dicunt, leviter curare videtur
Quo promissa cadant et somnia Pythagorea."
(Epp. ii. 1. 50, sqq., see note.)

The Scholiast and others give five steps by which he became Quintus Ennius, and from which his name was given him. Pythagoras, says the Scholiast, passed into a peacock, and thence to the body of Euphorbus (Hor. C. i. 28. 10, n.), thence to Homer, and from Homer to Ennius. Tertullian (De Resurr. Carnis, c. 1) makes the order different: Euphorbus, Pythagoras, Homer, the peacock, Ennius. This dream is referred to in the Prologus, v. 2. Persius means Ennius gave his countrymen this good advice after he had left off dreaming, and got back to his good sense, his 'cor.' Juv. vii. 159. Pers. i. 12, n.

12. *Et quid praeparet Auster*] So Virgil says, "quid cogitet humidus Auster" (Georg. i. 462). See note on Hor. S. ii. 6. 18, "Nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus Auster Auctumnusque gravis." 'Angulus ille' is like "O si angulus ille Proximus accedat qui nunc denormat agellum" (Hor. S. ii. 6. 8). 'Adeo omnes' is 'absolutely all.' 'Pejoribus orti' is copied from Horace (Epp. i. 6. 22), "indignum quod sit, pejoribus ortus, Hic tibi sit potius quam tu mirabilis illi." Persius was an 'eques.' 'Senium,' for sourness, is used as 'canities' in S. i. 9, where see note. 'Curvus' and 'minui' explain each other. 'Usque recusem' is copied insensibly from Horace, S. ii. 7. 24, "Si quis ad illa deus subito te agat usque recuses." 'Coenare sine uncto' is to dine without delicacies, for which 'unctus' is a constant epithet. See S. iii. 102; iv. 17, and Horace, A. P. 422, "Si vero est unctum qui recte ponere possit." Some take 'sine uncto' to mean 'without oiling,' but that is not the sense. 'Vapida lagena' is like "Exhalet vapida laesum pice sessilis obba" (S. v. 148), where 'vapida' properly refers to the 'obba,' or rather to its contents. 'Signum' is the seal with which the 'lagena,' or 'amphora,' was sealed. 'Naso tetigisse' is to put his nose down so close as to touch it, which he would do in examining the seal to see if the servants had been after his nasty stuff.

Discrepet hinc alius. Geminos, horoscope, varo
Producis Genio: solis natalibus est qui
Tingat olus siccum muria vafer in calice empta,
Ipse sacrum irrorans patinae piper; hic bona dente
Grandia magnanimus peragit puer. Utar ego, utar,

18. *Geminos, horoscope, varo*] 'Horoscopus' is the star of one's nativity. He says others may not think and feel as he does, for the star that waits on the birth even of twins sometimes brings them into the world with different Genii. This is one of the many ways of putting the same thing. Varro (quoted in my note on Hor. Epp. i. 7. 94) says the Genius is "Deus qui praepositus est, ac vim habet omnium rerum gignendarum," and Horace reverses Persius' order, and speaks of a man's Genius as that "natale comes qui temperat astrum, Naturae deus humanae." See above, S. v. 45, sqq.; ii. 8, n.; iv. 27. 'Producere,' 'to bring into life,' is used of the father or mother. See Juv. viii. 271, and Forcellini, who gives no other instance of 'varus' in this sense. But it corresponds very nearly to S. iv. 12, "vel cum fallit pede regula varo." It is properly applied to legs that diverge from the knees downwards, and is opposed to 'valgus,' bow-legged. See note on Hor. S. i. 3. 47, "hunc varum distortis cruribus." 'Varo Genio,' therefore, is Geniuses that go in different directions. [Jahn has 'discrepet his,' which is the MSS. reading. Heinrich has 'hinc,' founded on one MS. reading, 'hic.']

19. *solis natalibus est qui*] 'Est qui' is opposed to 'hic' (21). On the government see Hor. C. i. 1. 3, n. One moistens his dry cabbage in 'muria,' which he goes out to buy for the occasion, and sprinkles the pepper with his own hand; the other runs through a large property in good living while he is still a lad. In both cases early vice is meant. Like the sons of Horace's Canusian, Servius Oppidius (S. ii. 3. 168, sqq.), the one is a cunning young miser, the other a magnanimous young spendthrift. 'Muria' was a sauce made of the 'thunnus,' and less delicate than 'garum,' which was made of the 'scomber.' The one was used by the poor, and the other by the rich. Martial has an epigram on 'muria' (xiii. 103):

"Antipolitani, fateor, sum filia thunni;
Essem si scombri, non tibi missa forem."

But this distinction was not always observed, for Horace speaks of Catius' choice sauce being made of sweet olive oil mixed with good rich wine and 'muria' (S. ii. 4. 65). The stingy lad will let no one else pepper his mess, like Horace's miser, Avidienus (S. ii. 2. 61), "cornu ipse bilibri Caulibus instillat veteris non parcus aceti." The pepper is called 'sacred' for the respect with which he spares it, as the greedy man spares his money bags, "congestis undique saccis Indormis inhians et tanquam parcere sacris Cogeris" (Hor. S. i. 1. 70, sqq. note). 'Tingat' means that he only moistens the cabbage. He is sparing even of his cheap sauce. 'Irrorat' has the same sort of force. He sprinkles his pepper but lightly. 'Empta' means that he has none in his closet, but must go out and buy a small cup of the sauce when he requires it. 'Magnanimus' is the same sort of irony as in Horace's "Maenius ut, rebus maternis atque paternis Fortiter absumptis, urbanus coepit haberi" (Epp. i. 15. 26, sqq.). 'Bona dente peragit' is like Juv. xi. 39, sqq., "aere paterno Ac rebus mersis in ventrem." 'Peragere' is here used as it is not exactly used elsewhere. It is 'to run through,' as we say, to come to the end of his property. 'Puer,' at the end of the sentence, is emphatic, as in Horace (C. i. 9. 15), "nec dulces amores Sperne puer, neque tu choreas," i.e., while you are young (Epp. i. 2. 67), "Nunc adbibe puro Pectore verba, puer."

22. *Utar ego, utar,*] This is imitated from Horace, Epp. ii. 2. 190:

"Utar, et ex modico quantum res poscet acervo
Tollam, nec metuam quid de me judicet heres."

The verb is put absolutely, but the meaning is easily seen. The pronoun though emphatic is omitted, 'whatever others may do.' He says he will enjoy his fortune, which was ample, and yet he is not on that account so extravagant as to feed his 'liberti' upon turbot, or such an epicure as to distinguish the delicate taste

Nec rhombos ideo libertis ponere lautus,
Nec tenuem sollers turdarum nosse salivam.
Messe tenus propria vive, et granaria, (fas est,)
Emole. Quid metuas? occa, et seges altera in herba est.
Ast vocat officium; trabe rupta Bruttia saxa
Prendit amicus inops, remque omnem surdaque vota
Condidit Ionio; jacet ipse in litore et una
Ingentes de puppe Dei, jamque obvia mergis
Costa ratis lacerae. Nunc et de cespite vivo
Frange aliquid, largire inopi, ne pictus oberret
Caerulea in tabula.—Sed coenam funeris heres

of a hen thrush or fieldfare. The difference of taste between a cock and a hen was imaginary perhaps, but the masculine here would have no force. Though the MSS. differ therefore, and the masculine is the vulgar reading, there is no doubt the feminine is right. This the Scholiast recognizes and explains: "'turdarum' abusive posuit cum 'turdorum' dicere debuerit." Nearly all the MSS. have 'tenues salivas,' which no editor has adopted that I am aware of, except Duebner, who has introduced it into Casaubon's text. 'Saliva' is equivalent to 'sapor,' as in Propertius (v. 8. 38, Paley), "et Methymnaei Graeca saliva meri," where it seems Hertzberg disputes this meaning. There is no doubt about it here. 'Lautus ponere,' 'sollers nosse,' is a construction noticed on Prol. 11. This sense of 'lautus' is common. Forcellini gives examples. See Juv. xi. 1, "Atticus eximie si coenat lautus habetur."

25. *Messe tenus propria vive,*] We should call this 'living up to one's income.' He adds, 'don't hoard, but grind all your grain. What have you to fear? only harrow your ground, and you get another crop.' 'In herba' is 'in the blade.' Horace, Epp. ii. 2. 161, has "Cum segetes occat tibi mox frumenta daturas," where see note on 'occare.' 'Quid metuas' is better than 'metuis,' which Jahn adopts, and it has more MSS. authority. 'Quid metuas' occurs in iii. 26.

27. *Ast vocat officium;*] This is by some taken to be an objection of the man, who does not like parting with his grain. So Halliday translates it,—

"Why, I should thus spend,
But duty hinders me: for my poor friend,
His ship being split," &c.

Dryden and Gifford give the same sense, which is not that of Persius. He supposes a case in which a particular duty calls for greater generosity. A friend is wrecked, his property and the vows he offered for its safety all buried alike in the waves; he is cast on shore, and lies grasping the rocks with the ship's gods lying by him, and the gulls flying over the scattered timbers as they float on the waters. In this case, he adds, you may go further, and give the poor man a piece of your land to save him from begging. 'Trabe' is used for a ship, as in S. v. 141, and Horace, C. i. 1. 13, "trabe Cypria." By way of giving reality to the picture, he fixes the place of the wreck on the south coast of Italy, where he lies like Palinurus in the Aeneid. vi. 360, "Prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis." 'Surdus' is not used elsewhere in this sense exactly. It means vows to which the gods are deaf. Where it means 'silent,' as in Juv. vii. 71; xiii. 194, it is as being unheard, which is an analogous use. As to Ionio, see Juv. vi. 93, n. Images of gods were carried in the stern of a ship. Ovid, describing a storm he encountered on his voyage from Rome, says,

"Monte nec inferior prorae puppique recurvae
Insilit, et pictos verberat unda Deos."
(Trist. i. 4. 7, sq.).

'De cespite vivo frange aliquid' is only a way of expressing 'give the man a piece of land.' 'Vivus cespes' is used by Horace twice for a turf altar, C. i. 19. 13; iii. 8. 4. As to the sailor and his picture, see Juv. xiv. 302, Pers. i. 89.

33. *Sed coenam funeris heres*] He supposes the man to be afraid of the revenge his 'heres' will take if he curtails his property for such a purpose. 'Coena funeris'

Negliget iratus, quod rem curtaveris; urnae
Ossa inodora dabit, seu spirent cinnama surdum
Seu ceraso peccent casiae nescire paratus.
Tunc bona incolumis minuas? Et Bestius urget
Doctores Graios: "Ita fit, postquam sapere urbi

is a dinner given to the friends of the deceased after the funeral. It has nothing to do with the 'silicernium,' concerning which see Juv. v. 85, "feralis coena." The friends met and speeches were commonly made on such occasions as at wedding breakfasts with us, the chief subject being the merits of the principal person concerned. The dinner was sometimes mentioned in the will. See Hor. S. ii. 3, 86, n. "epulum arbitrio Arri."

34. *urnae Ossa inodora dabit,*] There is a variant 'inhonora,' but the other is the true word. It was usual to sprinkle odours on the ashes when they were put into the urn. Tibullus, giving directions for his burial (iii. 2. 23), begs, that, when his bones are placed in the urn, all manner of perfumes may be brought,

"Illuc quas mittit dives Panchaia merces,
Eoique Arabes pinguis et Assyria."

Ovid also says (Trist. iii. 3. 65. 69),

"Ossa tamen facito parva referantur in urna,
Atque ea cum foliis et amomi pulvere misce."

'Surdus,' like κῶφος, has reference properly to the failure of hearing either actively or passively. (See note on 28.) But it came to be applied more generally to any thing dull and spiritless. (See Forcellini.) 'Spirent surdum' means 'they give no scent at all,' or a flat one: "acutum odorem non reddunt" (Schol.). The adulteration of the olive oil with oil of casia is referred to above (ii. 64). That of casia with an extract from the cherry-tree is nowhere else mentioned. 'Nescire paratus,' 'he is prepared not to know,' is a sarcastic way of speaking.

37. *Tunc bona incolumis minuas?*] These words are usually attributed to the 'heres,' abusing the man after his death. In that case the reading supposed is 'tune' [which Jahn has]. Heinrich with a few MSS. reads 'tunc,' and says they are the words of the poet. He takes no notice of the metrical difficulty, but I think the hiatus may be got over, as in "male ominatis" (Horace, C. iii. 14. 11). If this is right, as I incline to think it is, the poet asks ironically, 'and then would you not be mad to curtail your estate?' that is, with such a terrible prospect after your death. 'Incolumis' is used in this sense of 'sanus' by Horace, S. ii. 3. 132, "Incolumi capite es?" He also has "male tutae mentis" in the same satire (137).

— *Et Bestius urget*] 'And then with the airs of a Bestius he (the 'heres') will go on to attack the Greek doctors.' Persius has obviously borrowed this name from Horace (Epp. i. 15. 37, n.).

"Scilicet ut ventres lamna candente nepotum
Diceret urendos, corrector Bestius."

Nothing is known of this man, whose name was proverbial for severe censure, either in a public or private character. For 'et' most MSS. have 'sed,' which does not give any good sense.

38. *Ita fit, postquam sapere urbi*] 'This is always the way, ever since this taste of ours was imported with pepper and palms.' 'Sapere hoc' is like 'nostrum vivere,' &c. (S. i. 9, n.) Pepper and palms came from the coast of Syria (v. 136), from whence Juvenal's man Umbricius complains that the Romans got so much vice (iii. 62, sqq. n.), "Jam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes." The commentators are much troubled by 'maris expers.' Casaubon was the first who thought of 'maris' being the genitive of 'mas,' and the sense being 'emasculated.' Weber approves this interpretation, and compares i. 103, "si testiculi vena ulla paterni Viveret in nobis?" Our translators Halliday and Gifford so render the words. But it is manifest that Persius, in whose mind the words of Horace were continually running, thought of "Chium maris expers" (S. ii. 8. 15), and whatever he may have taken the meaning to be there, he meant here. One of the interpretations of 'maris expers' in the passage of Horace is 'without salt water,' which was mixed with

Cum pipere et palmis venit nostrum hoc maris expers,
Foenisecae crasso vitiarunt unguine pultes."
Haec cinere ulterior metuas? At tu, meus heres,
Quisquis eris, paulum a turba seductior audi.
O bone, num ignoras? missa est a Caesare laurus
Insignem ob cladem Germanae pubis, et aris

some Greek wines; and Heinrich supposes that Persius means 'salis expers,' 'insulsum.' This is an ingenious solution of the difficulty. So it would be this 'witless, silly taste of ours.' The expression would be far-fetched; but I think, though it would not have occurred to the writer himself, it is not improbable he may have thus applied it. Jahn, taking Horace's meaning in the same sense, follows close upon Heinrich's interpretation. But he takes the sense to be 'corrupt,' that is, wanting in that salt which preserves all things from corruption. The other interpretation of Horace's meaning is, that the wine had never crossed the seas, and so some interpreters take this place as a taste of home growth. This is the interpretation of Turnebus (Adv. 30. 7), and of Meister, who has written a treatise on this passage. (Ueber A. Persii S. vi. 37—40. Leipzig, 1810.) The words as they stand in the text will not bear this meaning, and to sustain it the critics separate 'nostrum hoc maris expers' from what goes before. When I wrote my note on Horace (l. c.) I thought this was the meaning of Persius and of Horace. But on farther reflection I do not think it is, but that 'maris expers' here means 'without salt' (wit), as there it is 'without salt water.'

40. *Foenisecae crasso*] 'Foenisices' is the more common form. It means 'mowers.' He uses it generally for country labourers, as he uses 'fossor' (v. 122). Heinrich and Jahn have 'ae' in the first syllable on the authority of the MSS. Orelli has 'oe,' and Forcellini says that is the right diphthong. 'Unguine' here is like 'uncto' in 16. Horace has 'crassum unguentum' (A. P. 375); but he means perfumes. Here coarse oil is meant for mixing with the porridge; as to which see Juv. xiv. 171, "grandes fumabant pultibus ollae."

41. *Haec cinere ulterior metuas?*] The poet drops his irony and asks in scorn, 'Are you to fear such stuff as this when you are dead?' We say 'beyond the grave;' Persius says 'beyond the burning.' He then by way of showing his own mind in this matter, turns and addresses his 'heres,' and asks for a word in his ear. By 'meus heres' he means his 'heres legitimus,' who would succeed to his property in the event of his dying intestate, and who might probably expect to be named 'heres' if he made a will. Persius so far identifies himself with his subject that he assumes the speaker to have no 'sui heredes' (Juv. x. 237), Persius having no children or wife himself.

43. *O bone, num ignoras?*] 'My good friend, haven't you heard?' as the doctor says, "Heus, bone, tu palles" (iii. 94). Caesar has sent tidings of a great victory over the Germans, and arrangements are being made for a grand celebration: he therefore intends to offer a hundred pairs of gladiators, and asks who shall prevent him. The Caesar he means is Caligula, whose ridiculous pretence of an expedition against the Germans, B.C. 40, is related by Suetonius (Caligula, 43, sqq.). Tacitus speaks of it and a pretended expedition against Britain as "Caianarum expeditionum ludibrium" (Hist. iv. 15). His object was plunder, of which he was insatiate. The son of Cunobellinus, a British king, flying from his father, came to Caligula and surrendered himself, which the Emperor considered as a cession of the island, and thereupon sent a flaming letter to announce the fact to the Senate. Afterwards he got up a sham engagement in a wood by the Rhine, sending some German prisoners across the river to represent the enemy, who were then reported as coming down in great force. He marched his army down to the sea-shore, and when they got there ordered them to pick up shells as spoils of the ocean, to be dedicated in the Capitol and Palatium, and built a lighthouse to commemorate this victory. He then made arrangements for a triumph on a magnificent scale, for which he ordered contributions to be collected from every quarter. As to 'laurus,' see note on Juv. iv. 149, "venisset epistola penna."

Frigidus excutitur cinis, ac jam postibus arma,
Jam chlamydes regum, jam lutea gausapa captis
Essedaque, ingentesque locat Caesonia Rhenos.
Dis igitur Genioque ducis centum paria ob res
Egregie gestas induco; quis vetat? aude;
Vae, nisi connives! oleum artocreasque popello
Largior; an prohibes? dic clare! "Non adeo (inquis):
Exossatus ager juxta est." Age, si mihi nulla

45. *Frigidus excutitur cinis,*] The old ashes were removed, he means, to make way for fresh sacrifices. Caesonia (Caligula's wife, whom he had married two years before, having had her for his mistress) contracts for arms to hang up at the temple doors, hires shawls for the kings to wear whom he is to bring home captive, and shaggy auburn beards for his pseudo German prisoners, and war chariots, and stout Gauls from the banks of the Rhine. Suetonius (c. 47) says that besides his German prisoners and deserters he chose out the tallest Gauls he could get, those who would best adorn his triumph, and some Gaulish chiefs too, and ordered them to dye their hair red, and let it grow, and to learn the German language, and bear German names. 'Gausapum' or 'gausape' is a rough woollen cloth. But it is used in iv. 37, an obscene passage on which I have not commented, as a shaggy beard, and that is probably the meaning here. As to 'locare,' which signifies to let work to be done or something to be used, see note on Hor. C. ii. 18. 17, "Tu secanda marmora Locas." Forcellini understands Rhenos to mean 'statues of the Rhine,' such as were carried in triumphal processions. So the river Jordan is represented on the arch of Titus. Jahn so understands it too. But there is no reason to suppose a number of such statues would be carried in the procession, and the above passage of Suetonius shows what Caligula's orders were. The form Rhenos is Greek, Ῥῆνοι. Rhenanos is the Latin form.

48. *Centum paria*] A hundred pairs of gladiators, whom he intends to send into the arena (inducere in arenam) in honour of Caligula's Genius. A hundred pairs was the number to which Staberius' heredes were condemned if they did not carry out the provisions of his will (Hor. S. ii. 3. 85). The number exhibited on great occasions went on increasing during the Empire till a hundred became a small show. (See Dict. Ant., Gladiatores.)

50. *Oleum artocreasque popello*] He threatens to add to his extravagance by a largess of oil and bread and meat to the people. 'Artocreas' (ἄρτος, κρέας) is not found elsewhere. It seems to be a compound of 'visceratio,' a distribution of meat, and 'frumentatio,' of corn, which were both common on great occasions. (See note on Horace last quoted.) 'Vae' is a threatening exclamation, 'Woe betide you!'

51. *Non adeo (inquis):*] 'Not at all,' say you, 'your land is pretty well exhausted;' like a body without the bones, it is worthless. So he supposes the man to turn up his nose at the inheritance. Forcellini's interpretation of 'exossatus' as land that has been well looked after and cleared of stones, is certainly wrong. [Jahn has a full stop at 'inquis,' and he makes 'Exossatus . . . juxta est' part of the poet's answer. As the reading 'non adeo' may not be the genuine text, and as the sense of 'exossatus' is not certain, it is impossible to say what this passage means. Heinrich interprets 'non adeo' thus: I do not accept the inheritance, 'non adeo heriditatem.' He takes 'juxta' as equivalent to 'paene.']

52. *Age, si mihi nulla*] He goes on, 'Very well, if you don't want my inheritance, and if I have not a relation left, I can go and pick up a heres among the beggars,' who were numerous on the Via Appia. 'Bovillae' was on that road, and about twelve miles from Rome, and so the poets speak of it as a suburb. Prop. v. 1. 33, "Quippe suburbanae parva minus urbe Bovillae." Ovid, Fast. iii. 667, "Orta suburbanis quaedam fuit Anna Bovillis." This old woman employed herself in making cakes for the poor people, with whom her neighbourhood abounded. The 'clivus Virbi' is the 'clivus Aricinus,' where the Appia Via enters Aricia, about

Jam reliqua ex amitis, patruelis nulla, proneptis
Nulla manet patrui, sterilis matertera vixit,
Deque avia nihilum superest, accedo Bovillas
Clivumque ad Virbi, praesto est mihi Manius heres.
"Progenies terrae!" Quaere ex me quis mihi quartus
Sit pater: haud prompte, dicam tamen; adde etiam unum,
Unum etiam, terrae est jam filius: et mihi ritu
Manius hic generis prope major avunculus exit.
Qui prior es, cur me in decursu lampada poscis?

four miles further than Bovillae from Rome. See note on Juv. iv. 117, "Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes." This place derived its name from Virbius, who, according to Virgil (Aen. vii. 771, sqq.) and his commentator, Servius, was the same as Hippolytus. When he was killed, Diana, admiring his chastity, had him restored to life by Aesculapius, and placed him under the care of the nymph Egeria in the woods of Aricia.

56. *praesto est mihi Manius heres.*] There was a proverb, "multi Manii Ariciae," the meaning of which is doubtful. Erasmus follows Festus, who says it means there were many distinguished persons at Aricia. This is not the meaning if it is to this proverb Persius alludes. 'He has only to go to Aricia, or its neighbourhood, and he will find ready to his hand a Manius for his heir.' Manius was a son of Earth, we see.

57. *Progenies terrae!*] As to this and 'terrae filius' (59), see note on Juv. iv. 98, "Unde fit ut malim fraterculus esse gigantis." The man says Manius is a son of Earth, he cannot tell his own father and mother. To which the poet answers, that if any one were to ask him who was his 'abavus,' his great-great-grandfather, he might be able to tell, though not very readily. Add another to him (atavus), and yet another (tritavus), and you come to a son of Earth, like Manius, who therefore turns out (v. 130, n.) in the course of generations to be brother to the poet's ancestor in the sixth degree. 'Major avunculus' is properly uncle to one's grandfather, and 'maximus avunculus' is one degree farther back. So as the poet cannot call Manius properly his 'major avunculus,' he calls him 'prope major,' which appears to Jahn "ratio sane frigidiuscula." ['Ritu' is used with a genitive, or it may have an adjective in the same case. Here, according to Jahn, it is the same in sense as 'rite.']

61. *Qui prior es, cur me*] The reference here is to the λαμπαδηφορία, torch race, which occurred at several of the festivals in Greece. Some difficulty is found in determining all the conditions of the race, but the chief feature of it was the passing of a lighted torch or sort of candle from hand to hand, each runner being careful not to extinguish the flame, till he had delivered the torch to the runner in advance of him. This practice served the ancients as an illustration for several purposes. Herodotus compares with it the Persian way of passing on a royal message through the country by mounted couriers (viii. 98). Lucretius (ii. 77, sq.) illustrates by the torch race the succession of generations in the animal world:

"Augescunt aliae gentes, aliae minuuntur,
Inque brevi spatio mutantur saecla animantum,
Et quasi cursores vitai lampada tradunt."

Plato had used the illustration in the same way (Legg. vi. p. 776). The author of the treatise Ad Herennium (iv. 46), applies it to one general succeeding another in command of an army, and here Persius likens to the runners a man of fortune and his expectant heir.

'Qui prior es' is variously interpreted. The commentators before Casaubon, and some since (Jahn, and most of our own translators), suppose it to mean that the heir stands in advance of the man he is to succeed, and receives the torch from him. There is no point in this, though Jahn tries to make one by saying the man in advance would try to snatch the torch from the man coming up as quick as he could, especially if it was nearly out.

Sum tibi Mercurius; venio Deus huc ego, ut ille
Pingitur: an renuis? vis tu gaudere relictis?
Deest aliquid summae, minui mihi: sed tibi totum est
Quicquid id est. Ubi sit fuge quaerere quod mihi quondam
Legarat Tadius, neu dicta repone paterna: 66
'Foenoris accedat merces; hinc exime sumptus.'
"Quid reliquum est?" Reliquum?—Nunc, nunc impensius unge,
Unge, puer, caules. Mihi festa luce coquatur
Urtica et fissa fumosum sinciput aure,
Ut tuus iste nepos olim satur anseris extis,
Cum morosa vago singultiet inguine vena,
Patriciae immeiat vulvae? mihi trama figurae

But if the runners occupied their own ground, and the rules of the race required that each should stay at his post, the one who left it would lose his chance. "Our critics would make a poor figure at Newmarket," says Gifford; but he is not more successful himself, and says this is almost the only line in Persius in which he has found much real difficulty. 'Qui prior es' refers, as Casaubon, Plum, Koenig, Heinrich say, to the superior claims of the 'legitimus heres' over Manius. Gifford sees a pathetic allusion to the poet's delicate state of health, because he died young. For 'in decursu,' which is the reading of nearly all the MSS., and of all editions but his own, Heinrich reads 'indecursum:' but though 'spatium decursum' is a proper expression (Cic. de Senect. c. 23), 'cursor decursus' is not.

62. *Sum tibi Mercurius;*] He says he is the man's Mercurius, who was represented in works of art as offering different persons a 'marsupium,' bag of money, as stated on Horace, S. ii. 3. 68, "Rejecta praeda quam praesens Mercurius fert." Probably Persius had this passage in mind. He means the man would be a fool to reject the purse because he did not know how much it contained, or because it did not contain as much as he wished, and so he would be a fool to reject his 'hereditas' because part of the property had been spent.

63. *vis tu gaudere relictis?*] Most MSS. have 'vin' tu.' The rule now generally accepted in regard to 'vis' and 'vin',' is that which Gronovius has laid down on Seneca de Ira, c. 28, that 'vis,' though interrogative, contains something of command or exhortation, which 'vin'' does not. See note on Juv. v. 74. This being the case, I do not see why the editors have all adopted 'vin'' here, when there is authority for 'vis.'

64. *minui mihi:*] 'If some part of the whole is gone, I have curtailed it to my own loss; but whatever it is (that is left), to you it is entire.' I do not agree with Jahn, who puts 'Deest aliquid summae' into the mouth of the 'heres.' Tadius is any body. The MSS. vary between this and Stadius or Staius (ii. 19). He tells the man not to din into his ears the old advice that fathers give their sons, that he should put his money out to interest and live upon the income. 'Reponere' is 'to repeat again and again.' 'Merces' is used for interest of money by Horace, S. i. 2. 14, "Quinas hic capiti mercedes;" and 3. 88, "Mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat." Here the expression 'foenoris merces' is more complete.

68. *Quid reliquum est?*] The heres is supposed to ask how much he has left after all his waste? At which the poet bursts out with an indignant answer, repeating the man's word, and then turning to his servant and telling him to pour on the oil more prodigally than ever. 'Urtica,' 'nettles,' was food for the poorest (Hor. Epp. i. 12. 8), and a dried pig's head with split ears was neither savoury nor elegant. 'Caules' are the better sort of vegetables of the cabbage kind (brassica), brocoli, cauliflower, &c. 'Iste' is as if the man were before him. As to goose's liver, see Juv. v. 114, where the master keeps that delicacy for himself.

73. *Mihi trama figurae Sit reliqua,*] He asks if he is to reduce himself to a

Sit reliqua, ast illi tremat omento popa venter?
Vende animam lucro, mercare atque excute sollers
Omne latus mundi, ne sit praestantior alter
Cappadocas rigida pingues plausisse catasta;
Rem duplica. "Feci; jam triplex, jam mihi quarto,
Jam decies redit in rugam: depunge ubi sistam,
Inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi."

. . . .

. . . .

thread while the other is to get a paunch as fat as a popa's. 'Trama' is properly 'the woof,' the threads that cross the stamen or warp. Here it is the thread of which the 'trama' or 'subtemen' is composed. As to 'popa,' see note on Juv. xii. 14, "a grandi cervix ferienda ministro." The 'popa' had as his perquisite the parts of the victims that were not burnt, some of which he gave probably to his deputy the 'cultrarius,' and they both got fat upon the spoils. 'Popa venter,' a 'popa belly,' is like "Corvos poetas et poetridas picas" (Prol. 13). 'Omentum' is not elsewhere used for fat (adeps). See Juv. xiii. 118.

75. *Vende animam lucro,*] Here he begins a new branch of his subject, which is left unfinished. He ironically bids a man sell his life for money, and search every corner of the world as the Italian 'mercatores' did, the most adventurous traders the world has ever known, penetrating places where civilized persons had never been before, and acting as the pioneers of Roman conquest. Casaubon takes these verses for a continuation of what goes before, and supposes the 'heres' to be urging his friend to increase his store by trade, and the friend to answer ironically that he had done so. As to 'excute,' see i. 49, n. The Romans got many of their slaves from Cappadocia. (See Juv. vii. 15.) They were particularly used as bearers. The poet bids his man become a 'mango,' slave-dealer, and beat them all at a slave-auction in showing off his goods, clapping his fat men on the thigh, or arm, or other sinewy part, as they stood on the platform to be exhibited. Jahn has the reading of many MSS. 'pavisse,' for 'plausisse,' which has good authority, and was in the text of the Scholiast, [who was also acquainted with the reading 'plausisse,' of which he gives a foolish interpretation.] The other editors, including Casaubon, have 'plausisse.' It depends on 'praestantior.' 'Catasta' was the regular word for a platform erected for this purpose. 'Rigida' is only a redundant epithet. It means 'firm,' not likely to give way, as temporary erections of that sort sometimes do. Cicero speaks of slaves 'de lapide emptos;' so they must have used a stone too sometimes for this purpose.

78. *Rem duplica.*] Juvenal (xiv. 229) has "per fraudes patrimonia conduplicare." What follows is like Horace's advice (Epp. i. 6. 34):—

"Mille talenta rotundentur, totidem altera, porro et
Tertia succedant, et quae pars quadrat acervum."

'Redit' means his principal comes back to him increased to that extent. 'Rugam' is here put for a money-bag, which if not full lies in wrinkles. 'Depunge' is 'make a mark where I am to stop.' 'Depinge' is a variant, but not right. Jahn has it in his text, but seems to prefer 'depunge,' as Casaubon does. Heinrich has 'depunge,' and compares ἀποκεντεῖν, 'to prick off.' The allusion in the last line is to the argument called by the Greeks σωρίτης, the nature of which is explained on Horace, Epp. ii. 1. 47, "Dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi." The man means that if his friend will tell him where to stop, he will have done as much as to find the end of a 'sorites,' which goes on without end, as avarice does. [Jahn makes the answer "Feci," &c. end with 'sistam,' where he places a full stop, and so the last line will mean, "There is one found, Chrysippus, who can limit your sorites."] He treats the satire as complete, and so do most editors. I have no doubt Heinrich is right in treating the satire as a fragment. See Introduction.

[*Redit in rugam:*] Sc. 'vestis,' Jahn, who refers to Pliny, H. N. xxxv. 8. 34, a passage which does not help his interpretation, though it may be true.]

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